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TAYLOR, M.

The Primitive Reformers to whom (under GOD) we are Indebted for the Glorious Light of the Gospel.

1 Perkins. 2 Prague. 3 M. Bucer. 4 P. Martyr. 5 Zuinglius. 6 J. Knox. 7 J. Zanchi. 8 Bulinger. 9 Occlampadius. 10 Buxtorf. 11 Bolton.
12 Arminius. 13 Wickliff. 14 T. Beza. 15 Calvin. 16 Ridley. 17 Latimer. 18 M. Luther. 19 P. Melancthon. 20 T. Aquinas. 21 Molem. 22 Grotius. 23 J. Hus. 24 Cranmer.

ENGLAND's Bloody Tribunal :

OR,

POPISH CRUELTY DISPLAYED.

Containing a compleat ACCOUNT of the

Lives,	Sufferings,
Religious Principles,	Tortures, and
Cruel Perſecutions,	Triumphant Deaths,

Of the Moſt PIOUS

ENGLISH PROTESTANT MARTYRS,

Who have ſealed the Faith of our Holy Religion with their Blood.

EXHIBITING

A full View of POPERY, with all its ſuperſtitious and horrid Practices; and tending to promote the PROTESTANT Religion, by diſplaying the Errors of POPISH Idolatry, and confirming the true Believer in the Faith of Our Bleſſed Redeemer, *who was crucified for our Sins, and roſe again for our Juſtification, and now ſitteth at the Right Hand of God, making Interceſſion for us.*

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A faithful Narrative of the many horrid Cruelties and Perſecutions that have been inflicted by the Roman Catholics on the PROTESTANTS of SCOTLAND, IRELAND, FRANCE and GERMANY.

WITH

A particular Deſcription of the various Tortures and Barbarities, that are practiced by the INQUISITION in Different Parts of the World.

ALSO

The LIVES of the PRIMITIVE REFORMERS, whoſe Effigies are given in the Frontiſpiece to the Work.

TOGETHER WITH

A full and plain Refutation of the Errors of the ROMISH Church, laid down in ſuch a Manner as to enable the *unlearned* PROTESTANTS to confute the chief Arguments of the moſt artful Popiſh Prieſts and their Emiſſaries.

By the Reverend MATTHEW TAYLOR, D. D.

He that is of God, heareth God's Words. John viii. 47.

By the KING's AUTHORITY.

LONDON:

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G III R

GEORGE the Third,

By the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS JOHN COOKE, of our City of *London*, Bookſeller, has, by his Petition, humbly repreſented unto us, that he hath been at great Expence in the Purchaſe of Books and Manuſcripts, and in employing our Truſty and beloved MATTHEW TAYLOR, Doctor of Divinity, to Write a valuable and laborious Work, intituled,

"ENGLAND's BLOODY TRIBUNAL, or POPISH "CRUELTY Diſplayed. Containing a complete Account of the "Lives, religious Principles, cruel Perſecutions, Sufferings, Tortures "and triumphant Deaths, of the moſt pious *Engliſh proteſtant Mar-* "*tyrs*, who have ſealed the Faith of our Holy Religion with their "Blood. Exhibiting a full View of *popery*, with all its ſuperſtitious "and horrid Practices, and tending to promote the Proteſtant Reli- "gion, by diſplaying the Errors of Popiſh Idolatry. To which is "added, a ſhort and plain Refutation of the Errors of the Romiſh "Church."

Which Work the Petitioner moſt humbly apprehends will tend in a very high Degree to promote Religion and Virtue, and to eſtabliſh in the Minds of our Subjects a firm Veneration for the Proteſtant Cauſe.

Where-

Wherefore he humbly ſolicits our Royal Licence and Protection to himſelf, his Heirs, Executors, and Aſſigns, for the ſole *printing, publiſhing and vending* the ſaid Work for the Term of Fourteen Years, ſo far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Caſe made and provided.

We being willing to give all due Encouragement to this Undertaking, are graciouſly pleaſed to condeſcend to his Requeſt, and we do therefore, by theſe Preſents, as far as may be agreeable to the Statute, in that Caſe made and provided, grant unto him, the ſaid JOHN COOKE, his Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, our Licence for the *ſole Printing and Publiſhing* of the ſaid Work for the Term of Fourteen Years, ſtrictly forbidding all our Subjects within our Kingdoms, or Dominions, to reprint, or abridge the ſame, either in the like, or in any Size or Manner whatſoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter or diſtribute any Copies thereof reprinted, beyond the Seas, during the aforeſaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Conſent or Approbation of the ſaid JOHN COOKE, his Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns, under their Hands and Seals, firſt had and obtained, as they will anſwer the contrary at their Peril.

Wherefore the Commiſſioners, and other Officers of our Cuſtoms, the Maſter Warden and Company of Stationers are to take Notice that due Obedience may be rendered to our Pleaſure herein declared.

Given at our Court at St. *James's.*

By his Majeſty's Command,

ROCHFORD.

PREFACE.

THE cause of the following work being laid before the Public, arises from the concern with which the Editor has read and heard of the many attempts that have been made by Popish Emissaries, to spread the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome in these kingdoms.

The receiving for doctrines the commandments of men, is the main article of the Popish creed, by which they understand, receiving the scripture, according to the sense in which that church interprets it, without examining whether it be right or wrong. From this accursed and erroneous principle of infallibility, she has infected every institution of Christ with a mixture of her own inventions; for on a general review of the Popish religion, there will appear a mixture of idolatry throughout the whole; in England, indeed, and other Protestant countries, it does not appear in all its hideous forms, because it is exercised under a necessary degree of restriction: but in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, a thorough vent is given to their diabolical purposes, by the constant terror of that Hell *called the* Inquisition, *which can be appointed from no other motives than to deter people from examining into the truth of the least article enjoined by the church.*

Nor have their cruelties been confined to those parts of Europe; the accursed influence of Popish principles have even prevailed in these kingdoms; witness the horrid cruelties that were perpetrated during the reign of Henry IV. when the cruel statute EX OFFICIO *was enacted against the* LOLLARDS *at the instigation of the Popish Clergy, by which all Heretics convicted by the Ordinary were condemned without mercy,* to be burned in sight of all the people, *and many were burnt in consequence thereof.*

Witness the reign of Queen Mary, at whose accession to the crown, all THE SANGUINARY PENAL LAWS *against Heretics were revived, and in the space of five years and four months, there were burnt and roasted for their religion, five bishops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were persecuted on the same account, of whom seven were whipped, sixteen perished in jail, and twelve were buried in dunghills. Some writers affirm, that in the two first years of the persecution, which began in* 1555, *eight hundred were put to death.*

In the following reign, when the Spaniards invaded Queen Elizabeth, at the instance of the Pope, Innocent VIII. (as King Philip himself declared) with their invincible Armada; we learn from the replies of one of their chief officers, taken by Sir Francis Drake, *to some questions proposed to him, the bloody scenes they designed to act amongst us. Being asked their intention in invading England,*

that

that officer replied; to ſubdue the nation, and root it out. *And how did you intend to diſpoſe of the Catholics? ſaid one of the lords of the Engliſh forces*; to ſend them good men, *ſaid he* directly to Heaven, and all you Heretics to Hell.

Being asked the uſe to which the whips of cord and wire, of which they had abundance in their ſhips, were deſtined, he replied; to whip you Hereticks to death.

The maſſacre in Ireland committed by the Iriſh Papiſts on the Proteſtants, was the moſt horrid ſcene that ever was contrived or executed, and ſhews with what a diabolical ſpirit Popery animates thoſe who are under its power.

On the 23d of October 1641, *a day dedicated to St. Ignatius, between forty and fifty thouſand Engliſh Proteſtants were murdered, before they could ſuſpect themſelves to be in danger, or provide for their defence; and in all one hundred and forty thouſand were deſtroyed by the moſt exquiſite tortures Hell itſelf could ſuggeſt, and put to death in* cold blood, *by the inhuman Popiſh butchers of mankind.*

When the biſhop of Rome uſurped a deſpotic power as the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, avarice and ambition had recourſe to every barbarous and cruel means to maintain the uſurpation: this Papal hierarchy ſpilt more Chriſtian blood, than did the Jew or Pagan. Then began the uſe of that artillery of Hell, inquiſitions, fires, maſſacres, wheels, gallies and dungeons.

How different a ſpirit does the goſpel of Chriſt inculcate from that of the Romiſh church! that goſpel which proclaims peace from God to men, and commands men to cultivate peace and love with one another. Its divine author Jeſus Chriſt lived and taught meekneſs and humility in their utmoſt perfection. Though he had all power, he compelled none by force to receive his doctrines, nay, rebuked his diſciples for calling for fire from Heaven to conſume ſome who offered him offence. He checked the haſty zeal of Peter, in drawing his ſword in his defence, and wrought a miracle to repair the damage; amidſt accuteſt torments he prayed for his enemies; Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.

What a ſhocking idea muſt thoſe have who read and duly attend to the following relations! Unleſs they have loſt all ſenſe of humanity, they cannot but deteſt thoſe monſtrous principles, which lead to more than ſavage practice. How amiable muſt that religion appear, which afforded ſuch mighty ſupports to its votaries, amidſt a train of long and exquiſite ſufferings; which worked ſo divine a charity in their hearts, as to induce them to pray for their very tormentors!

May we of theſe kingdoms love, and above all live *that religion, which our proteſtant brethren aud countrymen maintained at the expence of their lives, and contemplate on the felicity they now enjoy, till following their faith and patience, we together with them, become inheritors of the promiſes; being able to ſay, at the cloſe of life,* I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord, the righteous Judge ſhall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them alſo that love his appearing.

ENGLAND's BLOODY TRIBUNAL:

OR,

POPISH CRUELTY DISPLAYED.

IN the reign of Edward the Third, the church of England was dreadfully corrupted with error, ſuperſtition and idolatry; till it pleaſed the Great Diſpoſer of all events, to raiſe up a deliverer in the perſon of John Wickliff, who was a man of ſound learning and eminent piety; whoſe life and converſation correſponded with the doctrines he delivered, or in other words, were ſuch as became the goſpel of Chriſt.

This great reformer, about the year 1372, detected and boldly refuted the errors which prevailed in the church at that time, not only in the courſe of his lectures in the univerſity, at Oxford, of which he was a member, but alſo in his ſermons in different parts of the kingdom, and particularly at Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, which pariſh was committed to his paſtoral care.

Excluſive of his public lectures and ſermons, he wrote and diſperſed many books, in which he explained the goſpel for the benefit of the poor and illiterate, and thereby reclaimed many from popiſh ignorance and ſuperſtition, and brought them to the true knowledge of God and our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, whom to know ſpiritually is eternal life.

The intrepidity of his conduct in ſo noble a cauſe expoſed him to the cenſure of the whole eccleſiaſtical body; and particularly incurred the diſpleaſure of Simon Sudbury, then Primate, who ſummoned him to attend a Bench of biſhops, where, having declared him an Heretic, he was deprived of his bene-

beneſice, for publickly maintaining, aſſerting, and vindicating divers tenets to the following effect:

1. Oppoſing the ſupremacy of the Pope in eccleſiaſtical matters, as ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

2. Aſſerting, that the Euchariſt, even after conſecration, was not the body of Chriſt ſubſtantially but figuratively.

3. Affirming that the goſpel of Chriſt was alone ſufficient to direct Chriſtians in all matters of faith or practice.

4. Maintaining therefore, that all injunctions not founded upon the goſpel, were the inventions of men and conſequently not obligatory on any Chriſtian.

Theſe points our eminent Reformer defended frequently before aſſemblies both of the clergy and laity, nor could threats or promiſes induce him to recede therefrom. Finding all endeavours to bring him to a recantation ineffectual, the bench of Dioceſans cauſed his tenets to be drawn up in form, and tranſmitted to his holineſs, Pope Gregory, by whom and his cardinals, they were condemned as damnable Hereſies, and ſentenced to the flames.

Having thus incurred the cenſure of the ſupreme court, this great man would certainly have been impriſoned, and cruelly executed, had he not obtained the patronage and protection of ſome powerful noblemen, who became converts to the faith which he maintained. With this advantage, he lived privately ſeveral years, and ſometimes expounded the ſcriptures to ſelect audiences; tho' he was often interrupted, and brought before the bench of biſhops; but Providence alway fruſtrated their malicious deſigns, and permitted this faithful ſervant and miniſter of Chriſt, after a ſeries of labour in the goſpel, to die in peace at Lutterworth, where his bodily part was depoſited in the duſt.

But ſuch is the inveteracy of popiſh prejudice, and bigotry, that, in conſequence of a decree of the Synod of Conſtance, the bones of this zealous reformer were taken out of the grave after they had been interred upwards of forty years, publickly burned, and the aſhes caſt into an adjacent river.

The perſecutions of Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, LORD COBHAM.

THE endeavours of Wickliff to aboliſh popery, and introduce the pure religion, having proved ſo ſucceſsful; Thomas Arundel, Archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry V. thought proper to cauſe a convocation of the biſhops and clergy of England to be held at St. Paul's Church, in order to deliberate on the moſt effectual means of ſuppreſſing that great reformer, whom they deemed an inveterate enemy to the Holy See.

By this ſynod, it was reſolved, that all the books and opinions of John Wickliff were heretical, and his followers were branded with the odious title of Heretics.

And in order to ſupport the Papal authority, it was deemed neceſſary at this convocation, to apprehend and cauſe to be puniſhed thoſe who maintained

tained and propagated opinions of the ſacraments, of images, of pilgrimages, and of the keys or power of the church, contrary to the received doctrines and determinations of the ſame.

To execute this decree, twelve Inquiſitors were choſen from Oxford; whoſe ſole buſineſs was to ſearch for heretics, and the books, which Wickliff had ſo generally diſperſed throughout the kingdom.

Theſe Inquiſitors, having in the courſe of their reſpective deſtinations, collected from divers books, two hundred and forty ſix doctrines poſitive and inferable; laid them before the ſynod, which adjudged them heretical, and came to a reſolution, that the moſt effectual method to prevent the growth of hereſy, was to take off its moſt powerful adherents, of whom they deemed Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham of Kent, a principal.

This martyr therefore was charged by the ſynod, with countenancing, by his preſence and property, a number of preachers ſuſpected of propagating errors and hereſies, in the dioceſes of London, Rocheſter, and Hereford, in oppoſition to the belief and doctrine of the reſpective Dioceſans; and alſo as the higheſt aggravation of his crime with having ſpoke in doubtful, if not poſitive terms, concerning the opinion which the Holy Mother church had taught for many years paſt, relating to the ſacrament of the altar, penance, images, pilgrimages, and eccleſiaſtical power. It was thereupon reſolved that he ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and proceeded againſt as a moſt impious and pernicious heretic.

But as Lord Cobham was deſcended from an honourable family, poſſeſſed of great property, and highly in favour with the king; the more cool and deliberate amongſt them adviſed againſt too raſh a proceedure, and gave it as their opinion that it would be more prudent firſt to acquaint his Majeſty with his deviation from the Mother church, and maintaining by his influence erroneous and heretical doctrines.

Agreeable to this advice, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with divers of the clergy waited on the king at Kingſton, and laid before him his lordſhip's principles and conduct. The king, having heard with patience the complaints brought againſt him, inſtead of being fomented by their aggravated repreſentation of the caſe, cooly admoniſhed them to treat his lordſhip with the utmoſt lenity, and endeavour to reclaim him by the gentleſt methods, aſſuring them, that if their efforts ſhould fail, he would exert his utmoſt power to bring him over to the Mother-church, and that ſuch was his influence with him, he did not doubt of ſucceſs.

His majeſty therefore in conſequence of the promiſe made to the clergy, ſent for Lord Cobham, and gently admoniſhed him to forſake the hereſies he had maintained; but his lordſhip after aſſuring his majeſty of his loyalty and attachment to his perſon as his Sovereign, honeſtly declared that he could by no means conſent to papal injunctions, which from the ſcriptures he knew were not of God, but the inventions of men; and that as ſuch they were an abomination to the Lord. The

king upon this declaration retired in diſguſt, and ſoon after authorized the Archbiſhop to cite Lord Cobham into his court; and there proceed againſt him with the utmoſt rigour.

The Archbiſhop therefore with the advice of his clergy, ſent his chief ſummoner to cite his lordſhip to appear in his court on a ſtated day; but when he arrived at his place of reſidence in Kent, fearing to deliver the ſummons, he returned back without executing his orders.

The Archbiſhop then ſent a ſuperior officer on the errand, who went to Lord Cobham, and informed him that it was his majeſty's pleaſure, that his lordſhip ſhould obey the Archbiſhop's ſummons; to which he replied, that he was determined at all events never to comply with the infernal practices of the prieſts.

The Archbiſhop finding him thus reſolute, and thinking that no private man could ſummon him without incurring much danger, commanded letters citatory, to be fixed upon the gates of the cathedral of Rocheſter, which was about three miles diſtant from Lord Cobham's houſe, enjoining and charging him perſonally to appear before him at Ledis, on a ſtated day, and aſſuring him that no pretence would be admitted as an excuſe of his non-appearance.

Theſe proceedings, however, had no effect, ſo that at length, his lordſhip was openly excommunicated by the Archbiſhop for his contumacy, and cited under the ſevereſt threatnings to appear before him, iſſuing an edict at the ſame time, commanding all perſons to aſſiſt him, in apprehending and bringing to eccleſiaſtical juſtice the Lord Cobham, a notorious heretic, and dangerous enemy of the holy church.

Lord Cobham finding it in vain any longer to contend with power, wrote the confeſſion of his faith, viz. the apoſtles creed, with ſome remarks of his own upon the ſame, went to London, and preſented it to the king, who refuſed looking into it, and commanded it to be delivered to thoſe perſons who were to be his judges. He then propoſed to appeal from the Archbiſhop to the Pope; but the king would not permit ſuch appeal, and cauſed him to be arreſted and committed to the Tower of London.

In a few days, he was brought by the lieutenant of the Tower, before a bench of biſhops aſſembled at the Chapter-houſe of St. Paul's; when the Archbiſhop reproved him for his contumacy in diſobeying his repeated citations, but told him, that notwithſtanding his obſtinate behaviour, they were willing to give him abſolution, ſhould he confeſs his faults, and humbly deſire the ſame.

Lord Cobham, regardleſs of this proffer, ſaid he would make a confeſſion of his faith in the preſence of them all, if they would permit him; upon which he produced a paper containing articles to the following purport:

"I John Oldcaſtle, Knight, Lord "Cobham, ſolemnly declare in the "preſence of God and this aſſembly, "that it is my earneſt deſire by the help "of God to believe fully and faith-"fully all the ſacraments that God "has

" has ordained to be uſed in his holy " church, and deliver theſe four parti- " culars as the ſum and ſubſtance of " my faith concerning theſe points."

1. I believe that the ſacrament of the altar is Chriſt's body in form of bread, the ſame body that was born of the bleſſed Virgin, our lady St. Mary, crucified, dead and buried, the third day roſe from death to life, and is now glorified in heaven.

2. I believe that every man, who expects ſalvation ſhould forſake his ſin and do penance for the ſame with true confeſſion and contrition, as the law of God teacheth, otherwiſe he cannot be ſaved.

3. I believe that whoſoever gives that worſhip to lifeleſs images, which is due to God, or truſts to them for help, is guilty of the ſin of idolatry.

4. I believe as touching pilgrimages, that all men are pilgrims upon earth either to happineſs or miſery. He that will not know, nor keep the commandments of God while he lives, tho' he go on pilgrimage thro' the world, yet if he die in this ſtate, he ſhall be damned; and he that believes in Chriſt, and keeps the commandments of God ſhall be ſaved, though he never goes any pilgrimage at all.

The articles being read before the bench, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that ſome part was good and approved as conformable to the doctrines of the holy church; but that much was ambiguous and needed further explanation: what they referred to was concerning the ſacrament of the altar and that of penance. Lord Cobham then told the court, that he had laid before them his opinions in a plain manner, and ſhould therefore make no further reply.

The Archbiſhop having admoniſhed him to reflect ſeriouſly on the danger he was in, and to be more explicit in his anſwers another time, adjourned the court.

Another court was held in a few days, and Lord Cobham appeared, but would not recede from what he had laid down as the articles of his faith. Finding him thus reſolute in his adherence to thoſe principles which he had long maintained and defended; the court impowered John Kemp, doctor of Law, to demand of him an explicit anſwer to four particular points: the firſt related to the ſacrament of the altar; the ſecond to auricular confeſſion; the third to the ſupremacy of the Pope; and the fourth to the merit of pilgrimage, worſhipping ſaints, &c.

To the firſt he replied that he did not believe, that in the ſacrament of the altar, after the words ſpoken by a prieſt in his maſs, the material bread, which was before bread was turned into Chriſt's very body; nor the material wine, which was before wine, turned into Chriſt's blood.

To the ſecond, he ſaid that application might be made to a prieſt, if a man of piety and learning, in order to receive inſtruction from him in ſpiritual concerns; but if otherwiſe, it was better to avoid him.

To the third, he anſwered, that he who neareſt imitated Peter in faith and good works was neareſt him in ſucceſſion; but that he could diſcern very little

little of Peter's genius, temper, and ſpirit of mind in thoſe who then laid claim to his ſucceſſorſhip.

To the fourth and laſt point, he declared, that as there was no commandment of God concerning it, he regarded it not, and further, that he long obſerved, that with their ſhrines and idols, their feigned abſolutions and pardons, they had drawn to themſelves almoſt all the wealth of Chriſtendom.

The report being made to the Archbiſhop of Lord Cobham's anſwers to the four particular points propoſed to him; he was once more admoniſhed to entertain no other opinions in theſe matters than what were enjoined by the holy Mother-church of Rome; but he peremptorily declared, that at all events, he would abide by what he had already delivered as the ſubſtance of his faith; upon which the Archbiſhop ſtood up, condemned him as an heretic, and read his definitive ſentence.

His lordſhip then addreſſed the biſhop in theſe words; "Though you "judge my body, which is but a vile "thing, yet I am ſure you can do me "no hurt as to my ſoul, no more than "Satan could do the ſoul of Job: I "have no manner of doubt, but that "he who created it, will of his infi-"nite mercy thro' a Redeemer, finally "ſave it. As to the articles before "rehearſed, I will ſtand to them to "my very death by the grace of my "eternal God."

Then turning to the people, he exhorted them to beware of falſe doctrines and falſe teachers, who ſought not to advance the glory of God, but their own pride and power. He was afterwards delivered to the lieutenant of the Tower, from whoſe cuſtody he found means to eſcape; but in conſequence of a reward offered by proclamation, Lord Powis cauſed him to be apprehended in Wales, four years after his eſcape, and ſent him under the care of officers to London, in December 1417.

On the fourteenth of the ſame month he was brought before the parliament, and by them adjudged, as a traitor to the king and realm, to be hung upon a new gallows erected for that purpoſe without Temple-Bar, and to be burned while hanging; which cruel and unjuſt ſentence was executed upon this honeſt and ſincere adherent to the cauſe of Chriſt, though his great wealth and influence were ſtrong temptations to induce him to recede; but he well knew that a greater recompence of reward awaited his faith and ſufferings, than earthly power and grandeur, even an eternal and never-fading crown of glory.

The Life, Principles and Sufferings of WILLIAM TAYLOR, *Prieſt.*

IN the year 1421, this martyr was ſummoned before the Bench of biſhops, and charged with maintaining doctrines contrary to the Holy See. The two principal things of which he was accuſed were, his declaring,

1. That the practice of hanging fragments about the neck by way of

of charm, was a cheat, depriving God of that honour which is due to him alone, and in fact worshipping the Devil.

2. That worship being due to the supreme God alone, worshiping or invoking saints was anti-scriptural and idolatrous, and therefore ought to be exploded.

These particulars being alledged against him, he objected by way of defence, that he had not maintained or defended the same in the public offices of his function as a priest; but only in private conversation; and afterwards on the Bench's declaring them heretical, he recanted: notwithstanding which, such was the malice of this diabolical court, that they sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment. However, through the interposition of some powerful friends, he obtained his liberty, upon his solemnly swearing that he would for ever reject and discountenance those tenets, for maintaining which he had incurred ecclesiastical censure.

In consequence of this, the archbishop absolved him of his excommunication, and strictly enjoined him to attend the ensuing convocation. But fresh troubles soon befel our martyr; for some letters, in which he had argued against the invocation of saints, had been intercepted by the bishop of Worcester; for which he was again brought before the Bench.

This convocation was held in the year 1422, being the first of the reign of Henry VI, then a minor.

The letters had passed between William Taylor, and Thomas Smith a priest of Bristol. The part of Taylor's letters against which the Bench objected, was that, wherein he affirmed, that every petition or prayer for any supernatural gift should be directed to God alone; though he acknowledged an inferior homage due to saints.

These letters were read in the presence of the bishops, and afterwards delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who sent them to the four orders of Friars then in London, to pass their judgment on them.

After some examination of the points contained in them, they adjudged the following to be heretical:

1. Affirming that every petition or prayer for any supernatural gift should be directed to God alone.

2. Asserting that prayer is to be addressed to God alone, and

3. Maintaining that the invocation of saints is idolatrous.

This sentence being passed upon the letters by the orders of Friars, and transmitted in writing to the Primate, William Taylor was degraded of his clerical orders, condemned as an heretic, excommunicated and delivered over to the secular power, by which he was sentenced to be burnt, and a writ for that purpose having been sent to the mayor and sheriffs of London, the horrid sentence was executed in Smithfield, the general scene of the unparalleled cruelties of those bloody times.

The Principles and Sufferings of JOHN ROGERS, *Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and Reader of St. Paul's,* London.

THE martyr under conſideration, was educated at Cambridge, where he attained to an eminent degree of learning. After which, leaving the Univerſity, he was choſen by a ſociety of merchants, chaplain to a factory they had eſtabliſhed at Antwerp; where he became acquainted with William Tindal, and Miles Coverdale, two ſtedfaſt adherents to the purity of the Goſpel of Chriſt, who lamenting the progreſs of error and ſuperſtition in England, had retired from their native country.

By means of converſing with theſe ſound and pious Chriſtians, he was led to examine whether the principles in which he was educated were agreeable to the word of God, which from their juſt reaſoning with him, he was ſatisfied was the only infallible guide to truth.

When he came to have recourſe to the oracles of God, he there found many errors in his former profeſſion, and became a zealous convert to the faith once delivered to the ſaints. His progreſs in the divine knowledge was ſo rapid, that in a ſhort time he joined with the two pious and learned men before mentioned, in the arduous though uſeful taſk of tranſlating the bible into the Engliſh tongue.

Having caſt off all Papal reſtriction that was not enjoined in the ſacred book, and finding that matrimony, according to the divine decree, was both honeſt and honourable amongſt all men; he entered into that holy ſtate, and went with his wife into Saxony, where through indefatigable ſtudy and application, in a ſhort time he attained to ſuch a knowledge of the Dutch language, as to be capable of taking charge of a Chriſtian congregation in that part of Europe.

Here he laboured many years in the vineyard of his maſter with great ſucceſs, converting, through the aſſiſtance of divine grace, many from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, as well as edifying and building up the ſaints in their moſt holy faith; till it pleaſed the God of grace and truth, to diſpel the miſts of Popiſh darkneſs from his native country, and reſtore the glorious light of the pure goſpel, by the introduction of his choſen ſervant Edward VI. to the throne of England.

Mr. Rogers then left Saxony, and came with joy to declare the glad tidings of Salvation in England; where after he had faithfully laboured ſome time without preferment. Nicholas Ridley then biſhop of London, appointed him a prebend in his cathedral; of which he was afterwards choſen one of the preachers, called in thoſe days, divinity lecturers.

Here he continued, giving the moſt convincing proofs of ſound faith, piety, and learning; till Mary, (dire remembrance!) ſucceeded to the throne; baniſhed the pure religion of Chriſt, and again introduced the horrors of ANTICHRIST.

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Reſolution, however, did not cauſe our martyr to wave in one point from the truth as it is in Jeſus; for ſoon after the Queen's acceſſion, he preached in the Cathedral, and with peculiar energy, exhorted the people to continue ſtedfaſt in the doctrines they had there heard, nor ſwerve from the tenets of the reformed preachers, during the reign of the late pious young king.

A ſad change ſoon took place both in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs; power reverted on the votaries of popery; Popiſh miniſters directed the helm of ſtate, and popiſh biſhops compoſed a great part of the Queen's council.

This being the caſe, Mr. Rogers was reproved for the ſermons he delivered; however, he pleaded his own cauſe with ſuch addreſs, as to obviate their cruel ſentence for a time.

Soon after this, he was ſummoned before the council of Biſhops, to anſwer for his contempt of the Queen's proclamation in preaching doctrines forbidden therein; after ſome debate concerning the nature of his offence (as they termed it) he was commanded as priſoner to keep his own houſe, from which he never departed, tho' he had many fair opportunities to eſcape; he knew that religion was on the decline in England, and was aſſured he ſhould not want a living in Germany, adequate to the demands of a large family conſiſting of a wife and ten children; being reſolutely determined to ſtand up in the defence of Chriſt's cauſe, and to hazard his life in ſupport of the truth.

In this ſtate of confinement he remained a conſiderable time, till at the inſtigation of the cruel Bonner, biſhop of London, he was removed to Newgate, and placed amongſt the common felons.

Being again ſummoned before the Bench of Biſhops, he adhered inviolably to the doctrines he had maintained and aſſerted, which being repreſented to the council, the Lord Chancellor paſſed ſentence of condemnation on John Rogers, and particularly cited two articles as cauſes of the ſame.

1. His affirming that the Holy Mother-church, commonly called the Church of Rome, was the church of Antichriſt, and

2. Aſſerting that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is not ſubſtantially. nor really, the natural body and blood of Chriſt.

In order to diſplay a ſtriking inſtance of the horrid cruelties which wicked men are capable of committing, even under the ſacred name of God, and an attachment to the cauſe of religion, the following copy is inſerted, of the form of the condemnation, by which thouſands of innocent perſons have been murdered, under the vile Popiſh pretence of doing God ſervice.

In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the Permiſſion of God, biſhop of Wincheſter, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all goodly favour by authority and virtue of our office, againſt thee John Rogers, prieſt, otherwiſe called Matthew, before us perſonally here preſent, being accuſed and detected, and notoriouſly ſlandered of Hereſy, having heard,

heard, seen, and understood, and with all dilligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, sitting in our judgment seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes, because by the acts enacted, propounded and exhibited in this matter, and by thy own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these; That the catholick church of Rome is the Antichrist. Item, *that in the sacrment of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. The which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgement, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacy, stubborness, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly affirmed, that thou wilt believe maintain, and hold, affirm and declare the same: We therefore. S. Winchester, bishop, ordinary and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lords bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgement of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy) to have been, and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity, and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still doth maintain, affirm and believe the same, and that thou hast been, and art lawfully convicted in this behalf: We therefore, I say, albeit following the example of Christ, "Which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live;" We have gone about oftentimes to correct thee by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiffnecked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy Mother-church; and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions: we therefore Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked should now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, (which we are greatly afraid of) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy dam-*

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Burning of John Rogers Vicar of St. Sepulchers and Reader of St. Pauls London.

damnable obſtinacy, as guilty of moſt deteſtable hereſies, and as an obſtinate impenitent ſinner, refuſing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy Mother-church, and that thou haſt been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate perſon. And alſo we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretick, to be caſt out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the ſecular power, and now preſently do leave thee as an obſtinate heretic, and a perſon wrapped in the ſentence of the great curſe, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them notwithſtanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that this execution and puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, may be ſo moderated that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleneſs too much mitigated, but that it may be to the ſalvation of thy ſoul, to the extirpation, terror, and converſion of all Hereticks to the unity of the Catholick faith) by this our ſentence definitive, which we here lay upon and againſt thee, and do with ſorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforeſaid.

The foregoing form being uſed in the condemnation of all the reſt of the Engliſh martyrs, it need not be again repeated.

After this ſentence was ſolemnly pronounced by an hypocritical prelate; Mr. Rogers was carried to Newgate, lodged among felons, reviled by the keepers, and at length, according to the abovementioned form, condemned by Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter.

The warrant for his execution coming down early in morning, he was warned by one of the keepers to prepare himſelf for the fire; on which he cooly ſaid, "Well, if it be ſo I need not tie my points," (ſtrings uſed in the old Engliſh dreſſes) and immediately proceeded to biſhop Bonner to be degraded.

Having paſſed through this form likewiſe, he craved one favour of the biſhop; which was, that he might ſpeak a few words to his wife, before the execution of the ſentence, but even this petition was inhumanly denied him.

Being delivered to the ſheriffs of London, one of them aſked him if he would recant the abominable hereſies he maintained; but our martyr reſolutely and conciſely replied, "That which I have preached I will ſeal with my blood." Neither the promiſes, threats nor curſes of the bigotted ſheriff availed, Mr. Rogers perſiſted in his adherence to the goſpel of Chriſt as the ſtandard of the Chriſtian's faith and practice, and was with the utmoſt compoſure conducted to Smithfield, where in the preſence of ſeveral of the Queen's officers of ſtate, and a prodigious concourſe of people, he was burned to aſhes, Feb. 4, 1555, glorying in the midſt of the flames, that he was deemed worthy to ſuffer for the cauſe of Chriſt and the goſpel.

Thus heroically ſuffered John Rogers, firſt of the many martyrs in the reign of the bloody, biggotted and relentleſs Mary, whoſe horrid cruelties have fixed an indelible ſtain on her character both as a queen and a

woman, and will be handed down with infamy to lateſt poſterity.

Such was his fortitude and reſignation to the divine will, that even the tears of his diſconſolate wife, with a babe ſucking at her breaſt, nor the cries of ten children, whom he tenderly loved, could divert him from the ſame; it was the cauſe of God, the cauſe of his Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, nor could any conſideration induce him to abandon it.

The Perſecutions of JOHN HOOPER, *Biſhop of Glouceſter.*

THIS good Chriſtian was educated at the Univerſity of Oxford, where he made divinity his principal ſtudy and diſcovered the moſt flagrant and ſuperſtitious errors that prevail in the church of Rome.

When it was publickly known that he objected to many points both of faith and practice that were held by the Mother-church, he was obliged to leave the Univerſity; and in a ſhort time to avoid the malice and rage of his perſecutors to repair to Germany: from thence he went and ſettled at one of the cantons of Switzerland, where he ſtudied the Hebrew tongue, and remained till the death of king Henry VIII.

But on the happy acceſſion of Edward VI, to the crown of England, Popiſh ſuperſtition being aboliſhed, and the Chriſtian religion reſtored in its purity and native ſimplicity by law, our martyr returned with many others who had gone into voluntary exile for the ſake of worſhipping God according to the rules they apprehended to be preſcribed in his word, as well as the dictates of their own conſciences. It is very remarkable that on his parting with a particular friend at his embarking for his native country, he thus addreſſed him; "Where I ſhall take the moſt pains, there you ſhall hear that I am burned to aſhes."

When Mr. Hooper arrived in England, his indefatigable zeal and labour in the work of the miniſtry ſoon recommended him to the notice of the pious young king, who promoted him to the ſees of Glouceſter and Worceſter; which important offices he filled in a manner as reflected an honour on his ſacred profeſſion, and afforded a ſtriking example to cotemporary prelates, preaching as often as opportunity offered in both dioceſes, exhorting his clergy to be found in the faith of the goſpel, and diligent in their duty, beſtowing kindneſs on the poor, viſiting the ſick, in ſhort exerciſing every good work, that became a biſhop of the houſehold of God, a miniſter of the goſpel of Chriſt, and a ſincere and upright Chriſtian.

In this manner he lived beloved by his prince, reſpected and careſſed by the inhabitants of his dioceſes, and happy in himſelf to ſee the progreſs of true religion, during the reign of King Edward VI: But no ſooner did queen Mary ſucceed to the crown, than he was cited to London to anſwer to the appeals of Dr. Heath who had been deprived of the dioceſs that had been given to him by king Edward; and

and Dr. Bonner, whom he had accuſed to the late king for non-conformity, to the laws then in force.

Mr. Hooper was warned by his friends to avoid the danger which they knew threatened on the acceſſion of queen Mary, and the revival of Popiſh influence; but he calmly ſaid, "once "I did fly, but now I am called to "this place, I am reſolved to live "and die with my ſheep."

In a ſhort time, after he was ſummoned before the biſhop of Wincheſter who deprived him of his biſhopricks; and aſked him divers queſtions relative to his being married, and the corporal preſence in the euchariſt.

When the Lord Chancellor aſked him if he was married; he replied, he was, and would not be unmarried till death unmarried him.

Being aſked upon what authority he denied the corporal preſence; he anſwered, the authority of God's word, and then quoted the words of St. Peter, Acts iii. 21. in Latin; *Quem oportet cælum*, &c. *Whom the Heavens muſt receive until the times of reſtitution of all things.*

Having thus openly declared his principles, the biſhop of Wincheſter commanded the notaries to write a memorandum, *That Hooper owned that he was married, and would not be ſeparated from his wife; and that he denied the corporal preſence in the ſacrament.*

Gardiner then proceeded to the hypocritical form of warning him in the name of his brethren to renounce the errors he had ſpread during the former reign, and ſubmiſſively to return to obedience to the Holy See, an acknowledgment of the Pope's ſupremacy, and unity with the Holy catholic church, and promiſing him on thoſe terms the favour of the Queen, and benediction of his Holineſs, as well as reſtoration to his former function.

But neither this advice, nor the promiſes with which it was backed availed with Mr. Hooper, whoſe faith was too well grounded to recede from the truth as it was in the goſpel; and therefore he openly declared without an attempt to evade the leaſt point; that as the Pope taught doctrines contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt, he could not be deemed a member, much leſs head of the church of Chriſt; for which cauſe he would not acknowledge his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, nor aſſent to the tenets of that church of which he was deemed the head.

But he added, that if in any point to him unknown he had offended the Queen's majeſty, he humbly ſubmitted himſelf to her mercy, if he might obtain mercy conſiſtently with his conſcientious regard to the diſpleaſure of his God.

He was then aſſured, that the Queen was determined to ſhew no mercy to thoſe who obſtinately and preſumptuouſly denied the Pope's juriſdiction.

Being a third time ſummoned before biſhop Gardiner (who was likewiſe Lord Chancellor) and the reſt of the commiſſioners; and having, after many endeavours, at leaſt pretences of endeavouring, to reclaim him from error and hereſy, firmly adhered to the principles and doctrines of the reformation, he was ordered to be degraded;

graded, delivered over to the ſecular power, conveyed to the priſon of Newgate, and in the chapel of that priſon, degraded in the uſual form by the biſhop of London.

His malicious enemies having determined that he ſhould be executed at Glouceſter, of which ſee he had been biſhop, and where he had frequently enforced doctrines repugnant to Popery; he was accordingly conveyed thither under a party of the Queen's guards, and lodged the firſt night after his arrival, at an inn in that city.

Here he devoted himſelf to prayer and meditation: having obtained leave of privacy from the officer of the guard.

Sir Anthony Kingſton, one of his former friends, being appointed one of the commiſſioners to ſee him executed, came to viſit him and burſt into tears at firſt ſight of him; our martyr did not know him; till he ſaid, "My lord "do you know your old friend Antho-"ny Kingſton?" Mr. Hooper then recognized him, and expreſſed a pleaſure at the interview.

On Sir Anthony's ſhewing the utmoſt concern at the circumſtances of his friend, and the office that was allotted him, as well as perſuading him to embrace the only means of ſaving his life; the intrepid Chriſtian hero rebuked his friend, telling him that he was reſolved by the grace of God never to recede from the great truths of the goſpel, which he had delivered amongſt thoſe of that dioceſe and elſewhere; that he regarded neither death nor life when ſet in competition with his adherence to the truth of God's word; which he would maintain, nor ſhould the combined powers of earth and hell warp him from his allegiance to the cauſe of his only maſter Chriſt Jeſus; deſiring at the ſame time the prayers of his friend that he might continue ſtedfaſt unto the end, remembering theſe words, *Be ye faithful unto death, and I will give you a crown of life.*

The knight finding that all which he could urge had no effect upon his friend, who was determined to die by the moſt excruciating means rather than deny his bleſſed Maſter, took his leave of him, and at the ſame time returned him his ſincereſt thanks for former kind inſtruction and admonitions, through which, by the bleſſing of God, he had been brought from a ſtate of ſlavery to the moſt enormous vices, to a ſtate of obedience (though imperfect) to the will and law of God; Mr. Hooper deſired him to give God all the glory for the ſame, and prayed that he might live continually in his fear; on which they both parted in tears.

The ſame evening the Queen's guard delivered Mr. Hooper up to the ſheriffs of Glouceſter, who thought to have conveyed him to the common priſon, but were prevailed on by ſome of his friends to permit him to continue at the inn, and ſet a guard over him there.

Here he was viſited and kindly ſaluted by the mayor and corporation; Mr. Hooper thanked them for this inſtance of their regard, and informed them, that he was come thither to ſeal thoſe doctrines, which he formerly preached to them, with his blood; be-

becauſe he would not recede with many others from the faith of the goſpel, and now openly declare that to be hereſy and falſehood, which he had before ſolemnly taught as the word of God, even of that God who cannot lye.

He then addreſſed the corporation in general thus; *Gentlemen, I hope you have not altogether forgotten what I have ſo repeatedly taught you, I mean the great doctrines of the reformation; it is my earneſt requeſt that there may be an ardent fire, to diſpatch me, and that you would not be grieved above meaſure at my fate, though cruel, but rather rejoice that I am enabled to ſuffer in ſo good, ſo glorious a cauſe.*

This ſaid, he took his leave, retired to a chamber, went to bed, ſlept ſoundly for a time, and then aroſe better fitted for prayer and meditation; having deſired to be private to the very hour of his ſummons.

The day appointed for the execution of the horrid, cruel and unjuſt ſentence was, Saturday Feb. 9, 1555, on which morning the commiſſioners, (amongſt whom was his particular friend Sir Anthony Kingſton) ſent Mr. Hooper word to make preparation for the awful ſcene that approached.

He needed but little warning, being well prepared by prayer and meditation, in which he had as it were anticipated the dire cataſtrophe, and therefore in the ſpace of about an hour after the notice was ſent, he was brought from the inn to the place appointed for the perpetration of the cruel act; which was oppoſite to the College of Prieſts, where he uſed to deliver the doctrines for which he was there to ſuffer a painful death.

He was dreſſed in a gown belonging to his hoſt, had a hat upon his head, and a ſtaff in his hand, being afflicted with ſciatic pains occaſioned by an impriſonment of eighteen months.

A prodigious concourſe of people were aſſembled to ſee his melancholy exit, and tears fell from almoſt every eye. Obſerving this general concern, he ſaid to the ſpectators:

Alas! why are theſe people aſſembled? perhaps they think to hear ſomething from me as they have in times paſt; but I am not permitted to ſpeak, notwithſtanding the cauſe of my death is well known unto them. Formerly when I was appointed their paſtor, I preached unto them doctrines founded on the pure and uncorrupted word of God; and now becauſe I will not recede from the ſame, and openly declare them falſe and heretical, I am ſentenced to this kind of death.

He then kneeled down, and prayed, during which time a box was brought, in which his pardon was ſaid to have been incloſed, upon condition of his recantation; however, at the very ſight of it, he cried, *if you love my ſoul, away with it.*

Finding him thus reſolute, the Lord Chandois, one of the commiſſioners, gave orders for immediate diſpatch, but he deſired permiſſion to finiſh his prayers.

After a very ſubmiſſive and reſigned prayer, in which he ſupplicated the divine aſſiſtance at ſo critical a juncture as that of nature's diſſolution, and by

ſo trying a means; he roſe, ſtripped himſelf to his ſhirt, and fixing a quantity of gun-powder which was given him in a bladder by one of the guard, between his legs, and under each arm, he was faſtened to the ſtake, deſiring the people to ſay the Lord's prayer with him.

Thus prepared for the ſhocking ſentence, he caſt his eye through the crowd, by whom he was eaſily ſeen, being a tall man, and mounted upon a ſtool; he had no ſooner thus ſhewn himſelf, than a general lamentation enſued; on which with eyes and hands uplifted, he again ſought the divine ſuccour in that hour of fiery trial.

He then gave the ſignal that he was ready, and on the executioner's aſking him forgiveneſs, ſaid, *thou needeſt not forgiveneſs of me, againſt whom thou haſt never offended.* The man replied with tears, *O! Sir, I am appointed to make the fire*; *therein*, ſaid our martyr, *thou doſt not offend me: God forgive thee thy ſins, and do thine office I pray thee.*

When the reeds were brought, he embraced thoſe inſtruments of death, placed one bundle under each arm, and gave directions concerning the diſpoſal of the reſt.

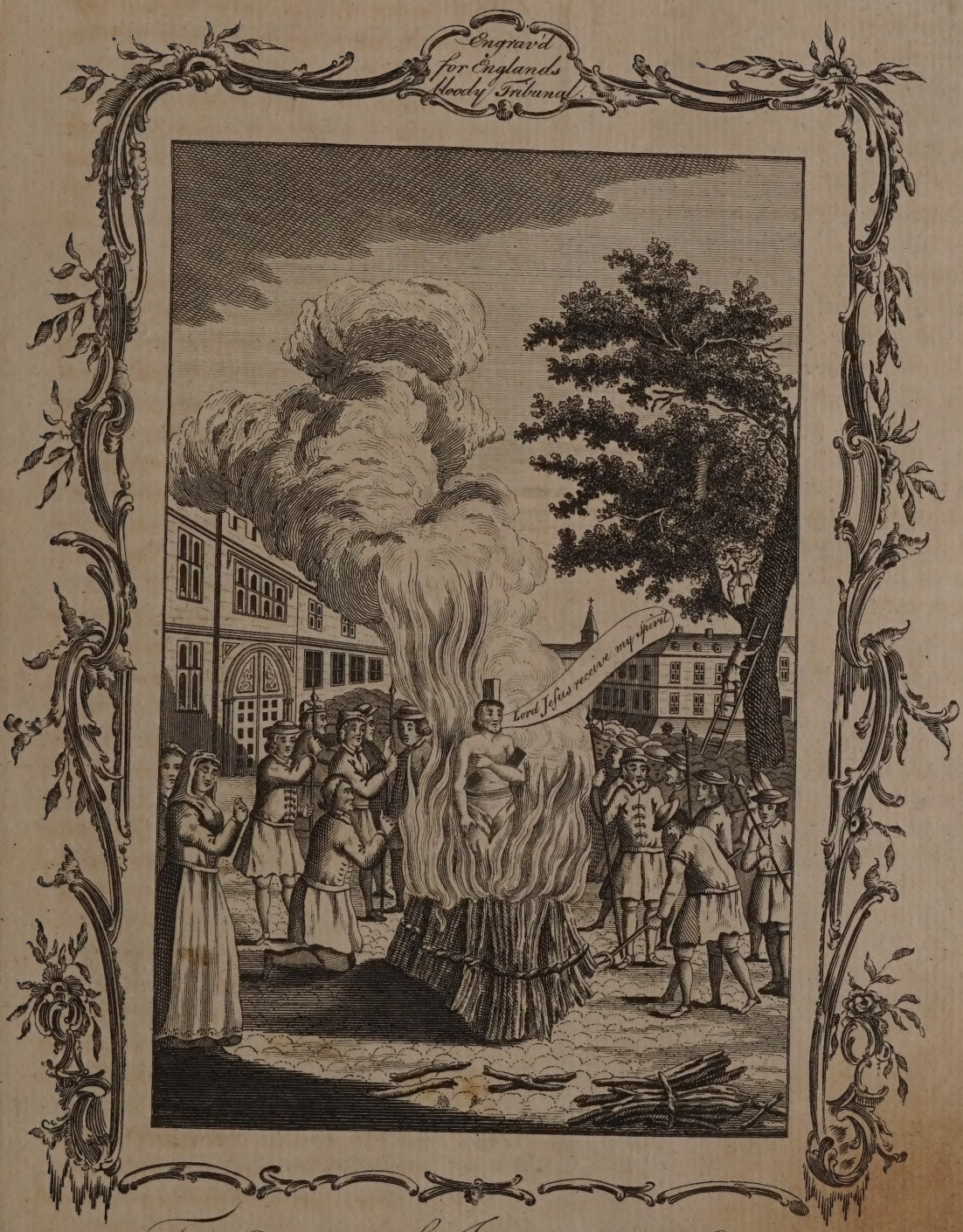
The ſentence was then executed, but the faggots being green, it was ſome time before they kindled, ſo as to ſet fire to the reeds about him, which conſiderably protracted his pain and ſuffering; he was heard to pray in the extremity of his torment with great compoſure; *O Jeſus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my ſoul.*

The wind being very high, his lower parts were conſumed firſt, the fire having but little power above, inſomuch that they were obliged to kindle a new fire with faggots, which done, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and exclaimed as loud as he could, *For God's ſake, good people, let me have more fire.*

During this time his lower parts burnt, but for want of faggots, the fire was not ſtrong enough to reach the upper parts and put a happy end to his torture. His requeſt was complied with by the populace, and the fire at length reached the upper parts of his body, when he was heard to ſay, with a loud voice, *Lord Jeſu have mercy upon me, Lord Jeſu have mercy upon me, Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit.*

Theſe are the laſt words he was heard to utter; tho' when his tongue was ſo ſwelled that he could not ſpeak, his lips were ſeen to move till they ſhrunk to the gums, and having beat upon his breaſt till one of his arms fell off, he continued to beat with the other, till he bowed forward, and to the joy of the ſpectators gave up the ghoſt, being happily relieved from ſuch agonizing torment.

Thus ſuffered this pious divine, and faithful ſervant of Chriſt, the extremity of agony in the fire for the ſpace of almoſt an hour, without once repining at his lot; whoſe fortitude and conſtancy cannot be imputed to any thing but the ſupport of Almighty aid; in order to fulfil that memorable promiſe; *as is thy day, ſo ſhall thy ſtrength be alſo.*



The Burning of John Hooper at Glocester.

The life, principles and ſufferings of ROWLAND TAYLOR, *Vicar of Hadley.*

THIS martyr, for the ſake of Chriſt and his goſpel, was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had been admitted to the degree of doctor of civil and canon law.

His attachment to the pure and uncorrupted principles of Chriſtianity recommended him to the favour and friendſhip of Dr. Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with whom he lived a conſiderable time, till through his intereſt he obtained the living of Hadley.

This charge he attended with the utmoſt diligence and aſſiduity, recommending and enforcing the doctrines of the goſpel not only by his judicious diſcourſes from the pulpit, but alſo by the whole tenour of his life and converſation.

His faith was ſound and conſequently productive of good works; that faith indeed which in ſcripture is deemed the gift of God, is always known by its fruits, according to James ii. 26, *For as the body without the ſpirit is dead, ſo faith without works is dead alſo.*

Thus continued Dr. Taylor promoting the intereſt of the Great Redeemer and the ſouls of mankind both by his preaching and example during the reign of king Edward VI. but on his demiſe and the ſucceſſion of queen Mary to the throne, he eſcaped not the cloud that burſt on ſo many beſide; for two of his pariſhoners, Foſter, an attorney, and Clark, a tradeſman, out of blind zeal reſolved that maſs ſhould be celebrated in all its ſuperſtitious forms, in the pariſh church of Hadley on Monday before Eaſter; nay, they had even cauſed an altar to be built in the chancel for that purpoſe, which being pulled down by the proteſtant inhabitants, they erected another and prevailed with the miniſter of an adjacent pariſh to celebate maſs in the paſſion-week.

The Doctor being employed in his ſtudy, was alarmed at the ringing of the bells at an unuſual time, but went to the church to enquire the cauſe. He found the great doors faſt, but lifting up the latch of the chancel door, he entered, and was not a little ſurpriſed, to ſee a prieſt in his habit prepared to celebrate maſs, guarded by a party of men under arms, to prevent interruption.

Dr. Taylor being vicar of the pariſh, demanded of the prieſt the cauſe of ſuch proceeding without his knowledge or conſent; and how he dared prophane the temple of God with abominable idolatries.

Foſter the lawyer inſolently replied, *thou traitor, how dareſt thou to intercept the execution of the Queen's orders*; but the Doctor undauntedly denied the charge of traitor, and aſſerted his miſſion as a miniſter of Chriſt, and delegation to that part of his flock, commanding the prieſt, as a wolf in ſheep's cloathing, to depart, nor endeavour to infect the pure church of God with Popiſh idolatry.

A very violent altercation then enſued

ſued between Foſter the lawyer and Dr. Taylor, the former aſſerting the Queen's prerogative, and the other the authority of the Canon-law, which commanded that no maſs be ſaid, but at a conſecrated altar.

The prieſt intimidated by the intrepid behaviour of the Proteſtant miniſter, would have departed without ſaying maſs, but Clark ſaid to him, fear not, you have a ſuper altar, (which is a conſecrated ſtone, to lay upon the altar) proceed and do your duty.

They then forced the Doctor out of the church, celebrated maſs, and immediately informed the Lord Chancellor, biſhop of Wincheſter of his behaviour, who ſummoned him to appear before him, and anſwer the complaints that were alledged againſt him.

The Doctor upon receipt of the ſummons chearfully prepared to obey the ſame; and on ſome of his friends adviſing him to fly beyond ſea, in order to avoid the cruelty of his inveterate enemies, he told them that he was determined to go to the biſhop, being ready and willing to declare the motives of his behaviour to the Popiſh emiſſaries, and defend the doctrines he had taught, as well as perſuaded that he could not die in a better cauſe; ſo having committed his people to the care of a pious and faithful miniſter of Chriſt, he repaired to London and waited on the Biſhop, who on the firſt ſight of him upbraided him with the opprobrious term of heretic.

The Doctor denied the charge, and aſſerted his conformity both to the divine inſtitutions, and the laws of his country.

The Biſhop then reviled him groſsly, but was upbraided in his turn with having violated the oath he made to king Henry VIII, and to his ſon king Edward.

The Biſhop pleaded the legality of receding from oaths, which were unlawfully taken, of which he deemed that one, and returned God thanks that the true worſhip and faith were reſtored according to the tenets and practice of the holy Mother-Church of Rome, which was matter of joy to all but heretics.

Taylor replied; God forbid that I ſhould ever depart from the Church of Chriſt, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, to believe the lies, ſuperſtitions and idolatries, which are now inculcated by Popiſh emiſſaries.

Let the Pope renounce his ſuperſtitions and idolatries, and then all true Chriſtians will yield him that obedience that is requiſite; you yourſelf wrote againſt Popery and took the oaths againſt the Pope and his doctrines.

After a long diſpute between the Biſhop and the Doctor, the latter was ſent to the Queen's Bench priſon, for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the maſs, and reviling the practices of the Holy Mother-church as idolatrous.

Having been confined ſome time, he was brought before the court of Arches, were he ſtrenuouſly defended the marriage of prieſts, from the authority of ſcripture, the primitive fathers, and the civil and canon law; inſomuch that though he was married they could not give ſentence of divorce

divorce againſt him; though they urged it as a plea for depriving him of his benefice.

He was ſeveral times ſummoned before the Lord Chancellor with whom he had ſo warmly diſputed; and the chief articles that were exhibited againſt him, were as follow,

Maintaining the validity and legality of the marriage of prieſts.

Denying the preſence of Chriſt's natural body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, or that it was a propitiatory ſacrifice both for the quick and dead, or that it ought to be worſhipped with divine honour.

Affirming his holineſs the Pope to be Antichriſt, and Popery Antichriſtianity.

Theſe things being laid to his charge, he was adjudged and condemned as an Heretic, delivered over to the ſecular power, impriſoned in the Poultry Compter and there degraded by the Biſhop of London.

After the form of degradation was over, his wife, one of his ſons, and a ſervant were permitted to viſit him. He repeated part of the Engliſh liturgy with them, exhorted them to perſevere in the faith of Chriſt as contained in his goſpel; to obſerve the divine commands; adviſed his wife to marry again if an agreeable perſon ſhould offer, gave her an Engliſh common prayer book, and his ſon a Latin book, and then they parted with tears.

On the 5th of February 1555, Dr. Taylor was conveyed from the Compter to Chelmsford in Eſſex, and delivered up to the ſheriff of that county, who paſſed many compliments on his piety and earneſtly intreated him to ſave his uſeful and valuable life, by a recantation of his errors, and return to the Holy Mother-church of Rome. The Doctor being a man of humourous turn of mind as well as intrepid reſolution, told the ſheriff and the reſt of the company about him; that he found he had deceived himſelf, and in all probability ſhould deceive many people in the pariſh of Hadley.

The company taking this as an oblique hint of his intention to recant, ſignified the greateſt ſatisfaction at the Doctor's reſolution; but were not a little damped, when on being required to explain himſelf, he ſaid; *You ſee gentlemen I am a fat, corpulent man, I thought to have died in my bed, and to have been buried in Hadley church-yard; but herein I now find I was deceived, and ſhall likewiſe deceive many worms in Hadley church-yard, which would have had good feeding on my carcaſe.*

As he paſſed over the bridge, he was ſaluted by a poor man, to whoſe family he had often lent his charitable aſſiſtance, with theſe words; *My dear father in Chriſt, and good ſhepherd, may God now ſuccour thee, as thou haſt often ſuccoured me and my poor children.*

When he entered the town of Hadley, the ſtreets were lined by his old pariſhioners; who mindful of his pious labours in the goſpel amongſt them, beheld him with the utmoſt concern; crying out, *Behold our good ſhepherd, who faithfully taught us, and had a fatherly care for us; may God comfort and ſupport him.*

As he paſſed the Alms-houſes, he

desired that he might be permitted to distribute what money he had left, amongst the poor, who inhabited them.

Being conducted as far as Aldham common, he enquired where he was, and what was the occasion of such a concourse of people being assembled there.

The sheriffs told him, it was the spot on which he was destined to suffer, and called Aldham common; on which he immediately alighted from his horse, and said, *God be thanked, I am even at home.*

The spectators in general lamented his fate, and earnestly prayed, that he might be enabled to submit to it with Christian fortitude and resignation. He was ready to address the people, but the sheriffs would not permit him.

He therefore contentedly sat down, and what is very remarkable, displayed his talent for humour even to the very last, for calling his servant; *Joice, said he, come and pull off my boots, I pray thee, thou hast long looked for them, so now take them for thy pains.*

He then prepared himself for the cruel sentence, and thus addressed himself to the people with a loud voice, *Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and am come hither to seal with my blood, those doctrines of the gospel I have delivered unto you.*

This said, he set himself in a pitch barrel, and stood with his back towards the stake, his hands and eyes uplifted to Heaven, praying a considerable time.

Having bound him with chains to the stake, the sheriff commanded one of the populace to set up the faggots, but he pleaded the excuse of lameness; the disagreeable office was therefore transferred to others who executed it very diligently.

He was treated with great indignity during the time of his suffering; and such was the meanness of one of the biggotted sheriffs, that he struck him on the face for repeating the fifty-first psalm in English, reviling him at the same time with these words, *Thou knave, speak Latin, or I will make you.*

At length the fire was kindled, and our martyr suffered with great resolution, calling upon God to receive his departing spirit; till one of the guards striking him with a halbert on the head, he fell down, and was soon entirely consumed by the flames.

THOMAS TOMKINS.

THIS plain honest Christian, was by trade a Weaver, and lived in the parish of Shoreditch, till he was summoned before the inhuman Bonner, and confined with many others, who renounced the errors of Popery, in a prison in that tyrant's house at Fulham.

Under his confinement, he was treated by the bishop, not only unbecoming a prelate, but even a man; for the savage, because Tomkins would not assent to the doctrine of transubstantiation, had bruised him in the face, and plucked off the greatest part of the hair of his beard.

On

On another occaſion, this ſcandal to humanity, becauſe our martyr remained inflexible, nor would deviate in the leaſt point from the pure and uncorrupted truths of the goſpel, in the preſence of ſeveral gentlemen who came to viſit him at his ſeat at Fulham, took this poor honeſt man by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame of a wax candle, in order to try his reſolution.

This burning he endured with great fortitude, commending his ſpirit unto God; till the veins burſt, and ſpirted water into the face of a perſon preſent; who therefore deſired the diabolical Bonner to forbear, ſaying, he had tried him ſufficiently.

Tomkins was afterwards ſummoned before the biſhop, at his conſiſtory-court at St. Paul's; where he delivered the articles of his confeſſion ſealed up in writing, and ſigned with his own hand, as follow:

I Thomas Tomkins, of the pariſh of St. Leonard Shoreditch, in the dioceſe of London, having confeſſed and declared openly heretofore to Edmond Bonner biſhop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at this preſent, that the body of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is not truly and in very deed in the ſacrament of the altar, but only in Heaven, and ſo in Heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the ſacrament of the altar.

And moreover, having likewiſe confeſſed and declared to my ſaid ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholick church, hath allowed, and doth allow the maſs and ſacrifice made and done therein, as a wholeſome, profitable, and godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years paſt, and is at this preſent, that the ſaid maſs is full of ſuperſtition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for the ſoul, and ſo I have called it many times, and take it at this preſent.

Having alſo confeſſed and declared to my ſaid ordinary, that the ſacrament of baptiſm ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwiſe miniſtred, and alſo without ſuch ceremonies, as are generally uſed in the Latin church, and otherwiſe not be allowed.

Finally, being many and often-times called before my ſaid ordinary, and talked withal, touching all my ſaid confeſſions and declarations, both by my ſaid ordinary, and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counſelled by them all to embrace the church, and to recant mine error, in the premiſes, which they told me was plain hereſy, and manifeſt error; do teſtify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually ſtand to my ſaid confeſſion, declaration, and belief, in all the premiſes, and every part thereof; and in no wiſe recant, or go from any part of the ſame. In witneſs whereof, I have ſubſcribed and paſſed the writing, this 26th of September, the year aforeſaid.

Being again brought before the bloody tribunal of biſhops, and preſſed to recant his errors and return to the Mother-church; he maintained his fidelity, nor would ſwerve in the leaſt from the articles he had ſigned with his own hand.

Having declared him an obſtinate and

and damnable Heretic, they delivered him up to the ſecular power, and he was burned in Smithfield in March 1555, triumphing in the midſt of the flames, and adding to the noble company of martyrs, who had preceded him, through the path of fiery trial, to the realms of immortal glory.

WILLIAM HUNTER.

THIS adherent to the cauſe of Chriſt had been trained to the doctrines of the reformation from his earlieſt youth, being deſcended from religious parents, who carefully inſtructed him in the principles of true religion.

When queen Mary ſucceeded to the crown, orders were iſſued to the prieſts of every pariſh, to ſummon all their pariſhoners to receive the communion at maſs, the Eaſter after her acceſſion, and Hunter, who was then nineteen years of age, refuſing to obey the ſummons, was threatened to be brought before the biſhop.

His maſter fearful of incurring eccleſiaſtical cenſure, deſired him to leave him for a time; upon which he quitted his ſervice, went down to Brentwood, and reſided with his father about ſix weeks.

One day finding the chapel open, he entered and began to read in the Engliſh bible, which lay upon the deſk, but was ſeverely reprimanded by an officer of the Biſhop's court, who ſaid to him, *William, why meddleſt thou with the bible? underſtandeſt thou what thou readeſt? canſt thou expound ſcripture?* He replied, *I preſume not to expound ſcripture; but finding the bible here, I read for my comfort and edification.*

The officer then informed a neighbouring prieſt of the liberty the young man had taken in reading the bible; the prieſt therefore ſeverely chid him, ſaying, *Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read the bible and expound it?*

He anſwered as he had done to the officer, and on the prieſt's telling him, that it became him not to meddle with the ſcriptures, he frankly declared his reſolution to read them as long as he lived, as well as reproved the vicar for diſcouraging perſons from that practice, which the ſcriptures ſo ſtrongly enjoined.

The prieſt then upbraided him as an heretic; he denied the charge, and being aſked his opinion concerning the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; he replied, that he eſteemed the bread and wine but as figures, and looked upon the ſacrament as an inſtitution in remembrance of the death and ſufferings of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

William Hunter was then openly declared an Heretic, for not believing in the ſacrament of the altar, and the vicar threatened to complain of him to the biſhop.

A neighbouring juſtice having heard that he maintained heretical principles, ſent for his father and enquired of him concerning his ſon; the old man aſſured him that he had left him, that he knew not whither he was gone; and on the juſtice's threatening to

to impriſon him, unleſs he cauſed him to be apprehended and brought before him; he ſaid with tears in his eyes, would you have me ſeek out my ſon to be burned?

The old man however was obliged to go, in pretence at leaſt, in queſt of him, and by accident meeting him, was aſked by him, if he was ſeeking for him; he replied with tears, he was, and told him that it was by command of the juſtice who threatened to impriſon him.

The ſon, to prevent his father from incurring any danger, ſaid that he was ready to accompany him home, on which they returned together.

The following day, he was taken by the conſtable, kept in the ſtocks four and twenty hours, and then brought before the juſtice; who called for a bible, turned to the ſixth chapter of St. John, and deſired him to give his opinion of the meaning of it, as it related to the ſacrament of the altar.

Having given the ſame explanation as he had done to the prieſt, and perſiſting in his denial of the corporal preſence in the euchariſt, the juſtice upbraided him with damnable hereſy wrote to the biſhop of London acquainting him with ſame; he was ſummoned to appear at the Conſiſtory court held at St. Paul's, where he was reproved as having fallen from the Catholic faith, and exhorted to return to the ſame.

He declared in court that he had not fallen from the Catholic faith, but believed and confeſſed it with all his heart.

He was then aſked by the biſhop to recant what he ſaid concerning the ſacrament of the altar; but declared that by the help of God, he would perſiſt in that faith.

Being urged ſtill farther, and promiſed that on ſuch condition, he ſhould go home unhurt, he ſaid to the biſhop; *My Lord, if you will let me alone and leave me to my own conſcience, I will return to my father, and dwell with him, or elſe with my maſter again, and will keep my opinion to myſelf.* The biſhop anſwered, *I am content, ſo that thou wilt go to church, receive, and be confeſſed.*

This he refuſed at all events, upon which after ſeveral efforts to bring him over, he commanded him to be put in the ſtocks, where he continued two days and two nights with only a cruſt of brown bread and a cup of water.

When the two days were expired, the biſhop came to him, and finding the bread and water lay by him untouched, he ordered ſome of his ſervants to take him out of the ſtocks and bring him down to breakfaſt with them; but they would not ſuffer him to eat with them, becauſe he was a heretic.

He was afterwards repeatedly brought before the biſhop, who, by ſoothing and threatening means ſtrove to bring him to a recantation, but nothing could induce him to recede from the faith he had openly profeſſed; ſentence was therefore prononced upon him by the perſecuting prelate, he was remanded back to Newgate for a time, and from thence to Brentwood; *where, ſaid the biſhop, thou ſhalt be burned.*"

Even after this ſentence he was

called for again, exhorted to recant upon promiſe of preferment; to this he ſaid, *My Lord, I thank you for your great offers, but if you cannot enforce my recantation from ſcripture, I cannot in my conſcience turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all things but dung and droſs for the love of Chriſt.*

He then was carried back to Newgate, and in a few days ſent down to Brentwood, where he was confined in an inn, till the time appointed for his execution.

During his confinement many of his neighbours and country folks reſorted to him; all of whom he exhorted to beware of Popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry.

On the morning of the 27th of March, the ſheriff gave orders for the burning of William Hunter, and the neceſſary preparations were accordingly made.

The ſheriff's ſon who was a friend of William's viſited him at the inn, encouraging him not to fear the men, who were preparing to bring him to the place of execution; he ſaid, that thank God, he was not in the leaſt intimidated, for that he had caſt up his account, and well knew what his adherence to the cauſe of Chriſt would coſt him, his friends then parted from him in tears.

Soon after he was led from the inn, between one of the ſheriff's officers, and his brother Robert; and in their paſſage was met by his father in his tears, who ſaid, *God be with thee ſon William.*

When he came to the place appointed for his execution, he kneeled upon a faggot, repeating the 51ſt pſalm till he came to thoſe words: *The ſacrifice of God, is a contrite ſpirit: A contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe*; he was then interrupted by one of the officers, who told him the tranſlation was wrong, the words being an humble ſpirit, but he ſaid the tranſlation was a contrite heart, on which he was told, that the heretics tranſlated books as they pleaſed.

The ſheriff then produced him a letter from the queen, containing his pardon, if he would recant, but he refuſed life on thoſe terms, went up to the ſtake and was chained to it; ſaying to the ſpectators, Good people, pray for me and make quick diſpatch, *pray for me while you ſee me alive, and I will pray for you.*"

He then took a faggot and embraced it in his arms; and on a prieſt's offering him a book, he ſaid, away thou falſe prophet, beware of him good people, *and come away from their abominations, leſt ye be partakers of their plagues.*

One of the ſpectators addreſſing God to have mercy on his ſoul, was anſwered by the people, Amen.

When the fire was kindled, he caſt his common prayer book into his brother's hand, on which his brother to encourage him reminded him of the paſſion of his dear Redeemer and bid him be of good cheer: He ſaid, *I fear neither torture, nor death; Lord Jeſus receive my departing ſpirit*; and yielded up his life to God who gave it, in defence of the truth of the goſpel, and

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as a confirmation of that divine power which alone can enable weak mortals to ſuſtain the moſt fiery trial, in teſtimony of the truth of that God, who cannot lye, or change, but as his word is the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever.

WILLIAM PIGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT *and* JOHN LAWRENCE, *Prieſts.*

THE emiſſaries of Bonner and Gardiner having given information that theſe perſons maintained religious opinions contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Holy Mother church they were ſummoned to appear before the former at his Conſiſtory-court in London, and ſeverally queſtioned concerning their faith in the corporal preſence at the ſacrament of altar.

Having anſwered and ſubſcribed reſpectively, that in that holy ordinance, there was not ſubſtantially but figuratively the body and blood of Chriſt, they were reprimanded by the court, admoniſhed to recant their heretical opinions, and then diſmiſſed.

On a ſecond examination concerning the ſame tenet, they made the ſame declaration as before, in conſequence of which, the biſhop called to him the two laymen, and with an affected concern for their ſpiritual and temporal intereſts, warmly exhorted them to reject their hereſies, nor expoſe themſelves to death here, and damnation hereafter, by obſtinately perſiſting in diſobedience to the Holy See: but theſe plain and honeſt Chriſtians were too well grounded in the doctrines of Chriſt's pure Goſpel to be thus warped from their adherence, and therefore told the biſhop, that they could not recant conſiſtently with the dictates of their conſciences, nor would they abjure the opinions to which they had ſubſcribed.

On another occaſion biſhop Bonner diſcourſed with Lawrence the prieſt alone, and having demanded of what order he was, was anſwered that he was admitted to prieſts orders eighteen years paſt, that ſome time he was a Black Fryer, and betrothed to a maid whom he intended to have married.

Being examined a ſecond time, as to his opinion of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament; he declared it to be an inſtitution of our bleſſed Lord in commemoration of his death and ſufferings, and that thoſe were greatly deceived, who believed, that his body was verily preſent in the ſame, ſeeing that he had long before aſcended into Heaven and was placed at the right hand of the Glorious Majeſty of the Father.

In a ſhort time, they were all three ſummoned before the biſhop, who (after his uſual hypocritical manner) again exhorted them to recant, embrace the true faith, nor be the wilful cauſe of their own deſtruction; but no conſideration could induce them to recede in a ſingle point, declaring one and all, they would abide by their opinions, becauſe they were founded on the word of God; whereas the other, were meerly of human invention.

The incenſed prelate, on this frank declaration, proceeded to paſs ſentence upon

upon them, as damnable irreclaimable heretics, and then degraded Lawrence according to the general cuſtom of that perſecuting age.

Having paſſed through theſe forms, they were delivered up to the ſheriffs of London, and under their cuſtody conveyed to Eſſex, in which county they had reſided.

Pigot and Knight were ſentenced to be burned, the 28th of March, 1555, the former at Braintree, the latter at Malden; they both ſuffered with amazing fortitude and reſignation, proving to the ſpectators; that, as is the day of the ſincere believer, ſo likewiſe will be his ſtrength.

The following day, John Lawrence was taken to Colcheſter, and carried to the place of execution in a chair, (being unable to walk, through the preſſure of the irons with which his legs were bound, and the weakneſs of his body from want of proper nouriſhment while in priſon) on which he ſat with great compoſure, and triumphantly expired in the cauſe of his glorious maſter, in ſure and certain hope, that whoſoever ſhall loſe his life for his ſake, the ſame ſhall ſave it, and that eternally.

Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, *Biſhop of St. David's.*

THIS worthy and learned prelate having in the former reign, as well as ſince the acceſſion of Mary, been remarkably zealous in promoting the reformed doctrines, and exploding the errors of Popiſh idolatry; was ſummoned among others before the Papiſh and perſecuting biſhop of Winchеſter (who was then likewiſe Lord Chancellor) and other commiſſioners ſet apart for the abominable work of devaſtation and maſſacre.

After ſome previous harangue, the biſhop formally told him, that the Queen and parliament had reſtored religion to the ſtate in which it was, at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII; that he was in the Queen's debt, but her majeſty would conceal the ſame and re-admit him to her favour, if he would return to the holy Catholic church.

Dr. Farrar, undiſmayed by this information, anſwered, that with reſpect to the debt, he ſubmitted it to the Lord Treaſurer, but that his lordſhip might well remember, that upon two former occaſions he had ſolemnly ſworn never to acknowledge the papal juriſdiction over the realm of England, and therefore it was needleſs to rehearſe, what he had already ſo peremptorily declared.

After a long debate, Gardiner ſternly demanded, if he would recant and acknowledge the Popal ſupremacy, and Farrar with a reſolution becoming a true Chriſtian and worthy biſhop of ſouls expreſſed a degree of contempt, that his lordſhip ſhould even think he would recede from an oath he had made to God his maker; to the kings Henry VIII, and Edward VI, and in that to the Queen's majeſty; an oath he could not break conſiſtently with his duty to God, and his regard to the intereſt of the reformed religion in his native country.

This ſpirited behaviour in Dr. Farrar

rar ſo highly incenſed the ambitious Gardiner, that according to his inſolent cuſtom, he treated him with ſcurrility, called him froward knave, and ſaid he ſhould know his fate in a week's time.

Farrar cooly told him, he would ever readily obey his ſummons, but would never retreat from what he had ſolemnly ſworn, at the inſtigation and example of his lordſhip.

On his diſmiſſion from the Chancellor's preſence he was carried to priſon, and there confined, till he was ſent into Wales there to receive his ſentence of condemnation.

When he arrived at Carmarthen, he was delivered to the ſheriff of the county, who preſented him before Henry Morgan then biſhop of St. David's, and Conſtantine the Public Notary, by whom he was committed to the cuſtody of the keeper of Carmarthen gaol.

Biſhop Morgan then, after the example of Bonner, ſent for Dr. Farrar, exhorted him to recant, and on ſuch terms aſſured him of the Queen's clemency, as well as his preferment to an office of dignity in the church.

But our martyr would liſten to no terms, that propoſed a recantation of that to which he had ſworn; the biſhop therefore adminiſtered to him theſe two articles.

1. *Whether he believed the marriage of prieſts, allowed by the laws of the Holy church.*

2. *Whether he believed, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the words of conſecration duly pronounced by the prieſt, the very body and blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially contained, without the ſubſtance of bread and wine.*

Dr. Farrar refuſed to anſwer, till the biſhop produced the commiſſion authorizing him to exact the ſame, and was therefore remanded back to priſon.

At length after various diſputes with the biſhop, he appealed from him as an incompetent judge to Cardinal Pool; notwithſtanding which, ſentence was pronounced againſt him as an heretic, and he was delivered up to the ſecular power, having been previouſly degraded by Morgan.

Thus for his ſtedfaſt adherence to the uncorrupted doctrines of the reformation, and reſolute denial of the Papal juriſdiction in theſe realms, was Dr. Farrar condemned, degraded, delivered up to the ſecular power, and on the eve of Paſſion Sunday in the bloody year 1555, executed in the market place of Carmarthen, amidſt a crowd of ſpectators, it being market day.

As a proof of his courage and conſtancy, the following anecdote is inſerted.

The ſon of a man of diſtinction viſiting him a few days before his execution, and lamenting the cruel fate that awaited him, the Doctor told him, that if he ſaw him once ſtir in the pains of burning, he ſhould then give no credit to his doctrine, but look upon it as the effects of enthuſiaſm.

His reſolution fulfilled his promiſe, and greatly ſurpriſed his friend, who came to condole his fate; for he ſtood motionleſs in the midſt of the flames, holding both his hands till they were burnt to the ſtumps, till one of the

attendants daſhed him on the head with a ſtaff, and ſo put an end to his ſufferings.

As he gave many ſignal inſtances of his ſincere and unſhaken zeal for the honour of Chriſt and the exaltation of his name alone during life, ſo at his death, he ſuffered and expired with a degree of Chriſtian heroiſm that is not to be excelled in this catalogue of eminent martyrs for the Proteſtant cauſe.

RAWLINS WHITE.

SUCH was the virulence of Popiſh rage and malice, during this reign, that they not only vented their infernal fury upon men of eminence and learning, who eſpouſed the Proteſtant cauſe, but arraigned at their bloody tribunal the meaneſt and moſt ignorant of the people, who would not ſubmit to the papal yoke.

Rawlins, who was a poor fiſherman in South Wales, had been peculiarly attentive to the preaching of the goſpel during the late reign, attained to a very competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and became a zealous aſſertor of the Proteſtant doctrines, having wholly renounced the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the Popiſh religion, and conformed to the public worſhip of God according to the Engliſh Common Prayer Book then ſet forth.

Being thus converted to the true faith of Chriſt, he took great pains to inſtruct his ſon in the ſame, cauſing him to read a portion of Holy Scripture every night and morning, till he likewiſe became well-grounded in the principles of true religion as contained in the Goſpel.

Rawlins was not only deſirous of acquiring ſaving knowledge himſelf, but alſo of communicating it to others; inſomuch that he took every opportunity of viſiting his neighbours, and endeavouring to inſtruct thoſe, whom he found deſirous of learning the truth as it is in Jeſus Chriſt.

He continued theſe devout and holy exerciſes to the death of king Edward, when Popery being reſtored, and the pure religion diſcouraged and reſtrained, he uſed to meet privately with his friends, pray, and encourage them to hold faſt the form of ſound words, till he was apprehended by one of the officers of the town on a ſuſpicion of hereſy, brought before the biſhop of Landaff, and by him committed to priſon.

While he was in priſon during the ſpace of a year, ſeveral of his friends ſent him money privately, and he was viſited by many, whom he alſo inſtructed in the faith of Chriſt, and exhorted to beware of Popiſh emiſſaries as wolves in ſheeps clothing.

After a long confinement the biſhop of Landaff ſummoned Rawlins to appear before him, and endeavoured to bring him over to the Popiſh idolatry and ſuperſtition; but all his exhortations proving ineffectual, he told him in anger, that he muſt come to a reſolution either to recant his heretical opinions, or endure the rigour of the law againſt thoſe who maintained tenets repugnant to the doctrines of the holy ſee.

On

On the day appointed for his examination, the biſhop, in the preſence of his chaplains and many of the neighbours aſſembled in the chapel, declared that Rawlins was known not only to maintain heretical principals himſelf, but to inculate the ſame amongſt his acquaintance. Addreſſing himſelf to Rawlins, he told him, that he had frequently, ſince his firſt warning, both there and in his houſe, been admoniſhed to relinquiſh his heretical tenets, and yet had always turned a deaf ear to the moſt ſalutary advice.

He added, that out of clemency, they had once more ſent for him, mildly to endeavour to bring him to an humble ſenſe of his errors, and aſſure him that upon due penitence for the crimes he had committed, both againſt God and the law of his ſovereign, they were diſpoſed to ſhew him mercy; but that if in ſpite of the royal clemency, and admonition of the reverend fathers, he obſtinately perſiſted in his hereſies, they were determined to execute upon him the utmoſt rigour of the law, as a moſt damnable heretic.

Rawlins without the leaſt ſign of fear at the peremptory declaration of the biſhop, told his lordſhip, that he bleſſed God he was a Chriſtian, and held no doctrines contrary to the divine mind and will as revealed in the ſcriptures of truth; if he did, he begged to be convinced of the ſame out of the divine word, to which he determined ever moſt implicitly to conform.

After much more exhortation the biſhop aſſured him, that if he would not recant, he muſt condemn him as an heretic.

Our martyr deſired that he would proceed in his law, but denied that he could condemn him as an heretic, as he maintained no opinion that was not ſupportable by the word of God.

The biſhop then deſired the people preſent to join with him in prayer, that it would pleaſe God to turn his heart, and bring him to the acknowledgment of the true religion.

Rawlins applauded this behaviour of the biſhop as becoming his profeſſion, aſſuring him that if their requeſt was agreeable to the divine will, God would doubtleſs hear and grant the ſame, and that while he was praying to his God, he (Rawlins) would pray to his God, who he knew would hear and perform his deſire.

They all went to private prayer; which finiſhed, the biſhop aſked him, how he found himſelf diſpoſed in his mind? he replied, as he was before they prayed.

Incenſed that no change could be wrought upon him, the biſhop was ready to have read the ſentence, but he was adviſed firſt to ſay maſs, during which ceremony, Rawlins ſtanding at the door of the choir, cried out to the populace; *Bear witneſs that I bow not to this idol*, (meaning the hoſt, which the prieſt held over his head.)

Maſs being performed, he was again warmly admoniſhed to recant, but all exhortation was ineffectual; the biſhop therefore read the definitive ſentence, and he was diſmiſſed, carried to Cardiff, and impriſoned in a place called Coekmarel, a moſt filthy and loathſome dungeon, where he continued, till the writ for his execution came from London.

Upon

Upon the day appointed for the horrid maſſacre, which was March 30th 1555, he was brought from priſon, and in his way to the place appointed for the bloody ſcene, met his wife and children, wringing their hands, and moſt bitterly lamenting his approaching fate.

This affecting ſight drew tears from his eyes, but he ſoon recollected himſelf, and ſtriking his breaſt with his hand, ſaid, *Ah fleſh! ſtayeſt thou me, wouldeſt thou fain prevail? Well, do what thou canſt, by God's grace thou ſhalt not get the victory.*

When preparation was made and the ſtake was ſet, he fell on his knees and kiſſed the earth, ſaying, *Earth to earth, and duſt to duſt; thou art my mother, to thee I muſt return.*

When the critical moment came, and the ſtraw, reeds and wood were placed round him, a prieſt appointed pointed for the purpoſe, ſtood up and harangued the people, it being market day.

When he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, in which he took occaſion to inveigh againſt the opinion of the Proteſtants concerning the ſacrament of the altar, Rawlins aroſe, rebuked him, proved his doctrine to be falſe, and cited as his authority thoſe words of our Lord, *Do this in Remembrance of me.*

The fire being kindled around him, there enſued a moſt ardent flame, in which this good old man held up his hands, 'till the ſinews ſhrunk, crying earneſtly, *O Lord receive my ſoul! O Lord receive my ſpirit!* till he could ſpeak no more.

The flames were ſo vehement about his legs, that they were almoſt conſumed, before the upper part of his body caught the fire; notwithſtanding which he bore the moſt acute and laſting pain, with the utmoſt compoſure and reſignation, adding to the number of thoſe who come out of great tribulation, but ſhall ſtand round the throne of God and of the Lamb, and ſing of the great ſalvation for ever and ever.

He ſuffered for the cauſe of Chriſt in the ſixtieth year of his age, in the memorable year 1555.

GEORGE MARSH, *Miniſter.*

THIS zealous follower of his great Lord and maſter, being deſcended from good parents, was educated from his earlieſt years in the principles of the reformed religion, and became well verſed in the doctrines of the pure goſpel of Chriſt.

He followed for ſome time the buſineſs of farming, and by his honeſt induſtry maintained his family with decency and reputation, but on the deceaſe of his wife, being diſpoſed to ſtudy, he placed his children with his father, quitted his farm and went to Cambridge, where he made ſuch a progreſs in literature, that he received orders from the biſhops of London and Lincoln.

He ſerved as curate in divers pariſhes of Lancaſter, kept a ſchool at Dean, and was a zealous promoter of the true religion, as well as vigorous oppoſer of the idolatries of the church of Rome, du-

during the reign of king Edward VI.

But when Popery raiſed its deſtructive head, Marſh, among many others, became the object of its perſecution, as one that propagated doctrines contrary to the infallible church, and therefore liable to the ſevereſt cenſure and puniſhment.

On hearing that ſearch was made after him, he abſconded for ſome time, and in his retirement often deliberated with himſelf, whether he ſhould fly abroad to ſave his life, or ſurrender himſelf up, in order to ward off the miſchief which threatened his mother and brother, who were ſuppoſed to have concealed him from the perſons who were employed to ſearch out heretics.

During this unſettled ſtate of his mind, he conſulted with his friends, and earneſtly ſought direction of God, that he might be guided in the way, which moſt conduced to his glory and his own ſpiritual and eternal intereſt.

At length, thinking that flight would argue cowardice in the beſt of cauſes, he determined by the grace of God to abide by the conſequence, and accordingly ſurrendered himſelf to the Earl of Derby at his ſeat at Latham in the county of Lancaſter.

When he was brought into the Earl's preſence, he was charged with propagating hereſy and ſowing ſedition amongſt the people, but he denied the charge and declared that he preached no other doctrine, than what was contained in the word of God, and that he always enforced allegiance to his ſovereign, according to the will of God.

Being aſked to deliver a ſummary of his Belief, he declared that he believed in God the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, according to the Creeds of the Apoſtles, the council of Nice, and the Saints Athanaſius, Auſtin and Ambroſe.

A prieſt then preſent proceeded to enquire his opinion concerning the favourite tenet of the church of Rome, relating to the Sacrament; Marſh anſwered in general, that he believed whoſoever received the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt according to his own appointment, did eat and drink his Body and Blood, with all the benefits ariſing from the ſame, becauſe our Lord was ever preſent at his own ordinances.

But this general reply not appearing ſatisfactory, they deſcended to particulars, and peremptorily demanded his opinion, whether or not the elements were changed into the very Body and Blood of Chriſt after conſecration. Our Martyr briefly obſerved, that what he believed he had already declared, and deſired them not to propoſe to him ſuch hard and unprofitable queſtions, in order to endanger his life, and as it were ſuck his very blood.

Incenſed at this reply, the Earl told him, that inſtead of ſeeking his deſtruction, he meant to preſerve his life in this world, and ſecure his happineſs in that which is to come, by converting him from damnable errors and hereſies, and bringing him over to the Holy Mother-church out of which there was no ſalvation.

After many queſtions and exhortations, finding he ſtill perſevered in the faith which oppoſed that of the infalli-

ble church, the Earl gave him pen and ink, and ordered him to write down his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; and on his writing juſt what he had before delivered, he was commanded to be more particular, and then wrote, *further I know not.*

This reſolute behaviour expoſed him to the meaneſt reſentment of his Popiſh proſecutors, who committed him to priſon, and ſuffered no one to come near him, but the keeper who brought him daily the ſcanty allowance of the place.

During his confinement, various attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but as he ſtill remained fixed and determined in his faith, they adminiſtered to him the four following articles, to which if he would not ſubſcribe, the Earl declared he would ſend him to the county jail, and proceed againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity.

1. *Whether the maſs now uſed in the Church of England was according to Chriſt's inſtitution, and with faith, reverence and devotion to be heard and ſeen.*

2. *Whether Almighty God, by the words pronounced by the prieſt, did change the bread and wine after the words of conſecration into the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whether it were received or reſerved.*

3. *Whether the lay-people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was ſufficient for them.*

4. *Whether confeſſion to the prieſt now uſed in England was godly and neceſſary.*

Having retired to conſider on theſe articles he returned and delivered his opinion.

The firſt he abſolutly denied.

The ſecond he anſwered in the very words he had before written.

Concerning the third, he declared that lay-people, according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, ought to receive under both kinds, and that therefore to receive under one kind only was not ſufficient.

As to the laſt, he obſerved, that though auricular confeſſion was a good means to inſtruct ignorant people, it was not neceſſary to ſalvation, becauſe not commanded by God.

To theſe points he added, that his faith in Chriſt, founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God, he never would deny at the inſtance of any living creature, or through fear of any puniſhment whatſoever; and moreover deſired of the earl that his friends might be permitted to viſit him during his confinement.

In a few days he was committed to Lancaſter jail, laid in irons, and arraigned at the bar with the common felons, where they endeavoured to extort from him informations of ſeveral perſons in that county whom they ſuſpected of maintaining heretical opinions; but no means could prevail with him to utter a word that might endanger the lives or liberties of his faithful brethren in Chriſt.

He was likewiſe ſeverely reprimanded for reading aloud to the people who flocked every morning and evening under the priſon window, the litany and prayers of the reformed church, together with ſelect paſſages of

of Holy Writ in the Engliſh tongue; this they termed preaching, and deemed criminal.

Having remained ſome weeks in in confinement at Lancaſter, he was removed to Cheſter, and placed in the biſhop's liberty, where his lordſhip frequently conferred with him, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to bring him to an acknowledgment of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, the maſs, confeſſion, and, in ſhort, of all the tenets and practices of the Mother-church.

When the biſhop found he would not aſſent to a ſingle point, he remanded him back to priſon; and in a few days ſummoned him before him in the cathedral church of Cheſter, where, in the preſence of the mayor, chancellor, and principal inhabitants of that city, both laity and clergy, he cauſed him to take a ſolemn oath, to anſwer truly to ſuch articles as might be objected to him.

After he was ſworn, the chancellor alledged againſt him, that he had preached and publiſhed moſt heretically and blaſphemouſly within the pariſhies of Dean, Eccles, Berry, and many other pariſhes within the biſhop's dioceſe, directly againſt the Pope's authority, the Catholic church of Rome, the bleſſed maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and many other articles.

To theſe charges he anſwered in brief, that he had neither heretically nor blaſphemouſly preached or publiſhed againſt any of the articles but as occaſion ſerved, and as his conſcience obliged him to maintain truth as declared in God's word, and as all then preſent had acknowledged, in the reign of king Edward the Sixth.

Being examined as to every particular article, he modeſtly anſwered, according to the doctrine publickly taught in the time of king Edward VI.

After a confinement of three weeks longer in priſon, Marſh was again brought into the cathedral, where the chancellor made a formal harangue on the biſhop's care of his flock, in order to prevent infection from ſcabby ſheep, and the like; which ended, the former articles were propounded to him; and he ſeverally anſwered *No*.

Being charged with having declared that the church and doctrine taught and ſet forth in king Edward's time, was the true church and the doctrine of the true church, and that the church of Rome is not the true Catholic church; he acknowledged the declaration, and ratified it by a repetition.

Some perſons preſent taking occaſion to aſk him, as he denied the biſhop of Rome's authority in England, whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, who were biſhops of Rome, were not good men, he replied in the affirmative; but reminded them, that they claimed no more authority in England, than the Archbiſhop of Canterbury doth in Rome.

This obſervation reflecting on the validity of the Papal ſupremacy, the biſhop was highly incenſed and treated Marſh with the vileſt abuſe, as a moſt damnable, irreclaimable, unpardonable heretic.

Our martyr mildly expoſtulated with his lordſhip, telling him if he could be

be perſuaded in his conſcience, that the articles propoſed to him were founded on God's word, he would gladly yield in every point; declaring that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinds of hereſy; and then called all preſent to bear witneſs that in all articles of religion he held no other opinion than what was by law eſtabliſhed and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and that in ſuch religion and doctrine, by the grace of God, he would ſtand, live, and die.

He was then for the laſt time demanded, whether he would ſtand to the ſame, being full of hereſies, or forſake them and return to the Catholic-church; and on his heartily declaring he would continue ſtedfaſt and immoveable in the faith of God's word, nor ever return to any church that was not founded on ſcripture authority; the biſhop began to read his ſentence of condemnation, but was interrupted by the chancellor, in order to give him yet an opportunity of recanting.

He reſolutely withſtood the earneſt entreaties of ſeveral people who deſired him to accept of the proffered mercy, nor could even the repeated exhortations of the Biſhop and Chancellor prevail with this eminent ſervant of Chriſt, to deny his Lord and Maſter, and ſubmit to the uſurpation of cruel tyrannical men.

Every endeavour proving ineffectual, the Biſhop proceeded in his ſentence, which ended, he was delivered up to the ſheiffs, who conveyed him to the Northgate priſon, where he continued in a dungeon unto the day of his execution.

Upon the 4th of April 1555, this firm believer was led to the place appointed for the horrid maſſacre, near Spittle-boughton, where the Chamberlain of Cheſter ſhewed him a box containing the queen's pardon, upon terms of recantation; he anſwered, that he would glady accept the ſame, (for he loved the queen) but as it tended to pluck him from God, who was king of kings, and lord of lords, he could not receive it on that condition.

Then turning to the ſpectators, he told them the cauſe of the cruel death which awaited him, and exhorted them to remain ſtedfaſt in the faith of Chriſt, which done, he kneeled, directed his prayer to God for ſtrength equal to the fiery trial, aroſe, and was chained to the poſt, having a number of faggots under him, and a caſk full of pitch and tar hanging over his head.

After having ſuffered exquiſite torture a conſiderable time, (his fleſh being ſo broiled and puffed up, that thoſe who ſtood before him could not ſee the chain with which he was faſtened) with the utmoſt fortitude, he ſpread forth his arms, ſaying, "Father of Heaven, have mercy upon me;" and yielded up his ſpirit.

Thus died in confirmation of the goſpel of Chriſt, a ſincere believer, raiſing by his patient reſignation, the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all the ſpectators, who cried out with extaſy, *Of a truth, God is with him.*

JOHN

The Burning of George Marsh.

JOHN CARDMAKER, *Prieſt, and* JOHN WARNE *Upholder.*

THE former of theſe perſons was educated in the Romiſh religion, being a Friar of the order of St. Francis, till the diſſolution of abbies; when through the preaching and writing of pious and learned divines, he became a convert to the Proteſtant faith, obtained cures in the reformed church, and was an eminent preacher of the goſpel.

In the reign of Edward VI. he was appointed reader at St. Paul's, and prebendary of Wells, in which functions he continued indefatigable, till the acceſſion of Queen Mary, when he was apprehended, together with the biſhop of Wells, and committed to the Fleet, though the laws of King Edward were then in full force.

When the Papal ſupremacy and juriſdiction prevailed in England, and biſhops had authority, by virtue of the ſtatue *Ex Officio*, to proceed againſt heretics, Cardmaker was removed from the Fleet to the Compter, where he contracted an acquaintance with Lawrence Saunders, a godly, ſpiritual perſon, by whom he was animated and encouraged to continue ſtedfaſt in his faith and profeſſion.

In proceſs of time, he was ſummoned to appear before the arrogant and cruel Bonner, who alleged againſt him divers charges.

1. *That after his profeſſion of religion and entering into holy orders, he took a wife and had by her a female child, thereby breaking his vow and the order and ordinance of the church.*

The firſt part of this charge he allowed, but denied his having broken any vow by his marriage; becauſe he was allowed to marry both by the laws of the realm, and alſo by the laws of the church of England.

2. *That he believed and taught, and did ſtill believe that in the ſacrament of the altar under the viſible ſigns, that is, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly, the true and natural body of our Saviour Chriſt.*

He replied, that he had believed and taught it as contained in this article, but he did not then ſo believe and teach.

3. *That the belief of the Catholic church is, that having the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Chriſt there inviſibly but really preſent under the ſaid ſacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Chriſt, or a new body of Chriſt.*

The whole of this he denied.

4. *That it may ſtand well together, the faith of the Catholic church is, that the body of Chriſt is viſibly and truly aſcended into Heaven, and there is, in the viſible form of his humanity; and yet the ſame body in ſubſtance is inviſibly and truly contained in the ſacrament of the altar.*

All this he denied as abſurd and unſcriptural.

5. *That Chriſt at his laſt ſupper, taking bread into his hands, breaking and giving it to his Apoſtles, ſaying, take, eat, this is my body; did inſtitute a ſacra-*

ment there, willing that his body really and truly ſhould be contained in the ſaid ſacrament; no ſubſtance of bread and wine there remaining.

To the firſt part he aſſented, but denied the latter part, and to theſe his anſwers ſubſcribed his name.

For perſiſting in theſe anſwers, he was condemned and ſent to Newgate, where he was viſited by a meſſenger from the council to know whether or not he would recant.

Cardmaker informed the meſſenger, that ſince God of his mercy had opened his eyes to ſee his eternal truth, he had called upon his name to give him his grace to underſtand his word, and was determined, by the aid of the ſame grace, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſame. After ſome debate, concerning the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, the meſſenger finding Cardmaker inflexible in his opinion, departed and acquainted the council with the reſult of his meſſage.

JOHN WARNE, was by trade an upholder, and lived in the pariſh of Walbrook with credit and reputation, being a very pious conſcientious man.

As all who profeſſed the Proteſtant faith in this day of cruel perſecution were liable not only to moleſtation in the performance of religious duties, but alſo to be arraigned at the bloody tribunal of the relentleſs Bonner; Warne among the reſt, was ſuſpected of hereſy, brought before the biſhop, and had the following articles alledged to his charge:

1. *That he believed that in the ſacrament, called the ſacrament of the altar, there is not the very, true and natural body of our Saviour Chriſt in ſubſtance under the forms of bread and wine.*

2. *That he believed that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Chriſt, but that there doth only remain the ſubſtance of material bread, as it is before the conſecration, and that the ſaid bread is no ways altered and changed.*

3. *That he believed, that if the Catholic church doth believe and teach, there is in the maſs, (now uſed in England, and in other places of Chriſtendom) a ſacrifice, wherein there is a ſacrament concerning the body and blood of Chriſt really and truly, then that belief and faith of the church is nought, and againſt God's truth and the ſcripture.*

4. *That neither in Lent paſt, nor any time ſince the Queen's reign, he had been at church, nor heard maſs, nor had been confeſſed, or had received the ſacrament of the altar, and ſaid that he was not ſorry for the ſame, becauſe his conſcience was not defiled, as it would otherwiſe have been.*

Warne was examined at different times, in the preſence of divers perſons upon theſe articles, and on every occaſion declared that he did believe and confeſs the ſame to be true.

At length the biſhop of London having frequently warned him to abjure his heretical tenets and return to obedience to the Holy-church of Rome, but all without effect, the definitive ſentence was pronounced, he was delivered up to the ſheriffs and ſent to Newgate.

On

The Martyrdom of Jn.° Cardmaker & Jn.° Warne in Smithfield.

On the 30th of May 1555, both Cardmaker, and Warne, were conducted under a guard to Smithfield, the place appointed for the execution.

While Warne, having finiſhed his prayers, was preparing for the bloody ſcene, Cardmaker was diſcourſing with the ſheriffs, inſomuch that the friends of the reformation feared he would recant; but theſe apprehenſions ſoon ſubſided, for after his conference with the ſheriffs and a ſhort prayer, he courageouſly went to the ſtake, took his fellow ſufferer by the hand, comforted him, and joyfully ſubmitted to be bound.

The executioner then performed his bloody office, and they both joyfully, yea, triumphantly reſigned this mortal life, for another and a better, even an eternal life of bliſs and glory at the right hand of God, where there are pleaſures for evermore.

THOMAS HAWKES.

THE martyr under immediate conſideration had the advantage of a godly education in the reformed religion, to which he adhered moſt ſtedfaſtly, inſomuch, that finding religion after the death of king Edward began to decline (eſpecially amongſt great families, in one of which he lived) he quitted the ſervice of Lord Oxford, and returned home, where he hoped quietly to enjoy the worſhip of God according to the dictates of his conſcience.

But as there were now Popiſh emiſſaries in every corner, laying in wait to give information if any one was only ſuſpected of favouring the doctrines of reformation, Hawkes was apprehended and brought before the Earl of Oxford, for being unſound in religion, and contemning the ſacraments of the church, in that he had kept a ſon unbaptized three weeks, becauſe he would not ſuffer him to be baptized after the Popiſh manner.

The Earl referred him to biſhop Bonner, and having written that he had refuſed to have his child baptized according to the order of the church now in uſe, left him to his lordſhip's diſcretion.

When brought before the biſhop, he was demanded the cauſe of keeping the child unbaptiſed ſo long, and returned for anſwer that he was bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

It being urged, that baptiſm being a ſacrament contained in the word of God, and incumbent on every Chriſtian, he was conſequently criminal in denying or not conforming to the ſame; he declared that he by no means denied God's inſtitution, but men's invention therein; ſuch as the uſe of oil, cream, ſpittle, ſalt, candle, conjuring water, &c.

After much debate on the ſubject, the biſhop enquired if he would have his child baptized according to the ſervice book, ſet out in the reign of Edward VI. Hawkes aſſured his lordſhip that it was the very thing he deſired from his ſoul,

But this was but meer equivocation to learn his ſentiments, for it appeared on the ſequel, that Bonner's drift was to

to compel him to ſubmit to the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, which however he was not able to accompliſh.

The biſhop and ſeveral doctors had many conferences with him, concerning his belief of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, the maſs, the holy creed, holy water and other ceremonies of the church of Rome; but theſe alſo he rejected as he had done that of baptiſm, becauſe they were contrary to the word of God, by which alone he was determined to be guided and directed in all matters of faith and religion; nay, he boldly told thoſe reverend doctors, that he would credit them in nothing, but what they could prove from the holy ſcriptures.

Bonner at length finding that he could by no means prevail with him to recant his opinions and ſubmit to the church of Rome, ſent him priſoner to the Gate-houſe in Weſtminſter, commanding the keeper to confine him cloſely, nor permit any perſon to converſe with him.

Various methods were tried to bring him over, ſuch as converſation, reading to him, bringing him to hear ſermons and the like, but all proved ineffectual; his conſtant anſwer to all who ſpoke to him on that ſubject, being, *I am no changling*, till Bonner incenſed at his ſtedfaſtneſs told him, he ſhould find him no changling neither, went out and wrote the following paper.

I Thomas Hawkes do here confeſs and declare before my ordinary, Edmund biſhop of London, that the maſs is abominable, deteſtable and full of all ſuperſtition; and alſo concerning the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt (commonly called the ſacrament of the altar) that Chriſt is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven. This I have believed, and this I do believe.

This paper he ordered Hawkes to ſubſcribe; but he refuſed to ſet his name to what he had not written, upon which the haughty prelate ſtruck him on the breaſt, declaring that he would ſeverely chaſtize all ſuch proud knaves in Eſſex.

After theſe conferences without any effect, the biſhop ſummoned him with ſeveral others to appear publicly in the Conſiſtory court at St. Pauls, where the articles and queſtions, together with the bill of confeſſion, were read to him, and he firmly abided by them all.

When the biſhops, doctors and lawyers exhorted him to recant, that they might not be obliged to paſs the ſolemn ſentence upon him; undiſmayed he replied, that, if he had an hundred bodies, he would ſuffer them all to be torn in pieces rather than abjure the faith of Chriſt's goſpel.

On his thus ſtedfaſtly perſevering in the faith, which he profeſſed, the biſhop read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, and five more, and he was ſent back to priſon, where he remained till June following, when he was delivered into the hands of the Lord Rich, who cauſed him to be conveyed to Coxall in Eſſex, where he was burned, June the 10th, 1555.

Our martyr gave many pious exhortations and godly admonitions to his friends who came to viſit him, and

ſome

The Burning of Thomas Hawkes at Foxall.

ſome of them requeſting if it was poſſible, that he would ſhew them ſome token, by which might appear the poſſibility of burning without repining; he promiſed by the help of God to ſhew them that the moſt exquiſite torments were to be endured in the glorious cauſe of Chriſt and his goſpel, the comforts of which were able to lift the believing ſoul above all that men or devils could inflict.

Accordingly it was agreed between them, that if the rage of pain was tolerable, he ſhould lift up his hands towards Heaven, before he gave up the ghoſt.

Soon after, he was led to the place of execution, where being faſtened to the ſtake with a chain, he addreſſed the multitude, and eſpecially Lord Rich the ſheriff, reaſoning with him on the iniquity and dreadful conſequences of ſhedding the innocent blood of the ſaints.

Having fervently prayed to Almighty God, the flames were kindled around him, and he continued in them ſo long, that his ſpeech was taken away by their violence; his ſkin was contracted, and the ſpectators thought he was dead, when on a ſudden, and contrary to all expectation, this eminent and zealous ſervant of God, mindful of the promiſe he had made to his friends, held his hands flaming over his head, and as if in an extaſy of joy clapped them thrice together.

The aſtoniſhed multitude teſtified their approbation of his faith and patience, and his friends, to whom he made the promiſe, were exceedingly confirmed and built up in the moſt holy faith, by being eye-witneſſes to the efficacy of divine ſtrength, which is able to ſupport the ſervants of God under every trial that may befal them for the ſake of the truth as it is in Jeſus.

THOMAS WATTS.

THIS perſon was educated in the reformed religion, and a zealous profeſſor of the Proteſtant faith during the reign of Edward VI. but upon the ſucceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne of England, apprehending that he ſhould be troubled, if not perſecuted, on account of his following a religion contrary to that which was then introduced; he broke up his ſhop (being by trade a linnen-draper) ſold his goods, and diſpoſed of his ſubſtance amongſt his wife and children.

As he lived in the county of Eſſex, he came under the cognizance of Lord Rich, before whom he was brought, and by whom he was demanded the reaſon of his diſobeying the Queen's laws, abſenting himſelf from church, neglecting the maſs, and ſetting up unlawful conventicles contrary to her majeſty's command and example.

Watts replied with compoſure, that if he had offended againſt the law, he was ſubject to the penalty of the law; upon which a juſtice of the peace then preſent enquired of him, from whom he had imbibed his new fangled religion: our martyr upbraided the juſtice with hypocriſy, reminding him, that in the days of the late king, no one inveighed more ſtrenuouſly againſt the

Romiſh doctrines than himſelf, pronouncing the maſs to be abominable, earneſtly exhorting none to believe therein, and that their belief ſhould be only in Chriſt, nay, adding further, that whoſoever ſhould introduce any ſtrange nation to rule here, ſhould be deemed traitor and puniſhed as ſuch.

The Juſtice reviled Watts, as an inſolent, lying knave, and perſuaded the ſheriff, not to regard what he ſaid concerning him.

Information having been given to the ordinary, biſhop Bonner, that Thomas Watts maintained, inculcated and encouraged heretical opinions, he was brought into the Conſiſtory court in London, and there examined, concerning the diſcourſe he had with Lord Rich, and other commiſſioners at Chelmsford; he publicly related the truth, after which, the following articles were alledged againſt him, requiring, according to the practice of the court, a particular anſwer to each article.

1. *It was objected to him, that he did not believe in the ſacraments of the Holy Catholic church, as the Catholic church of Rome, and other churches, members of the ſame have believed and taught, but deſpiſed the ſame.*

To this he anſwered, that he believed in all the ſacraments according to Chriſt's inſtitution, but not according to the church of the biſhop of Rome; that he believed according to the preaching of ſeveral miniſters of the goſpel, who preached the word of God truly and ſincerely.

2. *That he believed and taught others, that the ſubſtance of material bread and wine do not remain in the ſacrament of the altar after conſecration.*

To this he replied, that he believed, that Chriſt's body is now in Heaven, and no where elſe, and that he never would believe that Chriſt's body was in the ſacrament.

3. *That he believed the maſs to be abominable.*

To this he frankly anſwered in the affirmative, declaring that he would never recant that opinion.

4. *That he believed, that confeſſion to a prieſt was not neceſſary.*

To this he ſaid, he did not believe that the prieſt could abſolve him of his ſins; but allowed that it was good to aſk ſpiritual advice of the prieſt.

5. *That in the open ſeſſions, he confeſſed that he had refuſed to come to the church, to hear maſs, and receive the ſacrament of the altar; becauſe, according to the ſervice of the Church, ſet out in the days of King Edward the Sixth, ſuch duties were deemed abominable, heretical, and ſchiſmatical; that he declared that all that was done in the church, upon the acceſſion of her majeſty, was abominable, heretical, ſchiſmatical and unſcriptural; and alſo that he uttered before the commiſſioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the injury of his ſoul and bad example of the people preſent.*

To this he anſwered, without the leaſt attempt to evade, that he declared his opinion as in the article abovementioned, and begged of God that he might live and die in that faith.

Theſe and other articles of leſs moment were propoſed to him, and his anſwers minuted down, being read in court;

Thomas Watts taking leave of his Wife and Children.

court; the biſhop uſed his efforts to bring him to a denial of his errors, and to obedience to the holy Mother-church.

But Watts remaining inflexible, and beſeeching of God, that he might be enabled to hold out to the end in the true faith of Chriſt; ſentence of condemnation was pronounced, and he was delivered up to the ſheriffs of London, who committed him to Newgate, from whence, he was ſent down to Chelmsford, where he was in company with Thomas Hawkes and others, who were ſent down to Eſſex to be burned, and they all joined in prayer together.

When his wife and ſix children came to viſit him, he thus addreſſed them.

My dear wife, my good children, the time of my departure is at hand, therefore, henceforth I know you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, ſo I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you to obey and fear: beware that ye turn not to this abominable Popery, as a teſtimony againſt which, I ſhall ſhortly, by God's grace, ſhed my blood. Let not the murdering of God's ſaints cauſe you to recant, but take occaſion thereby more earneſtly to contend for the faith once delivered to the ſaints; my dear children, I truſt God will be a merciful father unto you.

Two of his children were ſo moved with this addreſs that they offered to be burned with him; he then embraced them, took his leave, was carried to the fire, and there quietly yielded up his ſpirit, into the hands of that God who gave it, ſaying, *into thy hands, O God, I commend my ſpirit.* Such was the attachment of this ſtedfaſt believer to the cauſe of his dear Lord and Maſter, that the moſt moving ſpectacle of his diſconſolate wife, and ſix innocent babes could not in the leaſt ſtagger his reſolutions, but he perſevered againſt all worldly conſiderations, animated by the aſſurance of an immortal crown of glory.

JOHN BRADFORD, *Divine, and* JOHN LEAFE, *an Apprentice.*

MR. BRADFORD was a native of Mancheſter, and received an education ſufficiently liberal to qualify him for the more exalted offices of life, having attained to a conſiderable knowledge, in claſſical and mathematical literature.

When he arrived to years of maturity, he became ſecretary to Sir John Harrington, who was treaſurer to Henry VIII.

Being always of a ſtudious turn of mind, he quitted his office of ſecretary, and went to Cambridge, where he made ſo great improvement, that in the ſpace of one year, that univerſity conferred upon him the degree of maſter of arts, and he was ſoon after admitted to a fellow-ſhip in Pembroke-hall.

Martin Bucer, a zealous advocate for the reformed religion being at that time at Cambridge, diſcovered great regard for Mr. Bradford, and perſuaded him to follow thoſe ſtudies as moſt conduced to qualify him for the work of the miniſtry.

Bradford having that diffidence of himſelf, which generally is the attendant on real merit, excuſed himſelf from

from taking upon him that important office as not ſufficiently qualified, but Bucer at length brought him to conſent, to enter on the ſolemn work, and he was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Ridley biſhop of London, who made him a prebendary of St. Pauls, where in rotation he preached three years, the true goſpel of Chriſt; namely, the doctrines of ſalvation by faith and repentance unto life, together with the neceſſity of a life of holineſs, as the evidence of that faith, at the end of which, the Proteſtant cauſe ſuffered a violent ſhock, in the death of the pious young king.

After the acceſſion of Queen Mary, Mr. Bradford continued his courſe of preaching, till he was obſtructed by the following accident.

In the firſt year of the reign of that princeſs, Bonner then biſhop of London, ordered Mr. Bourn a canon of St. Paul's and afterwards biſhop of Bath, to preach a ſermon, wherein he took occaſion from the goſpel of the day, to juſtify Bonner, then reſtored to his biſhopric, in preaching on the ſame text that very day four years, and enforcing doctrines, for which according to the terms of the preacher, he was moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the Marſhalſea and there kept priſoner, during the time of king Edward VI.

Theſe words occaſioned great murmuring amongſt the people, nay, ſo incenſed were they, that one of them caſt a dagger at the preacher, and threatened to drag him from the pulpit, inſomuch that he was obliged to withdraw, and deſired Mr. Bradford to advance, and endeavour to appeaſe the people, who were ſo tumultuous, that the command of the Lord Mayor could not quell them.

When Bradford appeared in the pulpit, the people ſhouted, *God ſave thy life Bradford*, and then ſilently attended to his ſpeech, in which he reproved their diſorderly behaviour in the church, and exhorted them to peace and quietneſs; upon which the uproar ceaſed, and the congregation peaceably diſperſed.

In the afternoon of the ſame day, Bradford preached at Bow church, and took occcaſion to rebuke the people for their tumultuous behaviour at St. Paul's church in the morning.

Three days after this incident, he was ſummoned before the Queen and her council, and there charged, as the cauſe of the late riot about Bourn's preaching at St. Paul's, though he was the very perſon that preſerved him from the outrage of the people, and appeaſed the tumult.

He was alſo accuſed for preaching to the people at Bow church, though he then warmly exhorted them to peace. But nothing that he could alledge, in vindication of his inocence, availed, for he was committed to the Tower, on a charge of ſedition, becauſe they found he was a popular man, and greatly careſſed by the people.

He was confined above a year and ſix months, till the Popiſh religion was reſtored by act of parliament.

Then they took occaſion to examine him concerning his faith, becauſe he could not ſpeak againſt the doctrine of the church of Rome, without incurring

curring much danger; whereas, while the laws of King Edward were unrepealed, he might freely ſpeak according to the dictates of his conſcience and the rules of God's moſt holy word.

The chief articles alledged againſt Mr. Bradford, were his denying the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, or the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, and aſſerting, that wicked men did not partake of Chriſt's body in the ſaid ſacrament.

Many biſhops and learned men were appointed to confer with him, but their arguments had no weight, becauſe they were not founded on ſcripture, but human tradition.

As he would admit of no tenets or practices but what were contained in the revealed word of God, he was accounted an heretic, firſt excommunicated, then condemned and committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, by whom he was conducted, the night before his execution, to the priſon of Newgate, and the following day, brought to the ſtake with the martyr, which ſucceeds in the order of this catalogue.

JOHN LEAFE was apprentice to a tallow-chandler, and at the age of nineteen years, upon an information of hereſy, was committed to the Compter by the alderman of the ward in which he lived.

Being afterwards brought before biſhop Bonner, and by him examined concerning his faith in the ſacrament of the altar and other points; he was at length condemned and delivered over to the ſecular power for not believing, that the bread and wine in the ſacrament, by the words of conſecration, are changed into the very body and blood of Chriſt really and ſubſtantially.

When theſe two martyrs were brought to the place of execution, Bradford fell proſtrate on one ſide of the ſtake, and Leafe on the other; here they continued praying ſome minutes, till Mr. Bradford was deſired by the ſheriff to make an end and ariſe, the throng of the people being great. On this notice they both aroſe, went to the ſtake, were faſtened, and had the reeds and wood put about them.

Bradford lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, exclaimed, O England, England, repent thee of thy ſins; beware of Antichriſt, beware of Idolatry, take heed they do not deceive you. Then turning to the young man, that was to ſuffer with him, he ſaid, *Be of good comfort, brother, the time of our deliverance is at hand.* The young man ſaid, *Lord Jeſus receive our departing ſpirits.*

They both endured their ſufferings with the utmoſt compoſure and reſignation, repoſing an unſhaken confidence in that Redeemer, who is able and willing to keep what is committed to him, to the great day.

MARGARET POLLEY.

The firſt Female Martyr.

IF we view the tranſactions of theſe inhuman butchers of mankind, we ſhall find them tainted with as much cowardice as inhumanity, and that they

embraced every opportunity of exercising their cruelty, tyranny, and usurpation, even over the tender sex, whom nature seems to have guarded by placing a kind of favourable instinct in the male.

When Margaret Polley was brought before Maurice bishop of Rochester her ordinary, or diocesan, his lordship, according to the pontifical solemnity of the church of Rome, rose out of his splendid chair, and in solemn parade, thus began to harangue her.

We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our meer office in a cause of heresy, against thee Margaret Polley, of the parish of Popingberry, in our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular the ensuing articles.

To these, all and singular, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given.

The oath being administred by the Official, the bishop looked stedfastly at the woman, and demanded of her a peremptory answer to each of the following articles.

1. *Are not they heretics, who maintain and hold other opinions, than our holy Mother and Catholic church doth?*

Ans. They are indeed heretics and grosly deceived, who hold and maintain doctrines contrary to the will of God, contained in the holy scriptures, which I sincerely believe were written by holy men immediately taught and instructed by the Holy Ghost.

2. *Do you hold and maintain that in the sacrament of the altar, under the form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of Christ, and that the said body is verily in Heaven only, and not in the sacrament.*

Ans. What I have learned from the holy scriptures, those living oracles of God, I do, and will stedfastly maintain, viz. that the very body which was crucified for the very sins of all true believers, ascended into Heaven, is there placed at the right hand of the Majesty on high; that such body has ever since remained there, and therefore cannot, according to my belief, be in the sacrament of the altar.

I believe that the bread and wine in the sacrament are to be received as symbols and representatives of the body and blood of Christ, but not as such really and substantially.

I think, in my weak judgment, that it is not in the power of any man, by pronouncing words over the elements of bread and wine, to transubstantiate them into the real body and blood of Christ.

In short, it is my belief, that the eucharist is only a commemoration of the death of our Saviour, who said, *As oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.*

These pertinent and frank replies greatly provoked the haughty prelate, who exclaimed against the woman, as an obstinate heretic, and after much scurrilous language, told her that she was a silly woman, knew not what she said, and that it was the duty of every Christian to believe as the Mother church hath and doth teach.

Question from the bishop. *Wilt thou, Margaret Polley, recant the errors*

rors which you maintain, be reconciled to the Holy church, receive the remiſſion of ſins, that your ſoul may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus?

Anſ. My Lord, I cannot believe otherwiſe than I have ſpoken, becauſe the practice of the church of Rome is contrary not only to reaſon, to my ſenſes, but alſo the word of God.

The biſhop then pronounced ſentence of condemnation againſt her, after which ſhe was carried back to priſon, and there remained celebrating the praiſes of God for about the ſpace of a month.

She was a woman in the prime of life, pious, charitable, humane, learned in the ſcriptures, and beloved by her neighbours and acquaintance.

She was repeatedly exhorted to recant, but refuſed all offers of life, chuſing glory, honour, and immortality hereafter, rather than a few days here in this vale of tears, and thoſe purchaſed at the expence of truth and conſcience.

When the fatal day arrived, ſhe was conducted from the biſhop's priſon at Rocheſter to Tunbridge, where ſhe was burned, ſealing the truth of what ſhe had teſtified with her blood, and ſhewing that the God of all grace, out of the weakeſt veſſel can ordain ſtrength, and cauſe the meaneſt inſtruments to magnify the glories of his redeeming love.

DIRICK CARVER, *and* JOHN LAUNDER.

DIRICK Carver of Brighthelmſtone, in the county of Suſſex, brewer, and John Launder of Godſtone, huſbandman, were apprehended in the dwelling houſe of the former, as they were at prayers, and ſent up to the Queen's Council at London, where being examined, and not giving ſatisfactory anſwers to the queſtions propoſed, they were committed priſoners to Newgate, to wait the leiſure, and abide the determination of the cruel and arrogant Bonner biſhop of London.

Launder on his examination confeſſed, that the occaſion of his coming to Brighthelmſtone, was to tranſact ſome buſineſs for his father, and that hearing that Mr. Carver was a great promoter of the doctrines of the reformation, he went to his houſe, in order to join in prayer to God, with the pious Chriſtians which reſorted thither, and ſo was apprehended by Mr. Gage the officer appointed for that purpoſe.

He alſo confeſſed that there is here on earth, one whole and univerſal Catholic-church, the members of which are diſperſed throughout the world; that he believed the ſame church doth ſet forth and teach only two ſacraments, which are baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper; that whatſoever doth teach or uſe any more ſacraments, or any other ceremonies, he doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart.

He

He further ſaid and believed, that all the ſervice, ſacrifices and ceremonies, now uſed in this realm of England (and in other parts of the world, where they are uſed after the ſame manner) are erroneous, contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſt's Catholic church, whereof he believeth himſelf to be a member.

He alſo confeſſed and believed, that in the ſacrament, called the ſacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Chriſt in ſubſtance; but that when he did receive the material bread, he received the ſame in remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion, and no otherwiſe.

Moreover he confeſſed, ſaid, and believed, that the maſs, now uſed in the realm of England, or elſewhere in Chriſtendom, is abominable, and directly againſt God's word, and his Catholic church, and that there is nothing ſaid or uſed in it, good and profitable; for tho' the *Gloria in excelſis, the Creed and Pater noſter*, and other parts of the maſs, are good in themſelves, yet being uſed amongſt other things that are ſuperſtitious, the ſame become corrupt alſo. Laſtly, he confeſſed and believed, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any prieſt, or to any other creature, but every perſon ought to confeſs his ſins to God alone, becauſe no perſon had any authority to abſolve any man from his ſins.

Having openly acknowledged and maintained theſe opinions, in the biſhop's Conſiſtory court, and refuſing to recant the ſame, he was condemned and delivered over to the ſecular power, and afterwards burned at Steyning, July 23, 1555.

Dirick Carver being examined by biſhop Bonner, concerning his faith in the ſacrament of the altar, the maſs, auricular confeſſion, and the religion then taught and ſet forth in the church of England, delivered the following as his invariable tenets, becauſe founded on the infallible word of the only living and true God.

With reſpect to the firſt point, he declared, that he had and did believe, that the very ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt, is not in the ſacrament of the altar, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in that ſacrament, after the words ſpoken by the prieſt, but the ſubſtance of bread and wine.

As to the maſs, he believed there was no ſacrifice in it, nor any ſalvation for a Chriſtian, except it was ſaid in the mother tongue that he might underſtand it.

Concerning auricular confeſſion, he believed that it was neceſſary to apply to a prieſt for ſpiritual council; but that the abſolution of the prieſt by the impoſition of hands, was not profitable to ſalvation, acknowledging at the ſame time, that he had not been confeſſed, nor received the ſacrament ſince the coronation of the queen.

With reſpect to the laſt point, he declared it as his opinion and belief, that the faith and religion then taught and ſet forth was not agreeable to God's word, and that biſhop Hooper, Mr. Cardmaker, Rogers, and other pious men who were lately burned, were

were ſound divines and preached the true doctrine of Chriſt as he believed.

Being further examined, he confeſſed, that ſince the Queen's coronation, he had the bible and pſaltar read in Engliſh divers times, at his houſe in Brighthelmſtone, and that about twelve months then paſt, he had the Engliſh litany ſaid in his houſe, with other Engliſh prayers.

Sentence of condemnation having been paſſed on him, at the ſame time as on Launder, he was ordered to be executed at Lewes in Suſſex.

When he came to the ſtake, he kneeled down and prayed, and when he had finiſhed his prayers, he aroſe and thus addreſſed the ſpectators; *Dear brethren and ſiſters, bear witneſs that I am come to ſeal with my blood the goſpel of Chriſt, becauſe I know that it is true. Many of you know, that the goſpel hath been truly preached to you here in Lewes, and now it is not ſo preached, and becauſe I will not here deny God's goſpel, I am condemned to die.* Upon this, the ſheriff ſaid, "*if thou doſt not believe in the Pope, thou art damned body and ſoul*; but Dirick pitied his blindneſs, and begged of God to forgive his errors.

The fire was then kindled around him, and he expired calling out, *O Lord have mercy upon me! Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit.*

JOHN DEULY, *Gent.* JOHN NEWMAN, *Pewterer, and* PATRICK PACKINGHAM.

THE two former of theſe, as they were travelling into Eſſex on a viſit to ſome friends, were accidentally met by Mr. Tyrrell, juſtice of the peace for the ſaid county, who on a ſuſpicion of hereſy, cauſed them to be apprehended and ſearched, and took from Mr. Deuly a confeſſion of faith in writing, concerning the ſacrament of the altar, together with certain notes collected from the holy ſcriptures.

The juſtice immediately ſent Deuly and Newman to London, and with them a letter, to be preſented to the Queen's council, together with the papers he found upon the former.

The council admoniſhed them to yield obedience to the Queen's laws, but their advice proving ineffectual, they referred them to biſhop Bonner.

On the 28th of June 1555, Deuly and Newman, with Patrick Packingham, were brought before the biſhop at his palace in London.

Having examined the two former upon their confeſſions, which Tyrrell had found upon them, and finding them inflexibly to adhere to the ſame, he uſed his cuſtomary exhortations; but Deuly ſaid, *God ſave me from your counſel, and keep me in the mind I am in, for that which you count hereſy, I take to be the truth.*

They were commanded to appear in

the biſhop's Conſiſtory court, where the following articles were jointly and ſeverally againſt them.

1. *That they were now in the dioceſe of London, and under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of London.*

Theſe they acknowleged to be true.

2. *That they had not, nor did believe that there is a Catholic church of Chriſt here on earth.*

This they ſeverally denied; for that they did believe the Holy Catholic church, which is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt being the head; and that where two or three are gathered together in Chriſt's name, they are the members of the ſaid Holy Catholic church, which is diſperſed throughout the world; which church doth preach God's word truly, and doth alſo miniſter the two ſacraments, baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord according to his bleſſed word.

3. *That each of them had not nor did believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the ſaid Catholic church.*

They ſeverally anſwered, that they did believe, that this church of England uſing the faith and practice that is now uſed, is no part or member of the aforeſaid Holy Catholic church, but is the church of Antichriſt, the biſhop of Rome being the head thereof.

4. *That they had believed and did believe, that the maſs, now uſed in the church of England, was abominable, and blaſphemy againſt God's word.*

They anſwered in the affirmative, for Chriſt in his Holy Supper inſtituted the ſacrament of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worſhipped and idolized; it alſo appeareth by his commandment, that we ought not to worſhip the ſacrament of bread and wine, becauſe it is plain idolatry; for the commandment ſaith, thou ſhalt not bow down to them nor worſhip, meaning plainly, any created thing; beſides, it is plain from many paſſages in ſcripture, that the body of Chriſt is in Heaven, and not in the ſacramental bread and wine, and therefore that it is idolatry to worſhip them.

5. *That they had believed and did believe, that auricular confeſſion, now uſed in the realm of England, was not profitable, but contrary to God's word.*

To this they all anſwered in the affirmative.

6. *That they had believed, and did believe, that abſolution given by the prieſt, hearing confeſſion, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the ſame.*

To this they anſwered, that remiſſion of ſins is only to be obtained from God, through the blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

7. *That they had believed and did believe, that chriſtening of children, as it is uſed now in the church of England, is not good nor allowable by God's word. Likewiſe confirming of children, giving of Orders, ſaying mattins and veſpers, anointing or oiling of ſick perſons, making holy bread and holy water, with other rites of the church.*

To this they replied, that chriſtening of children, or the ſacrament of baptiſm is altered and changed, for John

John Baptiſt uſed nothing but preaching of the word and water, as it appears when Chriſt required to be baptized of him; for we do not read that he aſked for any cream, or oil or ſpittle, or wax or ſalt but uſed meerly water, nor was this water conjured, but the ſame as it was before.

8. *That they had believed and did believe, that there are but two ſacraments in Chriſt's Catholic church; the ſacrament of baptiſm and the ſacrament of the altar.*

To this they briefly replied, that they believed no more, except they would make the rainbow a ſacrament; for there is no ſacrament but hath a promiſe annexed it.

They then objected one article to Packingham alone; which was, *that he, Patrick Packingham, being of the age of twenty one years at leaſt, did irreverently ſtand in the great chappel, having his cap on his head during the time of Maſs, on the 23d of June; that he refuſed holy bread and holy water at the prieſt's hands, thereby contemning and deſpiſing both the maſs, holy water, and holy bread.*

This article he acknowledged to be true.

Upon the fifth of July, the biſhop of London proceeded againſt John Deuly, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, in his Conſiſtory court at St. Paul's after the uſual form, where, after articles and anſwers were publicly read, they were exhorted to recant, and both promiſes and threats were uſed by the biſhop, in order to prevail with them, but on their remaining ſtedfaſt in their faith and profeſſion, they were condemned as heretics, and delivered into the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, who kept them in priſon, till they were commanded by writ to ſend them to their ſeveral places of execution.

Mr. John Deuly was conveyed to Uxbridge, where he was chained to a ſtake, and expired ſinging a pſalm, while the flame was burning around him.

Dr. Story a prieſt, being preſent at his execution, and incenſed at his ſinging, commanded one of the executioners to throw a faggot at him; thus cruelly was he inſulted by Popiſh inſolence, while he was ſuffering the rigour of Popiſh barbarity.

Packingham was executed ſome days after, at the ſame place, and died in full aſſurance of faith, as did Newman, at Saffron-Walden in Eſſex, giving glory to God.

Six Perſons executed together at Canterbury.

WILLIAM COKER, William Hooper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer, inhabitants of the countymen, in the month of July 1555, were brought before Dr. Richard Thornton ſuffragan of Canterbury and biſhop of Dover, Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon, Richard Fawcet, and Robert Collins, of the ſpiritual court of Canterbury, upon divers articles before exhibited againſt them.

WIL-

WILLIAM COKER declared he would anſwer no otherwiſe than as he had done before.

Being offered ſix days reſpite to conſider of it, he refuſed their affected clemency, ſo the condemnation was paſſed upon him.

WILLIAM HOOPER ſeemed at firſt to aſſent to the faith and determination of the Catholic church, but on ſerious reflection he retracted, and firmly profeſſed his faith in the pure goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, as well as renounced the errors of Popery.

He was alſo cruelly ſentenced to be burned.

HENRY LAWRENCE was examined, denied auricular confeſſion, and refuſed to receive the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe the order of the holy ſcripture was changed in the order of the ſaid ſacrament.

Being charged with not putting off his cap, when the ſuffragan mentioned the ſacrament, and did reverence the ſame, he ſaid, there was no need for him to put off his cap.

Being likewiſe oppoſed concerning the verity of the ſacrament given to Chriſt's diſciples, he affirmed, that even as Chriſt gave his very body to his diſciples, ſo likewiſe Chriſt himſelf ſaid, he was a door, &c. adding moreover, that as he ſaid before, ſo he ſtill ſaid, that the ſacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion.

At length, being required to ſubſcribe theſe articles, he wrote under the bill of examination, *Ye are all of Antichriſt, and him ye follow:* his hand was then ſtopped and he could write no farther, ſentence having been pronounced againſt him.

RICHARD COLLIER being examined about the ſacrament of the altar, (as the Papiſts term it) anſwered, that he did not believe there is the real and ſubſtantial body and blood of Chriſt, but only bread and wine, and that it is moſt abominable, moſt deteſtable, and moſt wicked to believe otherwiſe, upon which he was alſo condemned.

RICHARD WRIGHT appearing at the ſame bloody tribunal, was aſked by the Judge, what he believed of the real preſence in the ſacrament? He replied, that as touching the ſacrament of the altar and the maſs, he ſaid he was aſhamed to ſpeak of it, nor would he, therefore, by any means allow it.

He was then condemned amongſt the reſt.

WILLIAM STEER, of Aſhford, appeared at the Chapter-houſe of Canterbury, and was required to anſwer to the articles laid before him by the Judge.

Steer denied his authority, and was therefore deemed guilty of denying the authority of the Queen.

He alſo obſerved, that Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, now in priſon, was his dioceſan, and required of Richard Dover to ſhew his authority from the archbiſhop, or otherwiſe he would deem it invalid; with reſpect to the ſacrament of the altar, as he found not the Popiſh belief

lief contained in the ſcripture, he entirely diſbelieved it.

Sentence was then pronounced, and he together with the other five, being condemned for profeſſing the truth of Chriſt's goſpel, were delivered over to the ſecular power, faſtened to the ſtake, and burned together at Canterbury, Auguſt 31, 1555, freely yielding up their lives as a ſacrifice to God, in teſtimony of their regard to the word of truth, which abideth for ever and ever.

GEORGE TANKERFIELD.

THIS perſon was educated in the Popiſh religion and a very zealous adherent to the church of Rome, till the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, when the horrid cruelties exerciſed on thoſe who diſſented from that church, prejudiced his mind again ſuch principles as produced the moſt inhuman and barbarous practices.

In this ſtate of doubt concerning the validity of the opinions in which he had been bred, he determined to read the ſcriptures, ſought the directions of unerring wiſdom, and the teaching of that ſpirit which alone can lead into all truth, by the grace of God ſoon attained to a very competent knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformed Church, as well as detected the errors, ſuperſtition and idolatry of the Popiſh creed.

Thus founded in the great truths of the goſpel, he communicated his ſentiments to his moſt intimate friends, whom he exhorted to ſearch the ſacred records, nor be blindly led by ſuch as impoſed their creeds, which, on examination, he found contrary to the divine mind and will as contained in the divine word.

This deviation from the principles he had before ſo warmly profeſſed, and zealouſly maintained, excited the aſtoniſhment of his acquaintance, and raiſed the reſentment of the Popiſh faction, and eſpecially thoſe who were more immediately concerned in its reſtoration; inſomuch that Sir Roger Cholmondeley and Dr. Martin, the Queen's commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, diſpatched a yeoman to Tankerfield's houſe, in order to apprehend and bring him before them.

Our martyr, it ſeems, was by trade a Cook, for being abſent when the yeoman came in queſt of him, a pretence was uſed that he was required to ſerve up a dinner at the houſe of Lord Paget; and when he came home his wife informed him that he was required to attend at a banquet; he replied, *a banquet woman; but ſuch a banquet as will not be pleaſing to the fleſh.*

On another occaſion he was ſeized and by a conſtable committed to Newgate, and there kept priſoner ſome time, when he was brought before, and examined repeatedly by Biſhop Bonner, and others, concerning divers articles and tenets of religion.

He was chiefly required to give his opinion concerning auricular confeſſion, the Popiſh ſacrament of the altar, and the maſs.

To the firſt he anſwered, he had not been confeſſed to any prieſt for ſeveral

months, and that he would not be confeſſed to any prieſt hereafter, becauſe he found no ſuch duty commanded in the word of God, which he now took as his only guide in all matters of religion.

Concerning the ſacrament, commonly called the ſacrament of the altar, he declared he did not believe that in the ſaid ſacrament there was the real body and blood of Chriſt, becauſe the body of Chriſt was aſcended into Heaven, and there ſat at the right hand of God the Father.

To the laſt point he anſwered, that the maſs then uſed in the church of England was full of idolatry, abomination, and wholly inconſiſtent with the word of God, adding, that there were but two ſacraments in Chriſt's church, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper.

The biſhop, after this confeſſion, in his uſual manner, exhorted him to recant his opinions, declaring them to be damnable hereſies; but Tankerfield aſſured his lordſhip that he would perſiſt in his belief till it ſhould be proved erroneous from ſcripture authority, being regardleſs of the tenets of the greateſt prelate upon earth, if not founded on the word of eternal truth, declaring at the ſame time, that the arbitrary commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs condemned perſons without proving any thing againſt them.

Bonner, with an affected concern for his intereſt, temporal and eternal, uſed many enticing words to bring him to the Mother-church, but our martyr boldly told him, without the leaſt reſerve, that the church of which the Pope is ſupreme, is no part of Chriſt's Catholic church; and pointing to the biſhop he ſaid, *Good people, beware of him, and ſuch as he is, for theſe be they that deceive you.*

Bonner, enraged at his reſolute behaviour, proceeded to read the ſentence of condemnation againſt him, and delivered him over to the ſecular power.

He was afterwards ſent to St. Albans in Hertfordſhire, where, with much patience and conſtancy, he reſigned his life, Auguſt the 25th 1555, into the hands of that God who gave it, as a teſtimony of the truth of his holy word, which had been able to make him wiſe unto ſalvation, and was the happy means of tranſporting him from this vale of tears, to realms of endleſs bliſs and never-ceaſing joy, where the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and the weary are at reſt.

ELIZABETH WARNE.

THIS pious woman and ſtedfaſt believer in the pure goſpel of Chriſt, according to the dying requeſt of her huſband, who ſome time before had ſealed the truth of God's word with his blood, perſiſted in worſhipping God, according to the dictates of her own conſcience, and the form ſhe conceived was contained in the divine command.

She was apprehended in a houſe in Bow church-yard in company with ſeveral others, who were aſſembled for prayer and other ſpiritual exerciſes, and with them ſent to the Compter, from whence ſhe was committed to Newgate,

and after ſome time, brought before the Queen's commiſſioners, who, after ſome examination, referred her to the deciſion of the biſhop of London.

The principal point objected to her by Bonner, was, her not believing the corporal preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar; ſhe was alſo accuſed with abſenting herſelf from church, ſpeaking againſt the maſs, deſpiſing the ceremonies of the Holy Mother-church, &c.

Having been divers times brought before the biſhop and warmly exhorted to recant her erroneous and heretical opinions; ſhe ſaid, *Do with me what you will, for if Chriſt was in an error, then I am in an error*, and on this peremptory declaration was condemned as an heretic, delivered to the ſheriffs of London, and in the month of Auguſt 1555, carried to Stratford Bow, where ſhe ſuffered martyrdom for the cauſe of Chriſt and his goſpel, following her huſband through the path of fiery trial, to the Heaven of reſt that awaits all the diſciples of the immaculate Jeſus, who ſet them an example that they ſhould follow his ſteps.

ROBERT SMITH.

ROBERT SMITH enjoyed a place under the provoſt of Eaton College, and was converted to the true faith of Chriſt, by the preaching of ſeveral reformed miniſters in the college as well as at Windſor.

He was well verſed in the doctrines of the goſpel, and very exemplary in his life and converſation, attracting the veneration and eſteem of all amongſt whom he lived and converſed.

But amongſt other ſufferers for the cauſe, on the acceſſion of Queen Mary, Mr. Smith was deprived of his poſt in the college, and ſoon after ſent up priſoner to the biſhop of London, by whom he was committed to Newgate, after having been examined by him divers times, at his palace and in other places.

When he was aſked by the biſhop concerning auricular confeſſion, he declared he had never been confeſſed ſince he arrived at years of diſcretion, becauſe he never thought it needful, nor commanded of God to confeſs his faults to any of that ſinful number called prieſts.

It was then enquired, how long it was ſince he had received the ſacrament of the altar, and what was his opinion concerning the ſame.

He replied, that he had never received the ſame, ſince he arrived at years of diſcretion, nor, by the grace of God ever would, neither did he eſteem it in any point, becauſe it was not God's ordinance, but is rather ſet up in mockery of God, and to deprive him of the honour which is his due.

Being queſtioned concerning his belief in the corporal preſence in the ſacrament, after the words of conſecration pronounced by the prieſt, he replied, I have once told you, that it was not God's ordinance, much leſs can it be God, or any part of his ſubſtance, but only meer bread and wine, and to be received in a figurative ſenſe alone; adding further, that if he could

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prove from ſcripture that it was the very body, he would believe it, but till then he ſhould eſteem it a deteſtable idol, not God, but contrary to God and truth.

This excited the choler of the haughty prelate, who reviled Smith exceedingly, but his paſſion abating, he afterwards examined him in milder terms, and cooly enquired his opinon concerning the Catholic-church.

He replied, *I believe, there is one Catholic church or congregation of the faithful,* which *(as the apoſtle ſaith)* is builded upon the prophets and apoſtles, Chriſt Jeſus being the chief corner ſtone.

I alſo believe, that this church in all words and works, maintaineth the word of God, and bringeth the ſame for her authority; of this church I am aſſured, that by grace I am made a member.

He was alſo examined, concerning holy bread and holy water and other ceremonies of the church; theſe points he denied as unſcriptural, and perſiſting in his opinions notwithſtanding the repeated admonitions of the biſhop, he was ſummoned to appear at the Conſiſtory court, where having made the ſame confeſſion as before, ſentence of condemnation was paſſed upon him, and he was delivered over to the ſecular power.

When the cruel ſentence was paſſed, our martyr remonſtrated with the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and others who were preſent on the occaſion, on the iniquity of their proceedures, which were contrary to all laws, human and divine; but the general cry was, *away with the heretic, away with the heretic:* he then addreſſed himſelf to the ſpectators in the following manner.

Ye have ſeen and heard, my friends, the great injury I have this day received, and ye are all witneſſes, that we have referred the equity of our cauſe, to the book of God, which appeal not being admitted, we are condemned unheard.

Turning to the mayor, he ſaid, *though my lord you have here exerciſed your authority unjuſtly, and will not attend to the cry of the poor, I commit my cauſe to that God who judgeth aright, and will render unto every man according to his deeds; that God, at whoſe awful bar, both you and I muſt ſtand without reſpect or authority and where ſentence will be paſſed without any partiality, bigotry, or caprice, and according to the eternal laws of infallible truth.*

He was then carried back to Newgate, and on the day appointed for his execution, conducted to Uxbridge, where he died in the glorious cauſe with amazing fortitude and intrepidity, evincing, amidſt fiery flames and acuteſt torments, the power of divine ſtrength, which can enable true followers of the lamb, to paſs through the ſhadow of death with exceeding delight, by ſupporting them with everlaſting arms, and rendering what is moſt irkſome to the fleſh, joyous to the ſpirit, as the way to honour, glory and immortality.

The torturing of Rob.t Samuel.

ROBERT SAMUEL.

THE martyr before us was a pious divine and eminent preacher of the goſpel, according to the principles of the reformation during the reign of King Edward VI.

He was miniſter of a Chriſtian congregration at Barfold in Suffolk, where he atttended his charge with indefatigable induſtry, and by his preaching and living, recommended and enforced the religion of Jeſus.

But when goſpel light was eclipſed by Popiſh ignorance, he, (amongſt many other ſound preachers of the word) was turned out of his living, yet could he not ſo far withſtand his duty, as to be wholly ſilent, but would embrace many opportunities of teaching them in private, till the Queen commanded the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs to publiſh an order, that all prieſts, who had been married in the days of King Edward, ſhould put away their wives, and be compelled again to chaſtity (as their hypocritical term expreſſed it) and ſingle life.

Mr. Samuel could by no means obey this order, becauſe he knew it to be abominable, contrary to the law of Chriſt, and every tie ſocial, and humane; therefore, determining with himſelf that God's laws were not to be violated for the traditions of men, he ſtill kept his wife at Ipſwich, and omitted no opportunity of inſtructing his Chriſtian friends in the neighbourhood.

At length his conduct reaching the ears of Foſter, a juſtce in thoſe parts, every means was uſed by that Popiſh bigot to apprehend Mr. Samuel, who was taken in cuſtody by ſome of his myrmidons, when on a viſit to his wife, at Ipſwich. Many efforts were made without ſucceſs, but at length information having been given of the preciſe time in which he was to viſit his wife, they deferred the ſurpriſe till night, (fearing the reſentment of the people if they ſhould attempt to apprehend him by day) when great numbers beſet him, and he, without the leaſt reſiſtance, quietly reſigned himſelf into their hands.

Having been taken before Foſter, he was committed to Ipſwich gaol, where he converſed and prayed with many of his fellow ſufferers during his confine ment in that place.

In a ſhort time he was removed thence to Norwich, where Dr. Hopton, the cruel biſhop of that dioceſe, and Dunning the chancellor, exerciſed intolerable cruelties upon him.

Among all the inhuman wretches with which the nation abounded at this time, none could be compared for cruelty with theſe two tyrants; for while the rage of others was glutted with impriſonment and death, theſe were notorious for new-invented tortures, by which ſome were brought to recant, and others were driven into horrors of the moſt bewildered madneſs.

In order to bring Mr. Samuel to recant, they confined him in a cloſe priſon, where he was chained to a poſt in ſuch a manner, that ſtanding

only on tiptoe, he was forced to ſuſtain the whole weight of his body thereby.

To aggravate this torment, they kept him in a ſtarving condition twelve days, allowing him no more than two mouthsfull of bread and three ſpoonsfull of water each day, which was allowed in order to protract his miſery, till they could invent new torments to overcome his patience and reſolution.

He was brought to ſo ſhocking a ſtate by theſe inhuman proceedings, that, ready to periſh with thirſt, he would often gladly have drank his own water; but his body was ſo parched, that he emitted not a ſingle drop of urine.

At length, when all the tortures that theſe ſavages could invent proved ineffectual, and nothing could induce our martyr to deny his great Lord and Maſter, he was brought forth to be burned, a ſcene happy to what he had already paſſed, and declared to the people around him what cruelties he had ſuffered during the time of his impriſonment, but that he had been enabled to ſuſtain them all by the conſolations of the divine ſpirit, with which he had been daily viſited.

As this eminent martyr was leading to the ſtake, a young woman, who had belonged to his congregation, and received the benefit of his ſpiritual diſcourſes, came up to him, and as the laſt token of reſpect cordially embraced him.

This being obſerved by ſome of the blood-thirſty papiſts, diligent ſearch was made for her the next day, in order to bring her to the ſtake, but ſhe eluded their ſearch and eſcaped from their cruel hands.

But though this young woman (whoſe name was Roſe Nottingham) eſcaped their barbarity, yet two of her faithful female companions were caught in the ſnare and ſuffered martyrdom together with Mr. Samuel.

The aforeſaid perſon was intimately acquainted with two grave and pious matrons, whom ſhe endeavoured to perſuade to avoid the danger that threatened all Proteſtants by an immediate flight.

They acknowledged the lawfulneſs of ſuch a conduct, but urged divers weighty reaſons for deferring it at leaſt for ſome time, and were accordingly apprehended, caſt into priſon and burned together with our glorious martyr, the Rev. Mr. Robert Samuel.

They all ſuffered together with a courage and reſolution truly Chriſtian, chearfully reſigning this life of care and trouble in an exchange of another, where death ſhall be ſwallowed up in victory, where tears ſhall be wiped away from all eyes, and an eternity employed in ſinging the praiſes of that grace, which has bought the redeemed of the Lord of much tribulation, and advanced them to manſions at the right hand of God, where are pleaſures for evermore.

As an account of the trial, ſufferings, and ſpiritual experience of Chriſtians, or true believers in Chriſt in former ages, may tend to confirm and ſtrengthen thoſe of the preſent in their moſt holy faith, and adminiſter conſolation and ſup-

ſupport to any that may, in the courſe of God's providence, be called upon to bear witneſs to the everlaſting truth of God's word, we inſert the following abſtract of a letter, left by Mr. Samuel after his deceaſe, to ſome of the congregation, over whom he preſided in the Lord.

A man knoweth not his time, but as a fiſh is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the ſnare; ſo are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near, Ezek. vii. *Better it were to die* (as the preacher ſaith) *than to live and ſee the miſerable works which are done under the ſun.*

Alas, for this ſinful nation, a people of great iniquity, corrupting their ways. They have forſaken the Lord; they have provoked the holy one of Iſrael to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in ſuch ſecurity and reſt as though all dangers were all clean over-paſt? yea, who liveth not now in ſuch felicity, worldly pleaſures and joys, wholly ſeeking the world, providing, and craftily ſhifting for the earthly clod and carnal appetite, as though ſin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured?

We might now worthily, dear Chriſtians, lament and bewail our heavy eſtate, miſerable condition, and ſorrowful chance; Yes, I ſay, we might well accuſe ourſelves, and with Job curſe theſe our turbulent, wicked, and bloody laſt days of this world, were it not that we both ſee and believe, and find in God's ſacred book, that God hath reſerved a remnant in all ages, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exerciſed, with divers afflictions and troubles, caſt and daſhed againſt all perils and dangers, as the very droſs and out-caſts of the earth, and yet will in no wiſe halt between God and Baal. Chriſt will not part ſpoil with his mortal enemy the Devil; he will have all, or loſe all: he will not permit the Devil to have the ſervice of the body, and he to ſtand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your ſpirits, which are his, *as St. Paul ſaith,* 1 *Cor.* vi. *For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter ſaith, with his own immaculate body hath he clean diſcharged your bodies from ſin, death, and hell, and with his moſt precious blood paid your ranſom and full price once for all, and for ever.*

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loſs ſuſtain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jeſus your gentle Saviour, and his goſpel of ſalvation, than of a legion of cruel Devils, going about with falſe deluſions utterly to deſtroy you both ſouls and bodies? think you to be more ſure than under your captain Chriſt? do you promiſe yourſelves to be more quiet in Satan's ſervice, than in Chriſt's religion? eſteem you more theſe tranſitory and pernicious pleaſures, than God and all his heavenly treaſures? O palpable darkneſs, horrible madneſs, and wiful blindneſs, without compariſon, too much to be ſuffered any longer! we ſee and will not ſee; we know and will not know; yea, we ſmart and will not feel, and that our conſcience well knoweth. O miſerable ſouls, which would for fooliſh pleaſures loſe the royal kingdom and per-

permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world! the children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the Devil, who is their God, and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us, which be of Christ, seek and enquire for Heavenly things, which by God's promise and mercy in Christ shall be peculiar unto us. Let carnal people pass for things that be pleasant for body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once (*as the kingly Prophet saith*) run about the city of God, to and fro howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect, *but all too late as the rich glutton did.*

Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and are celestial. We must be here (*St. Paul saith*) not as inhabiters, and home-dwellers, but as strangers; not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed by our governor, to fight against the governor of darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? *Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith,* In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish: *but as for you (meaning the wicked) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? nay, the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy.*

Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather be of good comfort; not sorrowful but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation, 2 Cor. v. (St. Paul meaning the body) *be destroyed! we know assuredly we have a building not made with hands, but everlasting in Heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ, esteemed they cannot be. Wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abideth in Heaven. But worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves, by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and dire change of realms and countries; and after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual misery. For they had rather, with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the Devil, than with Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend into the kingdom of God his Father.* But an unwise man (*saith the Psalmist*) comprehendeth them not, neither doth the foolish understand them; *that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like*

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the flower and graſs in the field. But unto this end do they ſo flouriſh, that they may be cut down, and caſt into the fire for ever. For as Job ſaith, Their joy laſteth but the twinkling of an eye, *and death ſhall lie gnawing upon them as doth the flock upon the paſture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as St. Mark ſaith) ſhall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accuſing their wretched conſcience for evermore.*

Let us therefore (good Chriſtians) be conſtant in obeying God rather than men. For although they ſlay our ſinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's truth; yet they cannot do it, but by God's will, to his praiſe and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity.

Theſe are the days of vengeance, ſaith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled.

Now therefore ſaith God by the mouth of his prophet, I will come unto thee, and will ſend my wrath upon thee. *Upon thee, I ſay, O England, and puniſh thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations! thou haſt kindled the fire of God's wrath, and haſt ſtirred up the coals. For thou waſt once enlightened, and hadſt taſted of the heavenly gift, and waſt become partaker of the Holy Ghoſt, and hadſt taſted of the good word of God: yea, it is yet in thy mouth, ſaith the prophet. Alas, O England, thou kneweſt thy Lord and Maſter's will, but didſt not do it! thou muſt therefore, ſays he, ſuffer many ſtripes, and many ſharp ſtrokes.*

Let the enemies of Chriſt, and all unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed, without hope of God's mercy, who know not God in Chriſt to be their very righteouſneſs, their life, their own ſalvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him.

But we are the children of ſaints, and look for another life, which God ſhall give to all them who change not their Faith, and ſhrink not from him. Rejoice therefore, ye Chriſtian afflicted brethren, for they cannot take our ſouls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which are kept as in the boſom of our moſt loving father, and if we abide faſt in Chriſt, and turn not away, ſurely we ſhall live for ever. Chriſt affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, My ſheep hear my voice, I know them, they hearken unto me, and to no ſtrangers, and I give them everlaſting life; for they ſhall not be loſt, and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands: *no, nor yet this flattering world with all its vain pleaſures, nor any tyrant with his threats can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What conſolation or comfort can we have more pleaſant and effectual than this? God is on our ſide and fighteth for us. As the world can do nothing againſt his might, neither in taking away, or diminiſhing from his glory, nor putting him from his celeſtial throne; ſo neither can it hurt any one of his children without his good will. For we are members of his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.*

Let us therefore with earneſt faith lay faſt hold on the promiſes in the goſpel, and let us not be ſeparated from the ſame by temptation, tribulation, or perſecution.

Let us conſider the truth of God to be invincible, and immutable, promiſing

miſing and giving us his faithful ſoldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deſerved it for us: it is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy, and unto him only muſt we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantaſies and dreams of men, and fooliſh gaudy toys of the world, nor the crafty deluſions of the Devil, drive and ſeparate us from our hope of the crown of righteouſneſs that is laid up in ſtore for us againſt the laſt day. O that happy and joyful day, I mean to the faithful, when Chriſt by his covenant ſhall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may aſcend and ſit with him, as he aſcended and ſitteth on the throne with his Father! the ſame body and ſoul that is now with Chriſt afflicted, ſhall then with Chriſt be glorified: now in cruel hands as ſheep appointed to die; then ſitting at God's table with Chriſt in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children; where we ſhall have heavenly riches for earthly poverty; fullneſs of the preſence of the glory of God, for hunger and thirſt; celeſtial joys in the company of angels, for ſorrows, troubles, and cold irons; and life eternal for bodily death.

O, happy ſouls! O precious death, and evermore bleſſed, right dear in the eyes of God! to you the ſpring of the Lord ſhall ever be flouriſhing. Then (as ſaith Iſaiah) *the redeemed ſhall return and come again into* Sion, *praiſing the Lord, and eternal mercies ſhall be over their heads; they ſhall obtain mirth and comfort; ſorrow and woe ſhall be utterly vanquiſhed. Yea, I am he, ſaith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlaſting conſolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be glory and praiſe for ever. Amen.*

ROBERT SAMUEL.

Four Perſons executed at Canterbury.

THESE people being informed againſt as maintaining heretical tenets, were brought before Dr. Thornton and others, and jointly and ſeverally examined concerning divers articles relative to the ſacrament of the altar, auricular confeſſion, and other tenets and practices of the Church of Rome.

GEORGE CATMER being firſt examined, declared with reſpect to the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, that as Chriſt was aſcended into heaven and now ſat at the right hand of God, he could not believe it, and did believe that as it was now uſed, it was abominable and idolatrous.

ROBERT STREATER being examined, concerning the ſame doctrine, replied in the negative, affirming it to be hereſy and idolatry, to teach the worſhip of a falſe God in the ſacrament, incloſed in a box, and that the Romiſh Church was heretical, for uſing ceremonies contrary to the law of God.

ANTHONY BURWARD confirmed what Streater had before confeſſed and averred.

GEORGE BRODRIDGE being examined concerning auricular confeſſion, declared that he would not be con-

confeſſed to a Prieſt, becauſe a Prieſt being like himſelf, a mere man, could not forgive his own ſins, much leſs thoſe of others; and added further that in the ſacrament of the altar, there was not the real body of our Saviour Chriſt, but bread given and received in remembrance of him, and that the holy bread and holy water and the maſs were vile and abominable.

In conſequence of their ſeveral confeſſions and declarations, they were all condemned as damnable heretics, and being brought to the place of execution, were chained to two ſtakes, and burned in one fire, glorifying God in the midſt of the flames.

Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bongey.

MR. Robert Glover at the time of his being apprehended, lay ſick at the houſe of his brother John Glover, who had abſconded becauſe a warrant was iſſued out to bring him before his ordinary on a ſuſpicion of hereſy.

Notwithſtanding the indiſpoſition of the former of theſe gentlemen, ſuch was the brutality of the Popiſh emiſſaries, that they took him out of bed, and carried him to Coventry jail, where he continued ten days, though no miſdemeanour was alledged againſt him.

At the expiration of that time, he was brought before his ordinary the biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, who informed him that he was a prelate, and that he (Glover) muſt ſubmit to eccleſiaſtical authority, and ſtand reproved for not coming to church.

Mr. Glover aſſured his lordſhip, that he neither had, nor would come to church ſo long as the maſs was uſed there to ſave five hundred lives, challenging him to produce on proof from ſcripture, to juſtify that idolatrous practice.

After a long altercation with the biſhop, in which Mr. Glover both learnedly and judiciouſly defended the doctrines of the reformation, againſt the errors and idolatries of Popery, and evinced, that he was able to give a reaſon for the faith he profeſſed; he was remanded back to Coventry jail, where he was kept cloſe priſoner, without a bed, though much indiſpoſed; but nevertheleſs, the divine comforts enabled him to ſuſtain ſuch cruel treatment without repining, till at length he was permitted to provide himſelf with that neceſſary convenience.

From Coventry he was removed to Litchfield, where he was viſited by the chancellor and prebendaries, who exhorted him to recant his errors and conform to the Holy Mother-church, but he refuſed to conform to that or any other church, whoſe doctrines and practices were not founded on ſcripture authority which he determined to make the ſole rule of his religion.

After this viſit, he remained alone eight days, during which time he gave himſelf up to conſtant prayer and meditation on the exceeding precious promiſes of God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to all true believers, daily amending in bodily health, and increaſing

creasing in faith and joy in believeing.

Glover was again brought before the bishop, who enquired of him, how his imprisonment agreed with him, and warmly entreated him to become a member of the Mother-church, which had continued many years; whereas, the church of which he had professed himself a member, was not known but in the time of Edward VI.

With respect to the enquiry, our martyr was silent, treating it with that contempt which such mean behaviour in a prelate deserved, but told his lordship, that he professed himself a member of that church, which is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, and then quoted that well-known passage in the epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians.

This church, added he, hath been from the beginning though it bore no pompous shew before the world, being for the most part under crosses and afflictions, despised, rejected, and persecuted.

After much debate, in which Mr. Glover cited scripture for whatever he advanced, to the confusion and indignation of the haughty prelate, he was commanded on his obedience to hold his peace, as a proud and arrogant heretic.

Our martyr then, with a spirit becoming a man and a Christian, informed the bishop, that he was not to be convinced by insolent imperious behaviour, but sound reasoning, founded on scripture, desiring at the same time that he would propound to him some articles, but the bishop chose to decline that method of proceeding, till he should be summoned to the consistory court, dismissing him with an assurance that he should be kept in prison, and there have neither meat nor drink, till he recanted his heresies.

Mr. Glover heard the cruel word with patience and resignation, lifting up his heart to God, that he might be enabled to stand stedfast in the faith of the glorious gospel.

When he was brought into the consistory court, the bishop demanded of him, how many sacraments Christ had instituted to be used in his church he replied two, Baptism, and the Lord's supper, and no more.

Being asked if he allowed confession, he answered in the negative.

As to the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar, he declared that the mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because they had taken away the true institution, and when they should restore it, then he would give his judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

After several other examinations public and private, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

CORNELIUS BONGEY was a cap-maker in the city of Coventry, and condemned by Randolph, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, upon the following articles,

1. *Because he did hold, maintain, and teach in the city of Coventry, that the*

the prieſt hath no power to abſolve a ſinner from his ſins.

2. *He ſaith, there were in the church of Chriſt but two ſacraments, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper.*

3. *That in the ſacrament of the Popiſh altar, there was not the real body and blood of Chriſt, but the ſubſtance of bread and wine even after conſecration.*

4. *That for the ſpace of ſeveral years, he did hold and defend, that the Pope is not the head of the viſible church on earth.*

He was then delivered over to the ſecular power, and, together with Mr. Robert Glover, burned at Coventry, Sept. 20, 1555.

They both yielded up their ſpirits to that God who gave them, hoping, through the merits of the great Redeemer, for a glorious reſurrection to life immortal.

WILLIAM WOLSEY, *and* ROBERT PIGOT.

THE former of theſe perſons reſided at Well, in the Iſle of Ely, and was apprehended and brought before a neighbouring juſtice, who bound him over to appear at the enſuing ſeſſions holden for the Iſle of Ely.

This occaſioned our martyr to remove to Wyſbich, where he was taken and committed to jail, till the aſſizes came about.

While he continued under confinement, he was viſited by the chancellor of Ely, who told him that he was out of the pale of the Catholic church, and deſired that he would meddle no more with the ſcriptures than became a layman.

Wolſey, after a ſhort pauſe, thus addreſſed the chancellor; *Good doctor, what did our Saviour mean, when he ſaid,* Matt. xxiii. *Wo be unto you, Scribes and Phariſees, hypocrites, for ye ſhut up the kingdom of Heaven before men; ye yourſelves go not in, neither ſuffer ye that come to enter in.*

ROBERT PIGOT was by trade a painter, he was apprehended and brought before Sir Clement Hyam, judge, who reproved him ſeverely for abſenting himſelf from church. He aſſigned the cauſe for his abſence, which was, becauſe what he deemed the church, was a congregation of believers aſſembled together for the worſhip of God, according to the manner laid down in his moſt holy word; and not a church of human invention founded on the whimſical fancy of fallible man.

He was thereupon, together with Wolſey, committed to priſon, where they remained to the day of their execution.

During their confinement, ſeveral of their neighbours came to viſit them, among whom was Peter Valerices a Frenchman, chaplain to the biſhop of Ely, who thus addreſſed them; *My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been Almoner here theſe twenty years and more, wherefore my brethren I deſire you to take it in good part. I deſire not to force you from your faith, but I require and deſire you, in the name of Jeſus*

Chriſt, that you ſtand to the truth of his goſpel and his word; and I beſeech Almighty God, for his Son's ſake, to preſerve both you and me in the ſame unto the end, for I know not, brethren, how ſoon I may be in the ſame caſe with you.

This addreſs, being ſo different from what was expected, drew tears from all who were preſent, and greatly comforted our martyrs.

On the ninth of October, Pigot and Wolſey were brought before Dr. Fuller the chancellor, and other commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, who laid ſeveral articles to their charge, but particularly that of the ſacrament of the altar.

When that article was propoſed, they jointly declared the ſacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the real body and blood of Chriſt was not preſent in the ſaid ſacrament; and to this opinion, ſaid, they would ſtand though at the peril of their lives, being founded on the authority of God's word, which enjoined the worſhip of the ſupreme God alone.

After this declaration, they were exhorted by Dr. Shaxton, one of the commiſſioners, to conſider the danger of continuing in that belief, and recant the ſame, leſt they die here and periſh hereafter, adding, that he had believed as they did, but was now become a new man in point of faith.

This having no effect, Dr. Fuller upbraided Wolſey with obſtinacy and fool-hardineſs, but endeavoured to ſooth Pigot into compliance, deſiring one of the attendants to write to the following purport:

I Robert Pigot do believe, that after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the Prieſt, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially the ſelf-ſame that was born of the Virgin Mary.

It was then read to Pigot; and his anſwer being required, he briefly ſaid, *Sir, that is your faith, but never ſhall be mine till you can prove it from ſcripture.*

Thus perſevering in the faith of the pure goſpel of their Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, judgement was paſſed upon them, they were ſent to priſon, and there confined to the day of execution, which was the 16th of October, in the bloody year 1555, when they were brought forth, and chained to the ſtake.

A great number of Engliſh tranſlations of the New Teſtament being ordered to be burned with them, they took each one of them in their hands, lamenting on the one hand the deſtroying ſo valuable a repoſitory of ſacred truth, and glorying, on the other hand, that they were deemed worthy of ſealing the ſame with their blood.

They died in the triumph of faith, magnifying the power of divine grace, which enable the ſervants of God to glory in tribulation, and count all things but dung and droſs for the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus the Lord.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, *Biſhop of London, and* HUGH LATIMER, *Biſhop of Worceſter.*

THE former of theſe eminent Prelates, and true followers of Chriſt, received the earlieſt part of his education at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where his learning and abilities ſoon advanced him to the degree of Maſter of Pembroke Hall.

When he quitted the Univerſity, he travelled into divers parts of Europe, and on his return was made Chaplain to King Henry VIII. and Biſhop of Rocheſter, from which he was tranſlated to the See of London by King Edward VI.

In private life he was pious, humane and affable; in public he was learned, ſound and eloquent; diligent in his duty, and very popular as a preacher.

He was brought over to the Reformed Religion by means of reading Bertram's book on the Sacrament, and confirmed in the ſame by frequent conferences with Cranmer and Peter Martyr, inſomuch that he was a zealous promoter of the reformed doctrines and diſcipline, during the reign of King Edward VI.

But on the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the crown of England, Biſhop Ridley ſhared the fate of other faithful ſervants of Chriſt, was removed from his biſhoprick, ſent priſoner firſt to the Tower of London, and afterwards to Bocardo priſon in Oxford, whence he was committed to the cuſtody of one Iriſh, and there remained to the day of his death.

Dr. Hugh Latimer was alſo ſtudent of the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he chiefly purſued the ſtudy of ſchool-divinity, for which he was remarkably eminent, and much honoured by his fellow-collegians.

He was a zealous aſſertor of the Popiſh faith, till he accidentally became acquainted with one Mr. Bilney, a man of candour and learning; by whom he was convinced of the repugnancy of the Romiſh religion to common ſenſe, the whole tenor of ſcripture, the glory of God, and the true intereſt of mankind.

Thus rouſed by the remonſtrances of his friend, he applied himſelf moſt diligently to the ſtudy of the word of God, comparing the tenets and practices of Popery with the ſame, till he rejected the ſame as unſcriptural, and embraced the true faith of Chriſt, together with all the ordinances of his inſtitution.

His oppoſition to the mother-church, as it was termed, raiſed him many enemies; amongſt the reſt was Dr. Weſt, Biſhop of Ely, who forbid him to preach in any of the churches in Cambridge upon pain of his diſpleaſure, and the cenſure of the eccleſiaſtical court: however, he found ſome friends, and obtained the living of Weſt-Kingſton in the dioceſe of Sarum, where he continued ſome time deligent in his office, and remarkably ſucceſsful in his miniſtry.

In

In proceſs of time he was ſent for to London, and there accuſed to Dr. Wareham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſpeaking againſt the worſhiping of the Virgin Mary.

He was detained in London ſome time, and frequently examined before ſeveral biſhops, who endeavoured, by all the arts of ſophiſtry, to inveigle him into a confeſſion that might afford them a plea for proceeding capitally againſt him; but he evaded all their endeavours, till having acquired the favour of King Henry VIII. he was prefered to the biſhoprick of Worceſter, which he held ſeveral years, but at the time of putting forth the ſix articles, he reſigned and lived privately.

On account of his non-conformity to thoſe articles, ſome of which he thought ſavoured of Popery, he was at length apprehended and committed priſoner to the Tower, where he continued to the reign of Edward VI. by whom he was ſet at liberty, though never advanced to any dignity in the church, more than ordinary preacher, for which he was very eminent.

It is not a little remarkable, that he uſed frequently to ſay, he ſhould loſe his life for preaching the goſpel, and foretold the troubles that ſhould befal the Proteſtants in the reign of Queen Mary.

That princeſs had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than his predictions began to be verified; for, in a very ſhort time after that event, Mr. Latimer was ſent for out of the country, committed priſoner to the Tower, and afterwards conveyed to Oxford.

On the laſt day of September 1555, the two eminent divines, Ridley and Latimer, were cited to appear before the divinity ſchool at Oxford.

Dr. Ridley was firſt examined, and ſeverely reprimanded by the biſhop of Lincoln, becauſe, when he heard the Cardinal's grace and the Pope's holineſs mentioned in the commiſſion, he put on his cap; the words of the biſhop were to this effect, *Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered, in reſpect to the Pope and the Cardinal his legate, by whoſe authority we ſit in commiſſion, your cap ſhall be taken off.*

The biſhop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he intreated Ridley to return to the Holy Mother-church, inſiſted on the antiquity and authority of the See of Rome, and of the Pope as the immediate ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley, in return, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the arguments of the biſhop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were propoſed to him, and his immediate and explicit anſwer required.

1. *That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Chriſt, after conſecration of the prieſt, is not really preſent in the ſacrament of the altar.*

2. *That he had often publicly affirmed, and defended, that in the ſacrament of the altar remaineth ſtill the ſubſtance of bread and wine.*

3. *That he had often openly affirmed and obſtinately maintained, that in the maſs, is no propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead.*

4.

Bishop Latimer before the Papal Tribunal in Oxford.

4. *That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the worshipful prolocutor of the convocation house, and sundry learned men of both universities.*

5. *That all and singular the premises are true, and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.*

To the first our martyr replied, that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really by grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine.

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether all men spake evil of them, he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church in Oxford, to give his final answer, and afterwards committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley, were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not appearing satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed and ordered to appear in St. Mary's church at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

According to order the commissioners met at the place appointed, and Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring the culprit that he had full liberty to make what alterations he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley pulled out a paper, and began to read, but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The Doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed; but the bishop and others having privately reviewed it, they would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referring the notary to his writing, and he set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Glouceſter affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, perſuaded him not to indulge an obſtinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the Holy Catholic church.

Our martyr coolly replied, that he was not vain of his own underſtanding, but was fully perſuaded, that the religion he profeſſed was founded on God's moſt holy and infallible church; and therefore he could not abandon or

deny the ſame, conſiſtent with his regard for the honour of God and the ſalvation of his immortal ſoul.

He deſired to declare his reaſons, wherefore he could not, with a ſafe conſcience admit of the Popiſh ſupremacy, but his requeſt was denied.

The biſhop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the reformation, thus addreſſed him: *Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmoſt concern that I obſerve your ſtubborneſs and obſtinacy, in perſiſting in damnable errors and hereſies, but unleſs you recant, I muſt proceed to the other part of my commiſſion, though very much againſt my will and deſire.*

No reply being made, ſentence of condemnation was read, and he was carried back again to priſon.

When Mr. Latimer was brought before the court, the biſhop of Lincoln informed him, that though they had already taken his anſwers, to certain articles aledged againſt him, yet they had given him time to conſider on the ſame, and would permit him to make what alterations he ſhould deem fit, hoping by that means to reclaim him from his errors and bring him over to the faith of the Holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him, but our martyr deviated not in a ſingle point from the anſwer he had already made.

Being again warned to recant and revoke his erors, he refuſed, declaring that he never would deny God's truth, which he was ready to ſeal with his blood; ſentence of condemnation was then pronounced againſt him, and the ſeſſion broke up, having committed Latimer to the cuſtody of the mayor.

Soon after, Dr. Ridley was ſolemnly degraded by the biſhop of Glouceſter, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and delivered over to the ſecular power in order for execution.

The fatal day was October 16, 1555, and the place appointed, Townditch behind Baliol college.

Dr. Ridley came to the ſtake in his eccleſiaſtical habit, which he wore when a biſhop, and Mr. Latimer in an humble plain lay-dreſs. They embraced each other on the melancholy occaſion, and Dr. Ridley encouraged his fellow labourer and fellow ſufferer in the cauſe of Chriſt, to be of good chear, aſſuring him, that God would either aſſuage the fury of the flame, or enable them to endure it.

Our martyr then kneeled down, and, with great earneſtneſs, entreated aſſiſtance from Almighty God, to ſuſtain the fiery trial that awaited them.

When they aroſe from prayer, one of the Popiſh prieſts, in an occaſional ſermon, upbraided them with hereſy and departure from the church of Chriſt: Dr. Ridley was deſirous of vindicating himſelf from the aſperſion of the prieſt, but was denied that liberty, and commanded to prepare immediately for the fire, unleſs he would recant and abjure his heretical opinions; without heſitation therefore, he took off his clothes, diſtributed them among the populace, and, together with Latimer, was chained to the ſtake.

Latimer ſoon expired, crying, O Fa-

Father of Heaven, receive my ſoul: But Ridley, by reaſon of the fire burning low, and not flaming about his body, endured the moſt exquiſite torture, leaping in the fire, and begging, for Chriſt's ſake, that the flames might ſurround him, till at length ſome of the ſpectators having taken off part of the faggots, the fire had vent, and the bag of gun-powder, that was tied about his neck, exploded, after which he was not ſeen to move, but fell down at the feet of his fellow ſufferer for the cauſe of Chriſt.

Thus did theſe two pious divines and ſtedfaſt believers, teſtify with their blood, the truth of the everlaſting goſpel, upon which depend all the ſinner's hopes of ſalvation, to ſuffer for which, was the joy, the glory of many eminent Chriſtians, who, having followed their dear Lord and Maſter, through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him, in the kingdom of his father, and our father, of his God, and our God.

THOMAS WHITTELL, *Prieſt*, BARTLET GREEN, *Gent.* JOHN TUDSON, JOHN WENT, THOMAS BROWN, ISABEL FOSTER, *and* JOAN LASHFORD.

THESE ſeven perſons were brought together before biſhop Bonner, at his Conſiſtory court held in St. Paul's church, and the following articles adminiſtered to them in the following form.

Theſe articles, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund Bonner, by the permiſſion of God, biſhop of London, do object and miniſter unto thee Thomas Whittell, &c. of our meer office, for thy ſoul's health, and reformation of thine offences and miſdemeanours, admoniſhing thee in virtue of obedience, and under the pains both of the cenſures of the church, and the laws of the realm, to anſwer, fully, p'ainly and truly to the ſame.

1. *Whether they, and each of them did believe there is a Catholic church?*

To this they replied in the affirmative, but Tudſon and Brown added further, that the church of England, as it was at preſent uſed, was not part of the true Catholic church.

2. *That there are in the church ſeven ſacraments.*

To this they anſwered in the negative, declaring they acknowledged only two ſacraments in Chriſt's Catholic church, Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord.

Went and Tudſon affirmed, that the ſacrament of the altar, then uſed, was an idol, and conſequently no ſacrament.

3. *That they were firſt baptized in the faith of the Catholic church, profeſſing by their godfathers, their faith in the ſame.*

They all confeſſed that they were baptized in the faith of Chriſt and of the church then uſed, but that afterwards, during the reign of King Edward VI. hearing the goſpel preached, and the great truths of the ſame opened and explained, they followed the

the forms and doctrines then uſed and ſet forth.

4. *That they, for the ſpace of certain years, did ratify and allow, and not depart from any part of the profeſſion of the ſame church, in which they were baptized.*

To this article they all aſſented; but John Went added moreover, that about ſeven years paſt, being then twenty years old, he began to diſlike certain ceremonies uſed in the church of England, and did at preſent diſlike the ſame, though his godfather and godmother promiſed for him to the contrary.

Tudſon alſo declared, that nine years ago, being then about eighteen years old, he diſapproved the doctrines and ceremonies then taught and ſet forth in the church of England, excepting the time of King Edward, when the goſpel was truely preached; but, that the religion, ſet forth in the preſent reign, was not agreeable to God's word, nor the true Catholic church, inſtituted by Chriſt and his apoſtles.

Iſabel Foſter declared, in anſwer to this fourth article, that ſhe continued in the ſame faith and religion, in which ſhe was baptized, after ſhe came to years of diſcretion, till the reign of King Edward VI. at which time hearing the goſpel fully and faithfully preached, ſhe received and embraced the doctrines then taught and ſet forth.

5. *That they of late years have ſwerved and gone away and ſpoken againſt the profeſſion of the ſame church of England, at leaſt ſome part thereof, eſpecially the ſacrifice of the maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and the authority of the church of Rome.*

This they all acknowledged, but Whittell added to the general confeſſion, that he had ſwerved not in the whole, but in part, not from the whole Catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in ſpeaking againſt the maſs the ſacrifice thereof, and the ſupremacy of the Pope.

Joan Laſhford alſo declared, that ſhe never heretofore ſwerved, or did ſwerve from any part of Chriſt's Catholic faith and religion, but that from the time ſhe was eleven years of age, ſhe diſliked the ſacrifice of the maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and the authority of the Papal See, as well as the doctrines and practices of the ſame, becauſe they were contrary to God's holy word, and the religion contained in the goſpel.

6. *That they refuſed to be reconciled to the unity of the church of Rome.*

This they all acknowledged, becauſe that church and its doctrines and practices, were contrary to the unity of Chriſt's word and the true Catholic faith.

Bartlet Green added, that he was contented to be reconciled to the unity of Chriſt's Catholic church, but not to the church of Rome.

7. *That they refuſed to come to hear maſs and to receive the ſaid ſacrament, calling it an idol.*

This alſo they confeſſed to be true, aſſigning as a reaſon, that the maſs, with the ſacrament thereof, as then uſed and ſet forth in the church of England, was diſſonant and diſagreeable to the word and preaching of the goſpel.

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Went further obſerved, that the maſs, which he called the Lord's Supper, as it is now uſed in the realm of England, was full of idolatry, and againſt God's word, and that he much repented his having been preſent at the ſame thro' fear of perſecution, ſince the Queen's coronation.

Iſabel Foſter confeſſed, ſhe had not heard maſs, nor received the ſacrament, but refuſed coming into the place where it was adminiſtered, becauſe ſhe knew there was no ſuch ſacrament founded on the word of God.

Being demanded her belief concerning the ſame, ſhe declared, there was only material bread, and material wine, and not the real ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſame ſacrament, as ſhe had been taught to believe by the miniſters of the goſpel in the time of King Edward VI. when ſhe believed the word of God was preached in its purity.

8. *That they were ſent by the commiſſioners to the biſhop to be examined and impriſoned.*

Generally granted.

9. *That all and ſingular the premiſes have been, and are true and manifeſt, and that they are of the dioceſe and juriſdiction of London.*

Generally granted.

Having thus given a brief and comprehenſive account of the examination of theſe perſons in the conſiſtory court of the biſhop of London, we proceed to a more minute and circumſtantial relation of the particulars of each, individually conſidered.

THOMAS WHITTELL was a

married prieſt, and an eminent and laborious miniſter of the goſpel in the county of Eſſex, during the late reign, but upon the acceſſion of Queen Mary, with other faithful labourers in the vineyard of Chriſt, was deprived of his living, and wandered from place to place, preaching in private as often as opportunity afforded.

In proceſs of time he was apprehended by one of the Popiſh Emiſſaries, who amongſt many others made a trade of informing againſt heretics, (as they were then called) and brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter, who being at that time indiſpoſed, he was referred to the biſhop of London. When he appeared before his lordſhip, he aſked him, if he would have come to maſs that morning if he had been ſent for.

Whittell replied, he would have obeyed the ſummons of his lordſhip, though he had no veneration for the maſs.

Bonner was ſo incenſed at this reply, that ſtriking him with his fiſt on his face, he ſaid, *Villian, thou ſhalt be fed with bread and water.*

The biſhop afterwards employed a neighbouring prieſt to tamper with Whittell, promiſing him conſiderable preferment in the church, if he would recant his erroneous opinions and acknowledge the papal ſupremacy; but our martyr aſſured the prieſt, that he thought he held nothing but the truth, and therefore he could not ſo ſlightly abjure the ſame.

A paper to the following purport was then read to him in order for his ſubſcribing the ſame: *I Thomas Whittell,*

prieſt of the dioceſe of London, acknowledge and confeſs with my mouth, agreeing with my heart, before you Reverend Father in God, Edmund by the grace of God biſhop of London, my ordinary, that I do deteſt and abhor all manner of hereſies and errors againſt the ſacrament of the altar, or any of the ſacraments of the church: which hereſies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wiſe by the Catholic church; and I do proteſt and declare by theſe preſents, that I do both now hold, obſerve and keep in all points, the Catholic faith, and belief of Chriſt's church, according as this church of England, being a member of the ſaid Catholic church, doth now profeſs and keep, and in no wiſe to ſwerve or decline from the ſaid faith during my natural life, ſubmitting myſelf wholly and fully to you Reverend Father, my ſaid ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times; in witneſs whereof I have hereunto ſubſcribed my name.

To this bill, Whittell, at the inſtigation of the Popiſh emiſſary, and through fear of puniſhment ſubſcribed his name; and the prieſt left him for that night with a promiſe of his liberty in the morning.

But when our martyr came to reflect ſeriouſly on his late conduct in abjuring the truth of God's moſt holy word, and denying his great Lord and Maſter, Jeſus Chriſt, the ſole head of the church militant, and triumphant, he ſuffered inconceivable horrors of conſcience, inſomuch that bereft of ſleep, he threw himſelf on the ground, and during the whole deplored his backſliding, and treachery to a merciful Saviour and Redeemer, nor could he eat or enjoy any comfort of life, till he ſent for the prieſt, told him the horrors that had wrung his ſoul, and torn his name from the paper he had ſubſcribed.

His troubled mind was now at reſt, and though he had no proſpect before him but flames and certain death, he triumphed in what he had done, determining to live and die in the faith of Chriſt, nor retract the ſame on the ſevereſt penalty; and he was enabled by grace the of God to abide by the reſolution; for he was ſoon after brought into the Biſhop's court, examined and condemned with the reſt of his companions and fellow-ſufferers for the cauſe of Chriſt, and the everlaſting goſpel of grace and truth.

BARTLET GREEN was deſcended from a good family, and educated at the Univerſity of Oxford, where, by the bleſſing of God, on Peter Martyr's divinity lectures he obtained a ſound knowledge of the Chriſtian faith, and became a zealous profeſſor of the pure Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.

When he left the univerſity, he became a member of the Temple Society, and appiled himſelf to the ſtudy of the common law, though he neglected not the ſcriptures, in which, for ſome time, he much delighted.

But as evil communication generally corrupts good manners, Mr. Green, by contracting an intimacy with ſeveral of his fellow ſtudents, was tainted with their vices and follies, and began

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to wax lukewarm in his profeſſion, though it pleaſed Almighty God, by the power of divine grace, and the illuminations of his ſpirit, in a little time to convince him of the error of his ways, give him that repentance which needeth not to be repented of, and enable him to cloſe with Chriſt for ever and ever, as he ſignified to a friend a little time before he ſuffered for the glorious cauſe.

The firſt cauſe of ſuſpicion that Mr. Green deviated from the church of Rome, aroſe from a letter he wrote to one of his fellow ſtudents at Oxford, who had fled beyond ſea, on account of his religion. This letter was an anſwer to one he had received from his friend, in which he was deſired to inform him concerning the truth of a report, that gave out, that the Queen was dead.

The letter, being intercepted, was much aggravated by the Queen's council, as having a treaſonable meaning; on which Mr. Green was taxed with having been the author of ſome printed queſtions, that were lately diſperſed in the city, and on that ſuſpicion committed to the Fleet.

Though upon examination, no part of the charge, could be proved, they ſtill retained him, in order to propoſe ſome queſtions relative to religion, and thereby inveigh him into confeſſions that might afford them an opportunity of perſecuting him, as an enemy to Popiſh principles and practices.

This artful proceedure had the deſired effect, for though they could not proſecute him upon the charge alledged, they inferred from the very correſpondence, that he maintained opinions contrary to the Holy Mother-church and committed him, on meer preſumption, to the Tower of London.

After they had confined him ſome time, they ſent him to the biſhop of London and a letter with him, acquainting his lordſhip, that he was erroneous in his religious principles, and deſiring that he might be treated accordingly.

The biſhop, in the preſence of ſeveral other prelates, the Archdeacon and Dean, treated Mr. Green with much reſpect, and enquired the cauſe of his impriſonment.

Our martyr informed his lordſhip, that he was confined on account of a letter he had wrote to an intimate friend, whoſe name was Gorden, tho' he had made proper ſubmiſſion.

Bonner, though at firſt he treated him with affected tokens of reſpect, appeared deſirous of adding him to the number butchered this year by the bigotted ſons of the Roman church, for when he had vindicated himſelf from the charge brought againſt him, he aſked him, if ſince he was a priſoner, he had not ſpoken or written againſt the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar? Mr. Green deſired his lordſhip not to put new queſtions to him, as he was cleared of the old; upon which a lawyer preſent aſſured him, that though he was cleared of Treaſon, yet, if during his confinement he had maintained heretical opinions, his ordinary had a right to proceed againſt him on that account.

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Desiring to be discharged according to law, one Chadrey a priest was sent forth, who reported that in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Green had spoken against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass, and averred that the church of Rome was the church of Antichrist. Being demanded by the bishop if the charge was true, and if he would defend the same by scholastic reasoning; he wisely replied, that he had not presumption enough to make such an attempt before so learned a body, but that he was satisfied in his own mind concerning those points, which was sufficient for his salvation.

The lawyer then took him aside, and desired him not to oppose the judgment of so many learned men, and indeed the whole church, but to conform to the doctrines and ceremonies of the same as of undoubted authority and indisputable validity.

The lawyer's effort proving vain, the bishop used the most soothing means to gain our martyr over to the Popish cause, invited him to sup at his own table, lodge in his palace, and accept of divers other tokens of respect.

From hence the artful prelate took occasion to ask him, why he departed from the literal sense of the words about the sacrament, where Christ says, *This is my body?*

Mr. Green endeavoured to evade the answer, but being pressed by the bishop, replied, he was inclined to reject the literal sense from the manner of speaking, from the circumstance itself, and by comparing it with other passages of scripture, allowing that Christ took bread, and affirmed it to be his body, though he could not understand the affirmation as literal, but as figurative, in the same manner as when Christ is called a door, a vine, a way, &c.

He was dismissed for the present, and afterwards sent for and examined by the bishop and several others, but he continued stedfast in his faith, notwithstanding all their arguments and persuasions.

All endeavours failing, he was summoned to appear at the consistory court, and there examined concerning the articles already mentioned.

The following are the particular answers of our martyr to the articles proposed to him, as drawn up by the bishop's register at his lordship's command.

Bartlet Green, born in the city of London, in the parish of St. Michael Bassishaw, of the diocese of London, aged twenty-five years, being examined in the bishop's palace there, the 27th of November, 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.

That neither in the time of King Edward the sixth, after the mass by him was put down, nor in the time of Queen Mary, when the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith, in the reign of the said Queen's majesty, he the said Bartlet at two several times on two Easter-days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in King Edward's time, in the Parish of St. Michael Cornhill, in the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pullint, and Christ

Chriſtopher Goodman, ſome time reader of the divinity-lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the ſea; and the ſecond time with the ſaid Pulline and one Runneger, maſter of arts, of Magdalen-College in Oxford.

And this examinant alſo ſaith, that at both the ſaid communions, he and the others before-named did take and receive bread and wine; which bread and wine, which, he ſaith, were uſed there by the ſaid Pulline, only reading the words of the inſtitution expreſſed in the book of communion. In which receiving and uſing, this examinant ſaith, that he and others aforeſaid did receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper; and that they received material bread and material wine, no ſubſtance thereof changed, and ſo no real preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt being there, but only grace added thereto.

And this examinant ſaith, that he hath heretofore, during the reign of the Queen's majeſty aforeſaid, refuſed, and ſo doth now refuſe to come and hear maſs, and to receive the ſacrament of the altar, as they are now uſed and miniſtered in this church of England, becauſe he ſaith, that concerning the maſs, he cannot be perſuaded in his conſcience, that the ſacrifice pretended to be in the ſame, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the ſame; or that without deadly offence he can worſhip the body and blood of Chriſt, which is pretended to be there.

And as concerning the ſacrament of the altar, this examinant ſaith, that he heretofore, during the ſaid reign, had refuſed, and now doth refuſe to receive the ſame as it is now uſed in the church of England, becauſe it is not uſed according to the inſtitution of Chriſt, both in a ſtrange tongue, and alſo not miniſtred in both kinds; and beſides that contrary to God's word, it is taught, that the thing there miniſtred is to be adored as the real and true body of Chriſt.

And furthermore this examinant ſaith, that during the ſaid reign, he hath not been confeſſed to the prieſt, nor received the abſolution at his hands, becauſe he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confeſſion.

BARTLET GREEN.

Great propoſals of honour and profit were made to him during his confinement, if he would conform to the church of Rome, but he abſolutely refuſed a conduct repugnant to the dictates of his conſcience, on any terms.

While he was confined in Newgate, he deported himſelf in a manner as did honour to the cauſe he profeſſed, giving friendly advice to the malefactors, relieving ſuch priſoners as where in circumſtances of diſtreſs, and procuring the releaſe of ſome, whom he conſidered as objects of pity and compaſſion.

As he lived, ſo he died becoming a follower of Jeſus Chriſt, reſigning himſelf up to the cruelty of his tormentors, and patiently ſubmitting to his lot of trial here, in order to appear hereafter as gold ten times purified in the fire and made meet to partake of the inheritance of the ſaints in light.

THOMAS BROWN, the martyr before us, reſided in the pariſh of St.

Brides, Fleet-ſtreet, and was brought by the conſtable of the pariſh before the biſhop of London, for abſenting himſelf from his pariſh church.

Having been kept ſome time priſoner in the city, he was brought to the biſhop's palace at Fulham, and there examined by his lordſhip and others concerning his faith.

When he was required to attend maſs at the biſhop's palace, he retired to an adjacent field, and kneeled down to private prayer among the trees, a conduct that highly incenſed the prelate, who imputed it to an impious contempt of the maſs.

On his laſt examination, the biſhop told him, that he had taken much pains to reclaim him, and yet he reported that he ſucked his blood: Our plain honeſt martyr replied, that he was indeed a blood-ſucker, and that if he could prove his tenets heretical from ſcripture, he would conform to the church of Rome; but that he condemned him becauſe he would not confeſs and believe the bread in the ſacrament of the altar (as he called it) to be the body of Chriſt, therefore he ſhed his blood, and not only his but that of many of the Queen's loyal ſubjects, for which he muſt anſwer at a more juſt and impartial tribunal than that of his bloody conſiſtory.

After this reply, he was immediately condemned and delivered over to the ſecular power.

JOHN TUDOR was brought before the cruel and arbitrary Bonner, to be proceeded againſt according to eccleſiaſtical law for not conforming to the Moly Mother Church.

The biſhop, after repeated examinations, publickly condemned him in the conſiſtory court of London, for adhering to the doctrines he had been taught by the preachers in the time of King Edward the Sixth.

He perſiſted ſtedfaſtly in his faith, and courageouſly ſuffered in the cauſe of the goſpel.

JOHN WENT and ISABEL FOSTER underwent the ſame form and were condemned to ſuffer the ſame fate. Joan Laſhford had attended her father-in-law John Warne and her own mother Elizabeth Warne, when they were confined under condemnation for hereſy, for which they were both burned as we have already obſerved. This giving ſuſpicion that ſhe was of the obnoxious perſons in thoſe days called heretics, ſhe was brought before biſhop Bonner and by him examined and condemned.

The ſeven believers in, and ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, were led together to the place of execution at Smith-field, there faſtened to three ſtakes and conſumed in one fire, freely yeilding up their lives in the teſtimony of the truth, and ſealing with their blood the doctrines of that goſpel they zealouſly ſupported when living.

JOHN

JOHN LOMAS, ANN ALBRIGHT, JOAN CATMER, AGNES SNOTH, JOAN SOLE, who were burned in the city of Canterbury.

THE firſt of the ſufferers in the cauſe of God and truth reſided in the pariſh of Tenderden in the County of Kent, and was cited to appear in the Spiritual Court held at Canterbury, the beginning of January 1556, when the following articles were exhibited againſt him.

1. *Whether he believed the Catholic church?*

He replied, he believed ſo much as was contained in God's word and no more.

2. *Whether he would be confeſſed to a prieſt?*

He anſwered, that he found it not written, that he ſhould be confeſſed to any prieſt in God's book, neither would he confeſs unleſs he was accuſed by ſome man of ſin.

3. *Whether he believed the body of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, really to remain under the forms of bread and wine after the conſecration?*

He anſwered, that he believed no reality of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament, neither found he it written that he is there under any form.

Lomas was then diſmiſſed, but being brought before the court the enſuing day, re-examined, and refuſing to recant the opinions he had before openly declared, becauſe they were founded on the word of God, he was delivered over to the ſecular power in order for execution.

AGNES SNOTH, of the pariſh of Smardon, was accuſed of hereſy and cited to appear before the judges of the Spiritual Court, where ſhe was compelled to anſwer explicitly to ſeveral articles adminiſtered to her.

With reſpect to confeſſion, ſhe denied not to make known her manifold offences to her fellow Chriſtians, nay the whole world, in order to ſhew the corruption of the human heart, and extol the riches of Divine grace, but could not admit of what they called auricular confeſſion to a prieſt.

Touching the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe proteſted that ſhe received the ſacrament, as Chriſt and his apoſtles after him delivered it, but that the manner in which it was now adminiſtered in the church of England, was contrary to the divine inſtitution.

Being examined concerning penance, ſhe abſolutely denied its being a ſacrament, and further added, that the Popiſh manner of abſolution was not agreeable to the word of God, nor neceſſary to be taken: Sentence was then pronounced, and ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of Canterbury till the day appointed for her execution.

ANN ALBRIGHT being before the court, it was objected to her concerning auricular confeſſion, as it had been to the preceding culprit; ſhe declared ſhe would not be confeſſed to a prieſt, and thus addreſſed the prieſts who were preſent on the occaſion;

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Ye prieſts are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confeſſion. She alſo told the judge and his aſſiſtant that they were ſubvertors of Chriſt's truth, and that the ſacrament of the altar was an abominable idol.

This bold and peremptory declaration cauſed her ſentence to be read immediately, and ſhe was delivered up to the ſheriffs in order to be executed according to the bloody ſtatute then in force.

JOAN SOLE, of the pariſh of Horton, was condemned by the ſame iniquitous court, for denying the real preſence in the ſacrament, and ſentenced to the ſame death with the foregoing.

JOAN CATMER was the wife of a martyred huſband, and brought with the reſt to the ſtake, for perſevering in the faith and practice ſet forth in the time of King Edward VI.

Theſe five ſtedfaſt ſervants of God and willing followers of the bleſſed Jeſus, were burned together at two ſtakes in the city of Canterbury, rejoicing in the flames, and chaunting hallelujahs to God and the Lamb, who had given them the victory over all their enemies, and a good hope through grace, that when this earthly tabernacle was diſſolved, they had a houſe, not made with hands, but eternal.

THOMAS CRANMER, *Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

THIS eminent prelate was deſcended from an ancient and honourable family that came in with the Conqueror.

His father dying in his infancy, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who ſent him, at the age of fourteen years, to the Univerſity of Cambridge, where he made ſo rapid a progreſs in literature, that he was elected as early as poſſible fellow of Jeſus College.

During his reſidence in the College he had ſo highly attracted the eſteem of the other fellows, that having forfeited his fellowſhip by marriage, they re-elected him on the deceaſe of his wife with univerſal conſent.

Mr. Cranmer retained ſo grateful a ſenſe of this favour, that when he was nominated to a fellowſhip, in Cardinal Wolſey's new foundation at Oxford; though the ſalary was much more conſiderable, and the way to preferment more eaſy, through the Cardinal's great intereſt; he declined the offer, chuſing rather to continue with his old fellow collegians, who had given ſo ſingular a token of their eſteem.

In the year 1523, he commenced Doctor of Divinity, being then in the thirty fourth year of his age, and acquired great reputation for theological learning, inſomuch, that he was elected reader of the divinity lecture in his own college, and appointed, by the Uni-

Univerſity, examiner of thoſe who took their degrees in that particular branch of ſtudy.

The candidates he examined chiefly out of the ſcripture, and finding many of them groſsly ignorant of ſacred writ, having waſted their time on intricate points, and the perplexed queſtions of the ſchoolmen, he rejected them as inſufficient for the arduous taſk of the public miniſtry, adviſing them to apply moſt aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of the Divine Word, before they applied for their degrees, it being ſhameful for a profeſſor of divinity to be unſkilled in that book, upon which the ſyſtem they profeſs is ſolely founded.

Theſe upright proceedings expoſed him to the hatred of ſome, but procured him the eſteem of others, who returned him their ſincereſt thanks for contributing ſo eſſentially to their improvement in ſound divinity.

During his reſidence at Cambridge, the debate aroſe concerning the legality of King Henry's divorce; but the plagues breaking out in that Univerſity, he retired to Waltham-Abbey, where caſually meeting with Gardiner and Fox, the former being the King's Almoner, the latter his Secretary, he conferred with them concerning the divorce, and commended the expedient ſuggeſted to the King by Cardinal Wolſey, of conſulting the divines of our own and foreign univerſities, which he thought would bring the matter to a ſhort iſſue.

This opinion of Dr. Cranmer was related by Fox and Gardiner to the King, who immediately ſent for him to court, and admiring his gravity, modeſty and learning, determined to afford him his ſanction and patronage, and accordingly, in a ſhort time, he appointed him one of his chaplains, gave him a good benefice, and nominated him to the archdeaconry of Taunton.

At the King's command he drew up his own judgment of the caſe in writing, and ſo learnedly defended it in the public ſchool at Cambridge, that he brought divers of the oppoſite party to his opinion.

In a matter of ſuch moment, the friends of the reformation will not it is preſumed be diſpleaſed with the following abſtract of the arguments, on which Dr. Cranmer, with all who favoured the divorce, grounded their judgment; theſe were taken partly from ſcripture, from fathers, councils and ſchoolmen.

From ſcripture they argued, that the prohibited degrees in Leviticus, were not only obligatory to the Jewiſh nation but moral precepts, and the primitive laws of marriage, as appeared from the judgments denounced againſt the Canaanites of the violation of them, and their being ſaid to have polluted the land thereby, which cannot be accounted for, if theſe were only poſitive Jewiſh inſtitutions; that amongſt thoſe prohibited degrees, the marriage with the brother's wife was one, and that the breech of theſe precepts was called an unclean thing, wickedneſs and abomination: that the diſpenſation in *Deuteronomy* of marrying with the brother's wife, only ſhewed that the foundation of the law was not in its

own nature immutable, but might be diſpenſed with by immediate divine revelation, but that it did not follow, that the Pope by his ordinary authority, could diſpence with it; and that to pretend that the ſenſe of the precept was only a prohibition of having the father's wife in his life time, was a poor, low cavill, it being univerſally unlawful to have any man's wife whatever, while he was yet living.

The conſtant tradition of the church was clear againſt the lawfulneſs of the marriage. *Origen* on *Lev.* xx. St. Chryſoſtom on *Matt.* xxii. and St. *Baſil*, in his epiſtle to *Diodorus*, expreſsly aſſerts theſe precepts to be obligatory under the goſpel, and in the Latin church, St. *Ambrome*, *Jerome* and *Auſtin* were of the ſame opinion.

Tertullian, who lived within an age after the apoſtles, in his fourth book againſt Marcion, affirms, that the law of not marrying the brother's wife does ſtill oblige Chriſtians.

Pope *Gregory* the Great had given the ſame determination in anſwer to *Auſtin* the firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury, and directed him to adviſe all who had married their brother's wives, to look on their marriage as a moſt grievous ſin, and to ſeparate from their ſociety.

Other Popes had declared themſelves of the ſame judgment, and particularly *Innocent* the Third, who wrote with great force againſt ſuch marriages.

To theſe were added many teſtimonies from the writers of latter ages, the Schoolmen and Canoniſts but the judgment of the pureſt antiquity being ſo full and expreſs, we paſs over them as leſs material, only obſerving that on the contrary ſide none could be produced before *Wickliffe* and *Cajetan*, who looked on theſe prohibitions to reſpect the judicial law of the Jews alone.

The ſecond Canon of the council of the Neocæſarea decrees, that if a woman were married to two brothers, ſhe ſhould be excommunicated till death, and that the man who married his brother's wife, ſhould be anathematized.

The fifty firſt Canon of the council at Agde, reckons the marriage with the brother's wife, amongſt inceſtuous marriages; and decrees, that all ſuch marriages are null, and the parties ſo contracting to be excommunicated, till they ſeperate; and the contrary doctrine and error of Wickliffe had been condemned not only in convocation at London and Oxon, but in the general council of Conſtance.

Becauſe ſome endeavours were made to evade this by a pretence, that the marriage with Prince Arthur was never conſummated; it was farther alledged, that the conſummation was not neceſſary to make a marriage complete, as might be inferred from Deut. xxii. 24, where the woman, who was only eſpouſed to a man, if ſhe admitted another to her bed, is commanded to be ſtoned as an adultreſs; and though Joſeph had never conſummated the marriage with the Bleſſed Virgin, yet it appears from Matt. i. 19. that he could not put her away, without a ſolemn bill of divorce.

But

But in this caſe, there was not the leaſt ground to imagine, that the marriage had not been conſecrated.

The marriage bed was ſolemnly bleſſed when they were put into it, they were ſeen publicly in bed together, for ſeveral days after.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador had, by his maſter's order, taken proofs of the conſummation of the marriage, and ſent them to Spain.

After the death of the young Prince, his brother was not created Prince of Wales, till ten months were elapſed, that they might be certain that the Princeſs was not pregnant, before they conferred the honour on him.

She herſelf never ſaid any thing to the contrary, and in the petition offered to the Pope in her name, as repeated in his bull, it is ſaid that the marriage was perhaps conſummated; nay, farther, in the Pope's brief, it is plainly confeſſed, that the marriage was actually conſummated.

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was ſent by the king to diſpute on this ſubject at Paris, Rome, and other foreign places.

At Rome he delivered his book to the Pope, and offered to juſtify it in a public diſputation, but after many promiſes and appointments, none appeared to oppoſe him publicly, and in more private conferences he forced them to confeſs that the marriage was contrary to the law of God.

The Pope conſtituted him Pœnitentiary General of England, and then diſmiſſed him.

In Germany he gave full ſatisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary profeſſion, that the marriage was contrary to the law of God, and prevailed on the famous Oſiander, to declare the King's marriage, in his Treatiſe of Inceſtuous Marriage, and to draw up a form of direction, how the King's proceſs ſhould be managed, which was ſent over to England: before he left Germany, he was married to Oſiander's niece, whom when he returned from his embaſſy, he did not take over with him, but privately ſent for in 1534.

In Auguſt 1532, Archbiſhop Warham departed this life, and the King thinking Dr. Cramer the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed him in the See of Canterbury, wrote to him to haſten home, concealing the reaſon; but Cranmer ſhrewdly divining the cauſe, proceeded ſlowly on, hoping that the See might be filled before his arrival, though his procaſtination was of no avail, for the king, immediately on his return, opened his deſign of preferring him to the Archiepiſcopal See, as the moſt proper perſon to fill that important office in the church.

The Pope, notwithſtanding Cranmer was a man by no means attached to the See of Rome, diſpatched eleven bulls to confirm him in his dignified ſituation.

By the firſt, which was directed to the King, he was on his nomination, promoted the See of Canterbury; by the ſecond directed to himſelf, notice was given him of his promotion; the third abſolved him from all cenſures; the fourth was ſent to ſuffragans, the fifth to the Dean and Chapter; the

ſixth to the clergy of Canterbury; the ſeventh to all the laity; the eighth to all that held lands of the See, requiring them to acknowledge him as Archbiſhop; by the ninth his conſecration was ordered, upon taking the oath in the Pontifical; by the tenth the pall was ſent him, and by the eleventh the Archbiſhop of York and biſhop of London, were ordered to put it on.

Theſe bulls the Archbiſhop, according to cuſtom, received, but immediately ſurrendered them to the King, becauſe he would not acknowledge the Pope's power of conferring eccleſiaſtical dignities in England, which he eſteemed the ſole right of the King.

He was conſecrated March 30, 1533, by John Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, John Voicy, biſhop of Exon, and Henry Standiſh, biſhop of St. Aſaph; becauſe, in the oath of fidelity to the Pope, which he was obliged to take before his conſecration, there were ſome things ſeemingly inconſiſtent with his allegiance to the King, he made a public proteſtation, that he intended not to take the oath in any other ſenſe, than that which was reconcileable to the laws of God, the King's juſt prerogative and the ſtatutes of this kingdom, ſo as not to bind himſelf thereby to act contrary to any of theſe.

This proteſtation he renewed, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, at his receiving the pall, and both times deſired a Prothonotary to make a public inſtrument of his proteſtation, and the perſons preſent to ſign it.

The firſt public office in which the Archbiſhop was concerned, was pronouncing the ſentence of the King's divorce from Queen Catherine, which was done May the 23d, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhops of London, Bath and Lincoln being in commiſſion with him.

The Queen, after three citations, neither appearing in perſon, nor by proxy, was declared contumacious, the depoſitions relative to the conſummation of the marriage with Prince Arthur were read together with the provinces of Canterbury and York, and the opinions of the moſt noted canoniſts and divines in favour of the divorce; the Archbiſhop then with the unanimous conſent of the reſt of the commiſſioners, pronounced the marriage between the King and Queen Mary, null and of no force from the beginning, and declared them ſeparated and divorced from each other, and at liberty to engage with whom they pleaſed.

In this affair the archbiſhop proceeded only upon what had been already concluded by the Univerſities, Convocations, &c. and did no more than put their deciſions into a form of law.

On the 21th of May he held another court at Lambeth, in which he confirmed the King's marriage with Ann Boleyn.

The Pope, alarmed at theſe proceedings, by a public inſtrument declared the divorce null and void, and threatened to excommunicate the Archbiſhop, unleſs he would revoke all that he had done; whereupon the Archbiſhop appealed from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called, and

and ſent the appeal under his ſeal to Bonner, deſiring him and Gardiner to acquaint the Pope with it in ſuch manner as they ſhould think moſt expedient.

On the 7th of September, the new Queen was delivered of a daughter, and baptized a few days after by the name of Elizabeth, Archbiſhop Cranmer ſtanding Godfather.

When the ſupremacy came under debate, and the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome was called in queſtion, the Archbiſhop anſwered all the arguments brought in defence of the papal tyranny, with ſuch ſtrength and perſpicuity, and ſolidly confuted its advocates from the word of God, and the univerſal conſent of the Primitive church that the foreign power was, without ſcruple, aboliſhed by full conſent of parliament and convocation.

Archbiſhop Cranmer had many years deſired the deſtruction of this uſurped juriſdiction, as he himſelf declared in a ſermon at Canterbury, becauſe it was the occaſion of many things being done contrary to the honour of God, and the good of this realm, and he perceived no hopes of amendment while it continued.

This he now ſaw happily effected, and ſoon after ordered an alteration to be made in the archiepiſcopal titles; inſtead of *Apoſtolicæ Fidis Legatus*, ſtyling himſelf *Metropolitanus*.

The king, whoſe authority was now almoſt as univerſally acknowledged as the Pope's, had long viewed the monaſteries with a jealous eye, thinking that theſe being by their privilege of exemption engaged to the See of Rome, would prove a body of reſerve for the Pope, always ready to ſupport his claim.

This was ſuppoſed to be the chief motive which inclined the King to think of diſſolving them; and Cranmer being conſulted on this head, approved of the reſolution.

He ſaw how inconſiſtent thoſe foundations were, with the reformed religion, he had then in view; and propoſed, that out of the revenues of the monaſteries, the King ſhould found more biſhoprics, that the dioceſes being reduced into leſs compaſs, the biſhops might the better diſcharge their duty according to ſcripture and private practice.

He hoped alſo that from theſe ruins there would be new foundations erected in every Cathedral, to be nurſeries of learning under the inſpection of the biſhop for the uſe and benefit of the whole dioceſe: but theſe noble deſigns were unhappily defeated by the ſiniſter arts of ſome avaricious court, who without fear of God, or regard to the public good, ſtudied only ſacrilegiouſly to raiſe their own fortune, out of the ſpoils of the church.

When Queen Anna Boleyn was ſent to the Tower on a ſudden jealouſy of the King, the archbiſhop was greatly concerned for her misfortune, and did his utmoſt endeavour to aſſiſt her in her diſtreſs.

He wrote a letter to the king, in which, after having recommended to him an equality of temper, and reſignation to the divine will, he endeavoured to diſpoſe his majeſty to clemency and a good humour, and moſt earneſtly implored, that however un-

fortunate the iſſue of this affair might prove, he would ſtill continue his regard to the revealed word of God, leſt the enemies of the Goſpel ſhould give out that it was for her ſake alone, that he had favoured it.

But neither the letter of the archbiſhop, nor a very moving one wrote by the unfortunate lady, made the leaſt impreſſion upon the king, who perſiſted in the cruel reſolution, and ſhe was executed in the Tower, May 19, 1536.

The following year the Archbiſhop, with the joint authority of the biſhops, ſet forth that valuable book, intituled, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man.*

This book was compoſed in convocation, and drawn up for a direction to biſhops and clergy. It contained an Explication of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave-Maria, Juſtification, and Purgatory.

This was a great ſtep towards the future Reformation; for in this book the univerſal paſtorſhip of the biſhop of Rome, is declared to have no foundation on the word of God, the Church of England is aſſerted to be, as truly and properly, a Catholic and Apoſtolic church, as that of Rome, or any other church where the Apoſtles perſonally reſided, and all churches are affirmed to be equal in power and dignity, built upon the ſame foundation, governed by the ſame ſpirit, and on as good grounds expecting the ſame glorious immortality.

In the article of the ſacrament of the altar, though the corporal preſence is aſſerted, yet it is only ſaid, that this ſacrament is to be uſed with *all due Reverence and Honour,* without any mention of the adoration of the elements.

The ſuperſtitious notions of the people concerning the ceremonies and injunctions of the church, in thinking them of ſtricter obligations than moral duties are cenſured; in the expoſition of the ſecond commandment, bowing down to, or worſhiping of images, is expreſsly condemned. The invocation of ſaints is reſtrained to begging their interceſſion for us, and health of body and mind, remiſſion of ſin, grace and future happineſs, are ſaid to be above the diſpoſal of created bleſſings for the obtaining which application muſt be made to God alone: the clergy are forbid to pretend to temporal juriſdictions, independent on the civil magiſtrate, paſſive obedience is aſſerted without reſtriction, and all reſiſtance on what pretence ſoever condemned: the people are cautioned againſt miſtaking the Ave-Maria for a prayer, which which is only an hymn of praiſe: Juſtification is attributed to the merits and ſatisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt alone, excluſive of the merit of good works, and the Pope's pardons, maſſes at *Scala Cæli,* or before any celebrated images, are declared unprofitable to deliver ſouls out of the middle ſtate of puniſhment, concerning the nature and degrees of which it is affirmed, that we have no certainty from Revelation.

This worthy Prelate from the very day of his promotion to the ſee of Canterbury, had continually employed his thoughts on getting the Holy Scriptures tranſlated into Engliſh: he had often

often ſolicited his majeſty about it, and at length obtained a grant that they might be tranſlated and printed.

For want of good paper in England, the copy was ſent to Paris, and by means of Biſhop Bonner a licence was procured for printing it there.

As ſoon as ſome of the copies came to the archbiſhop's hands, he ſent one to the Lord Cromwell, deſiring him to preſent it in his name to the king, importuning him to intercede with his majeſty, that by his authority all his ſubjects might have the liberty of uſing it without conſtraint, which his lordſhip accordingly did, and the king readily complied with his requeſt.

Injunctions were immediately publiſhed, requiring an Engliſh bible of the largeſt ſize to be procured for the uſe of every pariſh church, at the expence of the miniſter and churchwardens, and prohibiting all diſcouraging the people from reading or hearing the ſcriptures.

The ſacred volume was received with inexpreſſible joy; every one that was able purchaſed it, and the poor greedily flocked to hear it read. Many perſons advanced in years learned to read on purpoſe that they might peruſe it, and even little children crowded with eagerneſs to hear it.

The archbiſhop was not convinced of the falſity and abſurdity of the doctrine of the corporal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar, as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the proſecution of Lambert, who was burnt Nov. 20, 1538, for denying tranſubſtantiation.

In 1539, Cranmer and other prelates who favoured a reformation, fell under the king's diſpleaſure, becauſe they could not be perſuaded to give their aſſent in parliament, that the king ſhould have all the revenues of the monaſteries which were ſuppreſſed to his ſole uſe.

They had been prevailed upon to conſent, that he ſhould have all the lands which his anceſtors gave to any of them, but the reſidue they would have beſtowed on hoſpitals, ſchools, and other pious and charitable foundations.

Gardener biſhop of Wincheſter, and the reſt of the Popiſh faction, took this opportunity to inſinuate themſelves by their hypocriſy and flattery, into the the king's favour, and to incenſe him againſt the archbiſhop.

This is thought (and with much juſtice) to have been the cauſe of the king's zeal, in preſſing the bill containing the ſix bloody articles, by which none were allowed to ſpeak againſt tranſubſtantiation, on pain of being burnt as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in caſes of treaſon; it was alſo thereby made felony and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or thoſe who had vowed celibacy, or to ſpeak againſt private maſſes and auricular confeſſion.

The archbiſhop argued boldly in the houſe againſt the ſix articles three days together, and that ſo ſtrenuouſly, that though the king was ſo reſolute in paſſing the act, he deſired a copy of his reaſons againſt it, and ſhewed not

not the leaſt reſentment towards him for his oppoſition to it.

The king would have perſuaded him to withdraw from the houſe, ſince he could not vote for the bill, but after a decent excuſe he told his majeſty, that he thought himſelf obliged in conſcience, to ſay and ſhew his diſapprobation.

When the bill paſſed, he entered his proteſt againſt it, and ſoon after he ſent his wife away privately to her friends in Germany.

The king who loved him for his probity and courage, ſent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to aſſure him of the continuance of his eſteem and favour, notwithſtanding his oppoſition to the late act.

In 1540 the king iſſued out a commiſſion to the archbiſhop and a ſelect number of biſhops, to inſpect into matters of religion, and explain ſome of its chief doctrines.

The biſhops drew up a ſet of articles favouring the old Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and meeting at Lambeth vehemently urged the archbiſhop, that they might be eſtabliſhed, it being the king's will and pleaſure; but neither by fear nor flattery could they prevail on this truly ſincere man to conſent to it; though it happened at a time when his friend the Lord Cromwell lay in the Tower, and he himſelf was ſuppoſed daily to loſe ground in his majeſty's favour.

Relying on the juſtice of his cauſe, which was that of Chriſt and his Goſpel, he went to the king, expoſtulated with him, and ſo wrought upon his mind, that he joined with the archbiſhop againſt the reſt of the Commiſſioners, and the book of articles was drawn up, and paſſed according to Cranmer's judgment.

In the courſe of this year the largeſt volume of the Engliſh Bible was publiſhed, with an excellent preface the Archbiſhop prefixed to it; and Bonner, then newly conſecrated biſhop of London, ſet up ſix of them in the moſt convenient places of his cathedral of St. Paul's, for the people to reſort unto and read. So different was his conduct then, to what it appeared to be in the days of Queen Mary.

After the fall of Lord Cromwell, Archbiſhop Cranmer, obſerving the reſtleſs ſpirit of his adverſaries, and how they lay upon the watch for an opportunity to bring him into trouble, thought it prudent to retire for a ſeaſon, and to live as privately as the duties of his ſtation would permit him: notwithſtanding which, his implacable enemy, biſhop Gardiner, was daily plotting his deſtruction, and having procured one Sir John Goſtwicke to accuſe the Archbiſhop in parliament, of encouraging Novel opinions, and making his family a nurſery of hereſy and ſedition, divers lords of the privy-council moved the King to commit the Archbiſhop to the Tower, till enquiry ſhould be made into the truth of this charge.

His majeſty, perceiving there was more malice than truth in theſe clamours againſt the Archbiſhop, one evening, under pretence of diverting himſelf upon the water, ordered his

his barge to be rowed to Lambeth ſide.

The Archbiſhop's ſervants acquainting their lord of his Majeſty's near approach, his lordſhip came to the water-ſide, to pay his reſpects to the King, and to invite him into his palace.

The King commanded him to come into the barge, and made him ſit down cloſe by him, and when Cranmer had obeyed his Majeſty's command, he began to complain to him of the nations being overun with herſy and new notions of divinity, which he had reaſon to fear might be of danderous conſequence, and that the faction might, in time, break out into a civil war, and be the cauſe of much blood-ſhed and the total ruin of many of his honeſt and peaceable ſubjects; to prevent which, his Majeſty told him, he was reſolved to ſeek after the grand Incendiary, and to take him off by ſome exemplary puniſhment.

He then proceeded to aſk the Archbiſhop his opinion of ſuch a reſolution, though Cranmer divined the meaning of the queſtion, yet he freely and without the leaſt appearance of concern, replied, that his Majeſty's reſolution was greatly to be commended, and that not only the prime Incendiary, but alſo the reſt of the factious heretics ought to be made public examples to the terror of others; but then he cautioned the King not to charge thoſe with hereſy, who made the inſpired writings the rule of their faith, and could prove their doctrines by clear teſtimonies from the word of God.

Upon this the King came to the main point, and told him that he had been informed, that he was the Grand Incendiary, who encouraged hereſy and heterodoxy, and that his authority had occaſioned the ſix articles to be ſo publicly conteſted in his province.

The Archbiſhop modeſtly replied, that he could not acknowledge himſelf to be of the ſame opinion, with reſpect to thoſe articles, as he had declared, when the bill was paſſed, though he was not conſcious to himſelf of having offended againſt the act.

The King, putting on an air of pleaſantry, asked him whether his bed-chamber would ſtand the teſt of thoſe articles; the Archbiſhop honeſtly confeſſed, that he was married in Germany, during his embaſſy at the Emperor's court, before his promotion to the See of Canterbury; but at the ſame time aſſured his Majeſty, that on the paſſing that act, he had parted with his wife, and ſent her abroad to her friends.

The King was charmed with his free and unreſerved reply, and pulling off the maſk aſſured him of his favour, told him of the information preferred againſt him, and the parties who pretended to make it good.

Cranmer aſſured the King, that he was ready to ſtand the ſevereſt ſcrutiny, and willing to ſubmit himſelf to a legal trial.

The King put the cauſe into his own hands and committed the conduct of it entirely to him.

This the Archbiſhop remonſtrated would be cenſured as partiality, and the King's juſtice called in queſtion,

but his majeſty had ſo ſtrong an opinion of Cranmer's integrity, that he reſolved to leave it to his conduct, and having farther aſſured him of the entire confidence he repoſed in him, diſmiſſed him.

The Archbiſhop immediately ſent down his Vicar-general, and principal regiſter to Canterbury, to make diligent enquiry into the affair, and trace the progreſs of this plot againſt him.

In the mean time his adverſaries importunately preſſed the king to ſend him to priſon, and oblige him to anſwer the charge of hereſy.

At length his Majeſty reſigned ſo far to their ſolicitations, as to conſent, that if the Archbiſhop could fairly be proved guilty of any one crime, either againſt church or ſtate, he ſhould be ſent to priſon; in this the King acted the politician, intending, by thus ſeemingly countenancing the proſecution, to diſcover who were Cranmer's adverſaries, and what was the length of their deſign againſt him.

At midnight he ſent a gentleman of his privy-chamber to Lambeth to fetch the Archbiſhop, and when he was come, told him that he had been daily importuned to commit him to priſon as an encourager of hereſy, and how far he had complied with the requeſt of his enemies.

Cranmer returned his majeſty thanks for this timely notice, and declared himſelf willing to go to priſon and ſtand trial, for being conſcious that he was not guilty of any offence, he thought that the beſt way to clear his innocence, and remove all unreaſonable and groundleſs ſuſpicions.

The king admiring his ſimplicity, told him he was to blame to rely ſo confidently on his innocence, for if he were once under a cloud, and hurried to priſon, there would be villains enough to ſwear any thing againſt him, but while he was at liberty and his character untainted, it would not be ſo eaſy to ſuborn witneſſes againſt him.

At length his majeſty generouſly told him, that ſince his unguarded ſimplicity rendered him leſs cautious than he ought to be, he would ſuggeſt to him the means of his preſervation.

To-morrow, ſaid the King, *you will be ſent for to the Privy-council, and ordered to priſon; upon this you are to requeſt that ſince you have the honour to be one of the board, you may be admitted into the Council and your informers brought face to face, and then if you cannot clear yourſelf, you are willing to go to priſon: If this reaſonable requeſt is denied you, appeal to me, and give them this ſign that you have my authority for ſo doing.* Then the King took a ring off his finger, gave it to the archbiſhop, and diſmiſſed him.

The next morning Cranmer was ſummoned to the Privy-council, and when he came, was denied admittance into the Council Chamber.

When Dr. Butts, one of the king's phyſicians heard of this, he came to the archbiſhop, who was waiting in the lobby among the men-ſervants, to ſhew his reſpect to his grace, and protect him from inſults.

The King, ſending ſoon after for the doctor, he acquainted his majeſty with the ſhameful indignity put upon the

the archbiſhop. His majeſty incenſed that the Primate of all England ſhould be treated in ſo contumelious a manner, immediately ſent to command them to admit him into the Council-chamber.

At his entrance he was ſaluted with an heavy accuſation, of having infected the whole realm with hereſy, and commanded to the Tower, till the whole of this charge was thoroughly examined.

The archbiſhop deſired to ſee the informers, and to have the liberty of defending himſelf before the council, and not to be committed to priſon on bare ſuſpicion.

But this being abſolutely denied him, and finding that neither arguments nor intreaties would avail, he appealed to the king, and producing the ring he had given him, put a ſtop to their proceedings.

When they came before the king, he ſeverely reprimanded them, expatiated on his obligations to Cranmer for his fidelity and integrity, and charged them, if they had any affection for him, to expreſs it by their behaviour to the archbiſhop.

Cranmer having eſcaped the ſnare, ſhewed not the leaſt reſentment for the injuries done him, and from this time forward had ſo great a ſhare in the king's favour, that nothing was attempted againſt him.

The troubles of this great and good man are thus related by Archbiſhop Parker, who living in thoſe times, muſt be allowed much better authority than thoſe who lived at a greater diſtance.

The Archbiſhop's Vicar-general and regiſter, being found negligent and dilatory, the king ſent Doctor Lee privately to Canterbury, to examine into this conſpiracy againſt the archbiſhop, and make his report of what he could diſcover.

On a ſtrict enquiry, he found letters from Biſhop Gardiner's ſecretary, by which it appeared that that prelate had been the principal promoter of the proſecution againſt the archbiſhop.

When the biſhop of Wincheſter perceived that his deſigns againſt Cranmer were detected, fearing the conſequence, he wrote him a very humble penitent letter, in which he acknowledged himſelf to have been guilty of great folly in crediting thoſe ſlanderous reports that were raiſed againſt the archbiſhop, as if he had been a favourer of hereſy and falſe doctrines; declaring that he was now entirely ſatisfied, that theſe accuſations were wholly falſe and groundleſs, aſking pardon, in moſt ſubmiſſive and affectionate terms, for his great raſhneſs and undutifulneſs, and promiſing all future obedience and fidelity to the archbiſhop, whom he ſtiled his good and gentle father.

On the reception of this letter, the archbiſhop, laying aſide all reſentment againſt him, reſolved to forget what was paſt, and ſaid, ſince Gardiner called him Father, he would prove a Father to him indeed; and when the king would have laid his letter before the Houſe of Lords, Cranmer prevailed with him to let the matter ſubſide.

The ſame lenity he ſhewed towards Dr. Thornton, ſuffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber; who though entertained in

in his family, entruſted with his ſecrets, and indebted to him for many favours, had ungratefully and treacherouſly conſpired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When he firſt diſcovered their treachery, he took them aſide into his ſtudy, and telling them that he had been baſely and falſely accuſed by ſome, in whom he had always repoſed the greateſt confidence, deſired them to adviſe him, how he ſhould behave towards them. Not ſuſpecting that they were concerned in the queſtion, they replied that ſuch vile, abandoned villains ought to be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour, nay, deſerved to die without mercy.

At this the Archbiſhop, lifting up his hands to Heaven, cried out, *Merciful God, whom may a man truſt!* and pulling out of his boſom the letters, by which he had diſcovered their treachery, aſked them if they knew thoſe papers.

When they ſaw their own letters produced againſt them, they were in the utmoſt confuſion, and falling down on their knees, humbly ſued for forgiveneſs.

The Archbiſhop mildly told them he forgave them and would pray for them, but that they muſt not expect him ever to truſt them for the future.

Dr. Cranmer was much blamed by many for his too great lenity, which it was thought encouraged the Popiſh faction to make freſh attempts upon him.

The King obſerving their implacable hatred againſt him, and the perils to which he was expoſed, on account of the zeal, for the reformation of thoſe abuſes, under which the church groaned, changed his coat of arms, from three Cranes to three Pelicans, intimating thereby, that he muſt, like the Pelican, ſhed his blood for his ſpiritual childrens benefit, if it ſhould pleaſe God to call him thereto.

The Archbiſhop now finding the juncture ſomewhat favourable, argued againſt the ſanguinary act of the ſix articles in the Parliament houſe, and preſſed for a mitigation of its ſeverity, with ſuch ſtrength of reaſoning, that the King and Lords Temporal, agreed to moderate the rigour of the ſtatute.

Soon after King Henry prepared for an expedition againſt France, and ordered a Litany to be ſaid for a bleſſing on his arms; the Archbiſhop prevailed with him to let it be ſet forth in Engliſh, aſſuring his majeſty, that the ſervice in an unknown tongue, rendered the people negligent in coming to church.

This, with the prohibition of ſome ſuperſtitious and unwarrantable cuſtoms, touching vigils and the worſhip of the croſs, was all the progreſs the reformation made, during the reign of King Henry VIII. for the intended reformation of the Canon law, was, by the craft of Gardiner, ſuppreſſed for reaſons of ſtate, and the King, towards the cloſe of his life, ſeemed to have had a ſtrong bias towards Popiſh ſuperſtitions, and to frown on all attempts to introduce a reformation.

On the 28th of January, 1546, King Henry paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded on the throne of England by his only ſon Edward, who was God-ſon to the Archbiſhop, and had

had been under the tuition of men, who favoured the reformation.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was one of thoſe, whom the King had nominated for his executors, and who were to take the adminiſtration of the government into their hands, till King Edward arrived at the age of eighteen years; and when the Earl of Hertford was afterwards choſen Protector, his power was limited, ſo that he could do nothing without the advice and conſent of all the other executors.

It muſt be confeſſed that the raſh zeal of ſome of our reformers againſt the uſurped Papal ſupremacy carried them too far, and made them ſtretch the regal authority, to ſuch an exorbitant heigth, as was inconſiſtent with the Divine commiſſion of the clergy, and ſeemed to reduce the church to almoſt abſolute ſubjection to the State.

That Archbiſhop Cranmer run into this extreme, is plain, not only from his anſwers to ſome queſtions relative to the government of the church, firſt publiſhed by Dr. Stillingfleet, in his miſchievous Irenicum, but from the commiſſion, which he now took out, from the new king, whom he petitioned for a revival of his juriſdiction; and as he had exerciſed the functions of an Archbiſhop during the former reign, ſo that authority determining with the late King's life, his preſent majeſty would truſt him with the ſame juriſdiction.

On this error of the archbiſhop, the modern Papiſts make tragical outcries, forgetting that it was the common miſtake of thoſe times, and that it is uſual for men, in the firſt heat of their zeal againſt any pernicious error, to run too far the contrary way.

King Henry, who died in the Roman communion (though his imperfections are ſo freely charged on the reformation by the Papiſts) had, in his will, left ſix hundred pounds *per annum* for maſſes for his ſoul, with proviſion for four ſolemn obits every year, but by the influence of the Archbiſhop, this ſuperſtitious part of his will, notwithſtanding his ſtrict and ſolemn charge for its execution, was neglected.

On the 20th of February, the Coronation of King Edward was ſolemnized at Weſtminſter Abbey.

The ceremony was performed by Archbiſhop Cranmer, who made an excellent ſpeech to the king in which after a juſt cenſure of the Papal encroachments on princes, and a declaration, that the ſolemn ceremonies of a coronation add nothing to the authority of a prince, whoſe power is derived immediately from God; he proceeds to inform the king of his duty, exhorts him to follow the precedent of good Joſias, to regulate the worſhip of God, to ſuppreſs idolatry, reward virtue, execute juſtice, relieve the poor, and puniſh the evil doer.

It may not be improper to tranſcribe what he ſays concerning the Divine original of kingly power in his own words, to rectify ſome prevailing notions in the preſent day.

The ſolemn rites of coronation, (ſays he) have their ends and utility, yet neither direct force or neceſſity; they be good admonitions to put kings in mind

of their duty to God, but no increaſe of their dignity, for they be God's anointed, not in reſpect of the oil which the biſhop uſeth, but in conſideration of their power which is ordained, of the ſword, which is authorized, of their perſons that are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of his ſpirit, for the better ruling and guiding of the people.

The oil, if added, is but a ceremony, if it be wanting, the king is yet a perfect monarch notwithſtanding, and God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled.

Then follows his account of the king's duty, after which he goes on; *Being bound by my function to lay theſe things before your Royal Highneſs, yet I openly declare before the living God, and before theſe nobles of the land, that I have no commiſſion to denounce your majeſty deprived, if you miſs in part, or in the whole of theſe performances.*

This ſpeech had ſo good an effect on the young king, that a royal viſitation was reſolved on, to rectify the diſorders of the church, and reform religion.

The viſitors had ſix circuits aſſigned them, and every diviſion had a preacher, whoſe buſineſs it was to bring off the people from ſuperſtition and diſpoſe them for the intended alterations.

To render the impreſſions of their doctrines more laſting, the Archbiſhop thought it highly proper to have ſome Homilies compoſed, which might by a plain method teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and correct the prevailing errors and ſuperſtitions.

On this head he conſulted the biſhop of Wincheſter, and deſired his concurrence, but to no purpoſe, for Gardiner, forgeting his large profeſſion of future obedience to the Archbiſhop, was returned, with the dog, to his vomit, and wrote to the Protector to put a ſtop to the reformation in its birth.

When Cranmer perceived that Gardiner was obſtinate, he went on without him, and ſet forth the firſt Book of Homilies, in which himſelf had the chief hand.

Soon after, Eraſmus's Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, was tranſlated, and placed in every church for the inſtruction of the people.

On November 5, 1547, a convocation was held at St. Paul's, which the Archbiſhop opened with a ſpeech, in which he put the clergy in mind of applying themſelves to the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures and proceeding according to that rule, in overthrowing the corrupt innovations of Popery; but the terrour of the ſix articles being a check on the majority, they acquainted the Archbiſhop with their fears, who, reporting it to the council, obtained the repeal of that act.

In this convocation, the communion was ordered to be adminiſtered in both kinds, and the lawfulneſs of the marriage of the clergy, affirmed by a great majority.

In the latter end of January, the Archbiſhop wrote to Dr. Bonner, to forbid, throughout his dioceſe, the ridiculous proceſſions, which were uſed in the Popiſh times, on Candlemas-day, Aſh-Wedneſday, and Palm-Sunday, and to cauſe notice thereof to be given

given to the other neighbouring biſhops, that they might do the ſame.

He was alſo one of the committee appointed to inſpect the offices of the church, and to reform them according to ſcripture, and the pureſt antiquity, and by them, a new office for the Holy Communion was drawn up and ſet forth by authority.

This year alſo, were publiſhed the Archbiſhop's catechiſm, intituled, *A ſhort Inſtruction in Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular profit of Children and young People*, and a Latin Treatiſe of his, *againſt unwritten Verities*.

From this catechiſm, it is plain, that he had now recovered himſelf from thoſe extravagant notions of the regal ſupremacy, into which he once unfortunately ran; for here he ſtrenuouſly aſſerts the divine commiſſion of biſhops and prieſts, enlarges on the efficacy of their abſolution and ſpiritual cenſures, and earneſtly wiſhes for the reſtoring the primitive penitentiary diſcipline.

The licence, which was now given to men of learning and judgment, freely to preach and write againſt the Popiſh corruptions, began to be abuſed by men of great confidence and groſs ignorance, who took this opportunity to ſpread many pernicious errors: to prevent ſuch, therefore, from propagating their blaſphemous principles, they were convened before the Archbiſhop, and prevailed on to recant, and abjure their falſe notions.

One Joan Bocher continuing deaf to all arguments and obſtinately perſiſting in her pernicious principles againſt all perſuaſions, the Archbiſhop thought it neceſſary to make her an example, to terrify others from the like obſtinacy, and cruſh the ſpirit of hereſy, as it were, in the bud, and therefore having firſt excommunicated, delivered her over to the ſecular power, upon which, ſhe was condemned to be burnt.

But theſe rigorous proceedings by no means redounded to the honour of Cranmer and were very inconſiſtent with the merciful diſpoſition of the young King, who long withſtood the ſigning a warrant for her execution, and when over-awed by the authority and reaſoning of Cranmer, he at length, with great reluctance conſented, and with tears in his eyes, ſaid to the Archbiſhop, *My Lord, if I do amiſs in this, you muſt anſwer for it to God.*

In 1549, the Popiſh faction broke out into a dangerous rebellion, and tho' they were ſoon ſuppreſſed in Kent, Oxfordſhire, and Suſſex, yet in Norfolk and Devonſhire, they were formidable for their numbers, and encreaſed daily to the terror of the government.

The Lord Ruſſel was ſent down with forces againſt them, and to him they delivered fifteen articles, in which they demanded, in the moſt inſolent terms, the revival of the ſix article act, the reſtitution of the old ſuperſtitions, and that Cardinal Pole ſhould not only be pardoned, but ſent for home, and made a privy-counſellor, and that the Abbey-lands ſhould be reſtored.

The Archbiſhop drew up a large and full anſwer to their demands, clearly

clearly ſhewing how unreaſonable they were, how prejudicial to the real intereſt of the nation, and of what miſchievous conſequence to religion, and juſtly abuſing the corruptions of Popery.

Biſhop Bonner was ſuſpected to be a ſecret abettor of this rebellion, and one of the rebels chief pleas being, that during the minority of the King, the ſtate had no authority to make laws; Bonner was enjoined to preach on this very ſubject, to ſhew the falſhood and danger of ſuch pernicious tenets, and aſſert the King's juſt power.

But inſtead of obeying, in his diſcourſe he caſt bitter reflections on the government, and information being given thereof by Latimer and Hooper, a miſſion was iſſued out to Archbiſhop Cranmer, biſhop Ridley, and others, to proceed againſt him.

When he appeared before the commiſſioners, he refuſed to give any direct anſwer to the charge laid againſt him, pretending that the cauſe of his preſent trouble was his aſſerting in his ſermon, the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar.

Then he began in the moſt audacious and inſolent manner to queſtion the Archbiſhop, concerning his belief in that point, but was told that they came not there to diſpute, but to hear what anſwer he could make, to the crimes laid to his charge.

The Archbiſhop bore with his inſolence moſt patiently, no leſs than ſeven ſucceſſive ſeſſions, when finding him incorrigible, and that he was reſolved not to anſwer to the articles alledged againſt him, but as rather to revile his judges, he, in the name of the reſt of the commiſſioners pronounced him *Contumax*, and proceeded to the ſentence of deprivation.

Bonner proteſted againſt the validity of the ſentence, becauſe he did not appear before them, of his own free will, but as a priſoner, and conſtrained to appear; but the Archbiſhop informed him, that the ſame plea might be made by any traitor or rebel, ſince no criminal is willing to be brought to juſtice.

The next year biſhop Gardiner alſo, for his obſtinate oppoſition to the reformation, was cited before the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the commiſſioners.

At his firſt appearance, he proteſted againſt the authority of his judges, and excepted againſt the legality of their commiſſion; he proteſted alſo againſt the perſons who appeared againſt him, and behaving himſelf in the ſame haughty and arrogant manner as Bonner had done before, he was at length deprived, after they had borne with his inſolence, no leſs than two and twenty ſeſſions, at different places, from the 15th of December, to the 14th of February.

This year the Archbiſhop publiſhed his *Defence of the true Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt.*

He had now, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Biſhop Ridley, overcome thoſe ſtrong prejudices under which he had long laboured, concerning the corporal preſence, and this treatiſe, from ſcripture and reaſon, very fully con-

confuted that ſuperſtitious doctrine.

The Papiſt party were alarmed at the publication of it, and ſoon after, two anſwers to it were publiſhed, one written by Mr. Smith, the other by Biſhop Gardiner.

The Archbiſhop defended his book againſt them both, and was allowed by all impartial readers, to have the ſuperiority in the argument.

The Archbiſhop's book was afterwards tranſlated into Latin, and highly eſteemed by all learned foreigners, for the great knowledge in ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory therein diſcovered.

The next material occurrence in the life of this eminent divine, was the publication of the forty two articles of religion, which, with the aſſiſtance of Biſhop Ridley, he drew up for preſerving and maintaining the purity and unity of the church.

They were alſo reviſed by ſeveral other biſhops and learned divines, and after their corrections, farther inlarged and improved by Cranmer.

Theſe articles were agreed to by the convocation in 1552, and the following year, publiſhed by Royal Authority, both in Latin and Engliſh.

The Archbiſhop had formed a deſign, in the reign of the late king, to review and purge the old Canon Law from its Popiſh corruptions, and had made ſome progreſs in the work, but by the ſecret artifices of Gardiner and others, the King was prevailed on, not to countenance and encourage it.

In this reign he reſumed his deſign, and procured a commiſſion from the King, for himſelf, and other learned divines and lawyers, diligently to examine into the old church-laws, and compile ſuch a body of laws, as they thought moſt expedient to be practiſed in eccleſiaſtical courts, and moſt conducive to order and good diſcipline.

The Archbiſhop proſecuted this noble undertaking, with great vigour, and had the principal hand in it: but when a correct and complete draught was finiſhed and prepared for the Royal aſſent, the unhappy death of the good King blaſted this great deſign, and prevented its confirmation.

This book was publiſhed by Archbiſhop Parker, in the year 1571, under the title of, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*.

King Edward, being now far gone in a conſumption (not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of being brought into that condition by ſlow poiſon) and finding himſelf daily decay, began to think of ſettling the ſucceſſion.

He had been perſuaded, by the artifices of the Duke of Northumberland to exclude his ſiſters, and bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane Gray, who was married to Northumberland's ſon.

This the Duke pretended was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the reformed religion, which would be in great danger from the ſucceſſion of the Princeſs Mary.

But in reality, he had nothing at heart, but the aggrandizing his own family, and entailing the crown on his poſterity, for he was at that time, a ſecret Papiſt, as he afterwards confeſſed at his execution.

The Archbiſhop did his utmoſt to oppoſe this alteration of the ſucceſſion, he argued againſt it with the King, telling him, that religion wanted not to be defended by ſuch unrighteous methods; that it was one of the groſs errors of the Papiſts, to juſtify the excluding or depoſing Princes from their juſt rights on account of religion, and let the conſequence be what it would, juſtice ought to take place, and the protection of the church, to be committed to the care of that righteous providence, which was never known to give a bleſſing to thoſe who endeavoured to preſerve themſelves from any imminent danger by unlawful means.

But his majeſty being over-perſuaded by Northumberland's agents was not to be moved from his reſolution: the will was made and ſubſcribed by the council and judges, the Archbiſhop was ſent for laſt of all, and required to ſubſcribe, but he plainly told them he could not do it without perjury, having ſworn to the entail of the crown, upon the two Princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the King replied, that the judges, who beſt knew the conſtitution, ſhould be moſt regarded in this point, and they had informed him, that notwithſtanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane.

The Archbiſhop deſired to diſcourſe with them himſelf about this matter, and they all agreeing that he might lawfully ſubſcribe the King's will, he was, after many perſuaſions, prevailed upon to reſign his own private ſcruples to their authority, and at laſt, but not without the utmoſt reluctance, he ſet his hand to it.

On the 6th of July, in the year of our Lord 1553, it pleaſed Almighty God to take to himſelf the pious young King, and the Archbiſhop, having ſubſcribed to his will, thought himſelf obliged, by virtue of his oath, to join the Lady Jane.

But her ſhort-lived power ſoon expired, and Queen Mary's title was univerſally acknowledged.

Soon after her acceſſion, a falſe report was raiſed, that Archbiſhop Cranmer, in order to make his court to the Queen, had offered to reſtore the Latin ſervice, and that he had already ſaid maſs in his Cathedral church of Canterbury.

To vindicate himſelf from this vile and baſe aſperſion, he publiſhed a declaration, in which he not only cleared himſelf from that unjuſt imputation, but offered publickly to defend the Engliſh liturgy, and prove it conſonant to ſcripture, and the pureſt antiquity, challenging at the ſame time his enemies to a diſputation.

The declaration ſoon fell into the hands of the council, who ſent a copy of it to the Queen's commiſſioners, by whom the Archbiſhop was immediately ſent for and examined.

Cranmer owned the declaration, but complained that it had, contrary to his deſire, ſtolen abroad in ſo imperfect a condition; for his deſign was to review and correct, and then having affixed his ſeal, to fix it up at St. Paul's, and on all the church doors in London.

This bold and extraordinary confeſſion,

ſeſſion, ſo irritated the council, that they ſent the Archbiſhop to the Tower, there to be confined, till the Queen's pleaſure concerning him was known.

Some of his friends, who foreſaw this ſtorm, had adviſed him to conſult his ſafety by retiring beyond ſea; but he thought it would reflect a great diſhonour on the cauſe he had eſpouſed, if he ſhould deſert his ſtation at ſuch a time as this, and choſe rather to hazard his life, than give juſt cauſe of ſcandal and offence.

In the middle of November, Archbiſhop Cranmer was attainted by the Parliament, and adjudged guilty of High Treaſon at Guildhall.

His See was hereupon declared void, and, on the tenth of December, the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury gave commiſſions to ſeveral perſons to exerciſe Archieſpiſcopal juriſdiction in their name, and by their authority.

Cranmer wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the Queen, in the moſt humble manner acknowledging his fault, in conſenting to ſign the King's will; acquainting her what preſſing inſtances he made to the King againſt it, and excuſing himſelf for being over-ruled by the authority of the judges and lawyers, who, he thought, underſtood the conſtitution better than he did himſelf.

The Queen had pardoned ſo many already, who had been far more deeply engaged in the Lady Jane's uſurpation, that Cranmer could not for ſhame be denied; he was therefore forgiven the treaſon, but to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable hatred againſt him for her mother's divorce, orders were given to proceed againſt him for hereſy.

The Tower being full of priſoners, Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, Latimer and Bradford, were all put into one chamber, for which, they bleſſed God, for the opportunity of converſing together, reading and comparing the ſcriptures, confirming themſelves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to conſtancy in profeſſing it, and patience in ſuffering for it.

In April 1554, the biſhops Ridley and Latimer, were removed from the Tower to Windſor, and from thence to Oxford, to diſpute with ſome ſelect perſons of both Univerſities.

At the firſt appearance of the Archbiſhop in the public ſchool, three articles were given him to ſubſcribe, in which the corporal preſence, by tranſubſtantiation, was aſſerted, and the maſs affirmed to be propitiatory for the ſins of the living and the dead.

Theſe he declared to be vile falſhoods, and promiſed to give an anſwer concerning them in writing.

Accordingly he drew them up, and when he was brought to the ſchools to diſpute, he delivered the writing to to Dr. Weſton the Prolocutor.

At eight in the morning the diſputation began, and held till two in the afternoon, during which time, the Archbiſhop conſtantly maintained the truth with great learning and force, againſt a multitude of clamorous and inſolent oppoſers.

Three days after, he was again brought forth to oppoſe Dr. Harpsfield, who was to reſpond for his degree

degree in divinity: here he acquitted himſelf ſo well, clearly ſhewing the groſs abſurdities and inextricable difficulties of the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, that Weſton himſelf, tho' a great bigot, could not but diſmiſs him with commendation.

In their diſputation, among other ſlanderous reproaches, the Archbiſhop was accuſed with corrupting and falſifying a paſſage, which, in his Book of the Sacrament, he had quoted from St. Hilary; in anſwer to this he tranſcribed it *verbatim*, from the printed book, and that Dr. Smith, one of their own divines there preſent, had quoted it word for word alſo; but Smith made no reply, being conſcious that it was true.

When the diſputation ended, one Mr. Halcot remembring that he had Smith's book, went directly to his chamber in Univerſity College, and comparing it with Cranmer's, found the quotation exactly true. He afterwards looked into a book of Gardiner's called *The Devil's Sophiſtry*, where the ſame paſſage was cited, and both the Latin and Engliſh exactly agree with Cranmer's quotation and tranſlation.

Upon this he determined to carry the books to the Archbiſhop in priſon, that he might produce them in his own vindication; but when he came thither, he was ſtopped and brought before Dr. Weſton and his colleagues, who upon information of his deſign, charged him with treaſon, and abetting Cranmer in his hereſy, and committed him to priſon.

The next day he was again brought before them, and they threatened to ſend him to biſhop Gardiner to be tried for treaſon, unleſs he would ſubſcribe the three articles, concerning which the diſputation had been held. This he then refuſed, but being ſent for again, after the condemnation of Cranmer, through fear he conſented to it, yet not till they had aſſured him, that if he ſinned by ſo doing, they would take the guilt upon themſelves, and anſwer for it to God.

But even this ſubſcription of which he afterwards heartily repented, could not prevail for the reſtoring the books, leſt he ſhould ſhew them to their ſhame; nor for his entire diſcharge, the maſter of Univerſity College being commanded to keep a ſtrict watch over him, till Gardiner's pleaſure concerning him was known, and if he heard nothing of him in a fortnight's time, then to expel him the college for his offence.

On the 20th of April, Cranmer was brought to St. Mary's before the Queen's commiſſioners, and refuſing to ſubſcribe, was pronounced a heretic, and ſentence of condemnation read againſt him as ſuch.

Upon this the Archbiſhop told them, that he appealed from their unjuſt ſentence and judgment, to the judgment of the Almighty, and that he truſted to be received to his preſence in Heaven, for maintaining the truth of whoſe ſpiritual preſence at the altar, he was there condemned.

His ſervants were now diſmiſſed from their attendance, and himſelf cloſely confined in priſon.

On the cloſe of this year, a Popiſh con-

convocation met, and did Dr. Cranmer the honour, to order his book of the ſacrament to be burnt, in company with the Engliſh Bible and Common-prayer Book.

Cranmer, in the mean time, ſpent his melancholy hours in writing a vindication of his treatiſe concerning the Euchariſt, from the objections of Gardiner, who had publiſhed a book againſt it, under the feigned name of *Marcus Antonius Conſtantius*.

Many learned men of the Romiſh perſuaſion came to viſit him in priſon, and endeavoured by diſputations and conferences, to draw him over to their church, but in vain.

In 1555, a new commiſſion was ſent from Rome, for the trial of Archbiſhop Cranmer for hereſy, the former ſentence againſt him being void in law, becauſe the authority of the Pope, was not then re-eſtabliſhed.

The commiſſioners were, Dr. Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, the Pope's delegate, Drs. Storie and Martin, of the civil law. They met at St. Mary's church, and being ſeated at the high altar, commanded the Archbiſhop to be brought before them.

To the Queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme authority of the nation, he paid all due reſpect, but abſolutely refuſed to ſhew any to the Pope's delegate, leſt he ſhould ſeem to make the leaſt acknowledgment of his uſurped ſupremacy.

Brooks, in a long oration, exhorted him to conſider from whence he was fallen, adviſing him, in the moſt earneſt and pathetic manner, to return to his Holy Mother, the Roman Catholic church, and by the example of his repentance, to reclaim thoſe whom his paſt error had miſled.

In this oration, he betrayed great ignorance both of ſcripture and antiquity; of ſcripture, by affirming that the Arians had more texts by two and forty, to countenance their errors, than the Catholics had for the maintenance of the truth; of antiquity, by making Origen write of Berengarius, who lived near eight hundred years after him, and by confounding the great St. Cyprian with another Cyprian of Antioch, laying the magical ſtudies of the latter to the charge of the former.

When he had finiſhed his harangue Dr. Martin in a ſhort ſpeech, began to open the trial, acquainting the Archbiſhop with the articles alledged againſt him, and requiring his anſwer.

The articles contained a charge of perjury, incontinence, and hereſy, firſt on account of his oppoſition to the Papal Tyranny, the ſecond in reſpect to his marriage; and the laſt, on account of the reformation in the late reign, in which he had the chief hand.

The Archbiſhop having liberty to ſpeak, after he had repeated the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, began with a juſtification of his conduct, in relation of his renouncing the Pope's ſupremacy; the admiſſion of which, he proved by many inſtances to be contrary to the natural allegiance of the ſubject, the fundamental laws of the realm, and the original conſtitution of the Chriſtian church: in the cloſe he boldly charged Brooks with perjury, for ſitting there by the Pope's authority, which he had ſolemnly abjured.

Brooks endeavoured to vindicate himself and retort the charge on the Archbishop, by pretending that he was seduced by him to take that oath; but this Cranmer told him was a gross falshood, the Pope's supremacy having received the said blow from his predecessor, Archbishop Warham; by whose advice King Henry had sent to both the Universities, to examine what foundation it had in the word of God; to which they replied and gave it under their seal, that by the word of God, the supremacy was vested in the King, not in the Pope; and that Brooks had then subscribed this determination, and therefore wronged him in pretending that he was seduced by him.

At this, Brooks was greatly incensed and exclaimed, *We came to examine you, and I think you examine us.*

Then Dr. Storie began to rail at the Archbishop in an indecent manner, for excepting against the authority of his judge, and moved bishop Brooks to require from him a direct answer to articles whereof he stood accused, or if he continued to deny the Pope's authority, and to decline answering, to pronounce sentence against him.

After this, Dr. Martin had a short conference with him concerning the supremacy, and the doctrine of the Eucharist, and they proceeded to demand his answer to certain points concerning the crimes laid to his charge, to which he replied in so full and satisfactory a manner, that Brooks thought himself obliged to make another speech to take off the impression his defence might have made upon the people.

The speech was made unbecoming the gravity of a Reverend Prelate, consisting of scurrilous and unchristian railings, as well as uncouth and sophistical misapplications of scripture and of the fathers.

Soon after this, the Archbishop was cited to appear at Rome within fourteen days, and there to answer in person: to this he replied, that he would very willingly consent, if the Queen would grant him permission to go to Rome, and justify the reformation to the Pope's face.

But this citation was meer mockery, for he was kept all that time in close confinement, and yet at the expiration of the fourscore days declared *Contumax*, for wilfully absenting himself from Rome, whither he was legally summoned, and then degraded, as we shall see hereafter.

In order to demonstrate the insincerity of Dr. Stillingfleet, and vindicate the character of the Archbishop, we shall present the reader with his last opinion, delivered concerning the extent of the regal supremacy, as contained in his answer to Dr. Martin.

When that Doctor asked him, who was supreme head of the church; he answered, Christ is the head of this member, as he is of the Holy Catholic church.

When the Doctor again demanded, if he had not declared King Henry head of the church; yes, replied Cranmer, of all the people in England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. What! said Martin, and not of the church—no, certainly, declared the Archbishop, for Christ only is the head of his church, and of the faith of the same.

The

The February following, a new commiſſion was given to biſhop Bonner, and biſhop Thirlby for the degradation of Archbiſhop Cranmer; accordingly they went down to Oxford and he was brought before them.

Having read their commiſſion from the Pope, Bonner groſsly inſulted him, and he was ſeverely reprimanded by biſhop Thirlby. In the commiſſion it was declared, that the cauſe had been impartially heard at Rome, the witneſſes on both ſides were examined, and the Archbiſhop's councill allowed to make the beſt defence for him they could: at reading this Cranmer exclaimed, *Good God, what lies are theſe, that I being continually in priſon, and not ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at home, ſhould produce witneſſes and appoint my council at Rome! God muſt certainly puniſh this open and ſhameleſs lying.* When Bonner had finiſhed his invective againſt him, they proceeded to degrade him, and to render him as ridiculous as poſſible, the epiſcopal habit which they put on him, was made of canvas and old rags.

Then pulling out of his ſleeve a written appeal, he delivered it to them, ſaying, I appeal to the next general council.

When they had degraded, they cloathed him in the meaneſt garb and delivered him over to the ſecular power.

While he continued under confinement, no endeavours were omitted to win him over to the church of Rome.

Many of the moſt eminent divines in the Univerſity reſorted to him daily, hoping by arguments and perſuaſions to work upon him, but all was ineffectual, for he held faſt the profeſſion of his faith without wavering, and could not be ſhaken by any of the terrors of this world from his conſtancy in the truth; nay, when he beheld the cruel martyrdom of his dear friends and companions, biſhop Ridley and Latimer, he was ſo far from ſhrinking, that he prayed to God to ſtrengthen them, and by their example, to animate him to a patient expectation, and endurance of the ſame fiery trial.

At length however, the Papiſts concerted a ſtratagem, which prevailed with him to comply for a time with their deſire.

They removed him from priſon to the apartments of the Dean of Chriſt-church, treated him with the greateſt civility and reſpect, and made him great promiſes of the Queen's favour with many honours and preferments accumulated, if he would recant.

And now behold the weakneſs of the beſt of men, a notorious inſtance of human frailty! the man who had with ſuch undaunted reſolution, unſhaken conſtancy, and primitive a ſpirit of martyrdom, faced the terrors of death, and defied the power of Earth and Hell, ſinks at length under the weight of temptation, falls a prey to flattery and hypocriſy, denies his Lord and Maſter, and ſets his hand to what he knew in his heart and conſcience was repugnant to the word of truth, and the will of the unchangeable God of truth. There prevails a common error in opinion, that the Archbiſhop acknowledged the whole of Popery at once, and ſubſcribed but one recantation.

But

But this miſtake is rectified by the labour of the induſtrious Mr. Strype, who has diſcovered how ſubtilly he was drawn in by the Papiſts to ſubcribe ſix different papers; the firſt being expreſſed in ambiguous terms, capable of a favourable conſtruction, and the five following pretended to be only explanations of the firſt.

It is probable that they had acquainted Cranmer with the whole of their deſign at once, for he could never have been ſeduced to redeem his life with ſuch a diſhonourable compliance; but when they had by their hypocriſy and artifice, drawn him into a firſt and ſecond recantation, a ſhame to retreat after he had gone ſo far, and an unwillingneſs to loſe the benefit of his paſt ſubſcriptions, prevailed with him to go on.

Add to this, that when men ſo far diſtruſt the goodneſs of God, as by unjuſtifiable compliments and ſinful prevarications in leſſer matters to ſeek to preſerve their lives or fortunes, they put themſelves out of the Divine protection, and can no longer promiſe themſelves the aſſiſtance of reſtraining grace, to preſerve them from the moſt heinous ſins, and the moſt fatal conſequences of their temptations, into which they have wilfully led themſelves.

We have many notable inſtances in holy writ, that ſome of the deareſt favourites of Heaven, have been ſo left to their own wills, as to be ſuffered to fall into the groſſeſt crimies, that he who *thinks he ſtandeth take heed leſt he fall*, and to convince all Chriſtians, that their perſeverance depends on God's faithfulneſs and ſtrength and not on their own.

The copy of the Archbiſhop's firſt ſubſcription ran thus:

Foraſmuch as the King's and Queen's majeſties, by conſent of their parliament, have received the Pope's authority in this realm, I am content to ſubmit myſelf to their laws herein, and to take the Pope for the chief head of this church of England, ſo far as God's laws, and the laws and cuſtoms of this realm will permit.

Thomas Cranmer.

This paper was immediately ſent up to the Queen and Council; but being not ſatisfactory, another was offered him to ſubſcribe, in fewer words, but more full, and with leſs reſerve, and was as follows:

I, Thomas Cranmer, Doctor in Divinity, do ſubſcribe myſelf to the Catholick Church of Chriſt, and unto the Pope ſupreme head of the ſame church, and to the King and Queen's majeſties, and unto all their laws and ordinances.

Thomas Cranmer.

This alſo being thought too brief and ambiguous, a third, yet fuller and more expreſs, was required of him, which was this:

I am content to ſubmit myſelf to the King's and Queen's Majeſties, and to all their laws and ordinances, as well concerning the Pope's Supremacy, as others: and I ſhall, from time to time, move and ſtir all others to do the like, to the utter-

uttermoſt of my power, and to live in quietneſs and obedience to their Majeſties, moſt humbly, without murmur, or grudging againſt any of their holy proceedings. And for my book which I have written, I am content to ſubmit to the judgment of the Catholic Church, and the next General Council.

Thomas Cranmer.

This, like the reſt, not giving ſatisfaction, was immediately followed by a fourth, in theſe following words, viz.

Be it known by theſe preſents, that I Thomas Cranmer, Doctor of Divinity, and late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, do firmly, ſtedfaſtly, and aſſuredly believe, in all articles and points of the Chriſtian religion and Catholic Faith, as the Catholic Church doth believe, and hath believed from the beginning. Moreover, as concerning the ſacraments of the church, I believe unfeignedly in all points, as the ſaid Catholic Church doth, and hath believed from the beginning of Chriſtian Religion. In witneſs whereof I have humbly ſubſcribed my hand unto theſe preſents, the 18th day of February, in the year 1555.

Thomas Cranmer.

Having thus far wrought him into compliance, they grew more open, and called upon him to renounce and anathematize all Lutheran and Zuinglian hereſies and errors, to acknowledge the unity of the Mother Church, and ſupremacy of the Pope, to whom all Chriſtians ſhould be implicitly ſubject. Then followed an explicit confeſſion of faith in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, the ſeven ſacraments, purgatory, and all the Romiſh ſuperſtitions in general; with a prayer for forgiveneſs of his paſt hereſies, and deſire that all who had, by his means, been ſeduced therefrom, might return to the unity of the Holy Mother Church.

Not deeming this confeſſion ſufficient, they cauſed a ſixth to be drawn up in the moſt expreſs terms, acknowledging all the Popiſh corruptions, and containing a moſt grievous accuſation of himſelf as a blaſphemer, an enemy to the church, a deſtroyer of ſouls, deſerving of the acuteſt torments here, and eternal damnation hereafter.

Even this he ſubſcribed, unſuſpecting the deſign of the Papiſts, who determined, at all events, to take him off, nay, had even the ſigning the warrant for his execution,

As the ſentence formerly paſſed againſt our Martyr was invalid, becauſe the papal ſupremacy was not then admitted in England, a new commiſſion was diſpatched from Rome for the conviction of Dr. Cranmer.

Accordingly, on the 17th of March he was brought before the commiſſioners in St. Mary's church at Oxford, dreſſed in his clerical habit, and thus cited by one of the Proctors: *Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, appear, and anſwer to that which ſhall be alledged to thy charge, namely, blaſphemy, incontinence, and hereſy: anſwer now before the biſhop of Glouceſter, repreſenting the Pope's perſon.*

But the venerable culprit refuſed to ſhew any reſpect to him, bowing low to the Queen's commiſſioners in hon-

our of his ſovereign, but refuſing the like to the biſhop, becauſe he had abjured the Papal Supremacy in England.

Dr. Brooks, the Pope's repreſentative, then informed him, in a formal harangue, that they were veſted with authority by the Pope, and alſo the King and Queen, to examine him; inſiſted on the heinouſneſs of his crimes and exhorted him to return to obedience to the Papal See.

Dr. Martin, on the ſame occaſion, inveighed againſt the Archbiſhop for acting contrary to the truſt repoſed in him, and produced articles againſt him for adultery, perjury, and hereſy.

Cranmer having obtained permiſſion to anſwer for himſelf, kneeled, ſaid the Lord's Prayer, aroſe, and repeated the Apoſtle's Creed, which done, he made the following proteſtation in form: *This I do profeſs, as touching my faith, and make my proteſtation, which I deſire you to note; I will never conſent that the biſhop of Rome ſhall have any juriſdiction in this realm.*

A note was taken of this proteſtation, and Dr. Cranmer, being warned to obſerve his denial of that authority by which he then continued alive, being otherwiſe attainted of high treaſon, and a dead man by the laws of this realm, declared, in the preſence of all the commiſſioners, that he was no traitor, and proceeding in his defence ſaid, that he could not allow of the Pope's authority in England, for he had taken an oath to King Henry VIII. as ſupreme head of the church in his dominions, and the king was chief by the Holy Scriptures in his own realm; and this was argued and agreed to by both the Univerſities, and he ſpoke largely againſt the Pope's authority in this kingdom.

One of the Doctors in Law then ſtood up and vindicated the Papal Supremacy in this realm, affirming, that, as the Pope's authority had been aboliſhed by parliament, ſo now, being reſtored by parliament, it was as firm as ever.

Another Doctor addreſſed the Archbiſhop, concerning his making conſcience of the oaths he had taken againſt the Pope's Supremacy, affirming, that the ſame was an unlawful oath, and ought not to be kept, and that he had firſt broken his oath to the Pope, and that he was not formerly of the faith he now profeſſed, but had condemned Lambert for teaching two contrary doctrines.

Cranmer frankly acknowledged, that he was not formerly of the faith he now profeſſed, with reſpect to the ſacrament, but was convinced of his error by conference with biſhop Ridley and the ſcripture authorities which he quoted on the occaſion.

After theſe queſtions and replies, the following articles were exhibited againſt the Archbiſhop in form.

1. *It was objected, that he being yet free, and before he entered into Holy Orders, married one Joan at the Dolphin in Cambridge.*

This he granted.

2. *That after the death of his aforeſaid wife, he entered into Holy Orders, and was afterwards made Archbiſhop by the Pope.*

He replied, that having received a certain

certain Bull from the Pope, he delivered it to the King, by whom he was made Archbiſhop.

3. *That he being in Holy Orders married another woman, as his ſecond wife, named Ann, and ſo was twice married.*

This he granted.

4. *That in the reign of King Henry VIII, he kept the ſaid wife ſecretly, and had children by her.*

This he denied not, affirming, that it was better for him to have his own wife, than, like many hypocritical prieſts, to hold and keep the wives of others.

5. *That in the time of King Edward VI, he brought forth the ſaid wife, openly affirming and profeſſing publicly the ſame to be his wife.*

This he alſo owned, becauſe then it was lawful and allowed him by the laws of the realm.

6. *That he had openly boaſted of having had his wife in private many years.*

And though he did ſo, he ſaid there was no cauſe for which he ſhould be aſhamed.

7, *That falling into divers damnable errors and hereſies, he rejected and contemned the authority of the church, oppoſed the doctrine of the real preſence in the ſacrament of the Altar, and compiled and diſpoſed divers books contrary to the tenets of the Holy Mother Church.*

When the names of the books were recited in their reſpective order, he denied not thoſe books, of which he was author, but declared concerning the hereſy of Peter Martyr upon the Sacrament, that he never ſaw it abroad, though he well approved of his ſentiments on that ſubject.

He acknowledged the book of Articles, with the book againſt the biſhop of Wincheſter, to be his writing.

8. *That he compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe to the ſame articles.*

He confeſſed that he exhorted, but compelled none againſt their will to ſubſcribe.

9. *That as he perſiſted in perpetrating enormous crimes, he was therefore committed to the Tower, and from thence brought to Oxford, at the time in which the Parliament was uſually aſſembled there.*

To this he replied, that he knew of no enormous crimes of which he had been guilty.

10. *That in the ſaid city of Oxford, he openly maintained his hereſy, and was convicted upon the ſame.*

He acknowledged that he defended the cauſe of the Sacrament there, but denied that he was convicted of the ſame.

11. *That perſiſting in the ſame, he was by the public cenſure of the Univerſity, pronounced an heretic, and his books to be heretical.*

He confeſſed that he was denounced an heretic, but denied the validity of of the charge.

12. *That he was a notorious ſchiſmatic, and had not only receded from the Catholic church and See of Rome, but alſo moved the King and ſubjects of this realm to do the ſame.*

He granted that he had receded, but that his receding only from the See of Rome was by no means ſchiſmatical.

13. *That he had been twice ſworn to the Pope, and Dr. Martin had produced the inſtrument of the public Notary, wherein was contained his proteſtation, made at the time of his conſecration.*

To this he ſaid, he did nothing but what was juſtifiable by the laws of the realm.

14. *That he had not only offended in the abovementioned inſtances, but moſt flagrantly inſulted the Papal Supremacy, in conſecrating biſhops and prieſts without leave or licence from the Holy See.*

He granted, that he had executed ſuch things as were to be referred to the Pope at the time when he was permitted ſo to do by the public laws and determinations of the realm.

15. *That when the whole realm had ſubſcribed to the authority of the Pope, he alone perſiſted in his non-conformity.*

That he admitted not the Papal Supremacy he confeſſed, but denied that he erred in the ſame.

16. *That all and ſingular the premiſes be true—That he alſo granted, excepting thoſe things, to which he had now anſwered.*

Having replied to theſe objections and articles, which were minuted down by the Public Notary, the judges and commiſſioners having executed the buſineſs for which they met, were on the point of departure; but the biſhop of Glouceſter finding the people moved by the behaviour of Cranmer, addreſſed them before they were diſmiſſed.

He publickly declared, that he was ſorry, heartily ſorry for the Archbiſhop's obſtinacy, and perverſe continuance in his great crimes and errors, eſpecially againſt the Pope's Holineſs, and the Sacrament of the Altar, and that he alſo ſpoke many things concerning the authority of the Catholic Church.

Dr. Storie, on this occaſion, thus addreſſed the Archbiſhop:

Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly proceſs concerning your heretical oath made to the king; if you made it to him only, it ended at his death, and ſo became null. If you made it to his ſucceſſors, his true ſucceſſors have the empire, and they require you to diſſolve the ſame, and become a member of Chriſt's Church again: and it agreeth well with charity to do ſo.

The Archbiſhop would have replied, but was interrupted by the Doctor, who declared, that his oath was invalid, becauſe defective in three eſſential points, Judgment, Juſtice, and Truth.

The witneſſes againſt the archbiſhop having been produced and ſworn to declare the next day whatever they knew concerning the hereſies alledged againſt him; Dr. Story permitted him to except againſt any of them, and the Archbiſhop excepted in general againſt them as then perjured, and not in the Chriſtian religion; *for, ſaid he, if to ſwear againſt the Pope were unlawful, they ſhould rather have given their lives than their oaths: but if it were lawful, then they are perjured in defending him whom they abjured before.*

After this a new commiſſion arrived from Rome, impowering Dr. Thurſby Biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Bonner Biſhop of London, with others, to ſit upon Archbiſhop Cranmer, and they accordingly came to Oxford, and cauſed Cranmer to be brought before them,

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in the choir of Chriſt Church, where their commiſſion was read, ſetting forth, *That in the court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the anſwers made on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty, ſo that he wanted nothing appertaining to his defence.*

While the commiſſion was reading, our martyr exclaimed, *O Lord, what lies are theſe, that I, being continually in priſon, and never permitted to have counſel, or advocate at home, they ſhould produce witneſs, and appoint my counſel at Rome! God will certainly puniſh this open and ſhameleſs lying.*

Having read the commiſſion, which came with full power from the Pope, and therefore admitted of no appeal, they proceeded to Cranmer's degradation; firſt, putting on him the habit of a Biſhop, but compoſed of canvas and old rags, with a mitre and pall of the ſame, and a croſier ſtaff in his hand, and then gradually diveſting him of the ſame.

The Archbiſhop took a paper out of his ſleeve, and ſaid, *I appeal to the next General Council, and herein, ſhewing his paper, ſaid he, is comprehended my cauſe.*

They then pulled off his gown and jacket, and put on him an old thread-bare beadle's gown, and a townſman's cap on his head, and then delivered him over to the ſecular power.

When the form of degradation was over, the inſolent biſhop Bonner ſaid to Cranmer, *Now you are no more a Lord.*

He was ignominiouſly carried to priſon, without a penny in his purſe, nor dare any one give him any, for fear of incurring eccleſiaſtical cenſure, tho' the general pity was moved at the unworthy treatment of ſo good and great a man.

During his confinement, ſeveral eminent men of the Univerſity viſited him, and endeavoured, by various means, to bring him over to the Roman Catholic faith; and at length brought a paper to him which, if he would ſubſcribe, they aſſured him his life ſhould be ſpared, otherwiſe, there were no hopes left of eſcaping the ſentence paſſed upon him for hereſy.

As an evidence, among many others, of the weakneſs of ſo great a man, Cranmer was prevailed upon to ſign a recantation according to the following form:

I Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and deteſt, all manner of hereſies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to ſound and true doctrine. And I moſt conſtantly in my heart, and with my mouth, do confeſs one Holy and Catholic Church, viſible, without the which there is no ſalvation: and therefore I acknowledge the biſhop of Rome to be the ſupreme head on earth, whom I acknowledge to be the higheſt biſhop and Pope, and Chriſt's Vicar, unto whom all Chriſtian people ought to be ſubject.

And as concerning the ſacraments, I believe and worſhip in the ſacrament of the altar, the very body and blood of Chriſt, being contained in, and moſt truly, under the forms of bread and wine,

wine, the bread through the mighty power of God, being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his Blood.

And in the other six sacraments also, (like as in this) I believe and hold as the universal Church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

Farthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed are punished for a time; for whom the church doth godly and wholsomely pray, like as it doth honour saints, and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the Catholick Church and the Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth: I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me whatever I have offended against God or his church; and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them, by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, I submit myself to the Catholick Church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof; so I submit myself unto the most excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, King and Queen of this Realm of England, &c. and to all their laws and ordinances, being ready always, as a faithful subject, to obey them. And God is my witness that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of my own conscience, as to the instruction of others.

Thomas Cranmer.

Witness
Henry Sydall,
John de Villa Garcina.

As a terror and example to others, the Convocation caused the recantation to be printed and published, and transmitted one of the copies to the Queen, who notwithstanding his compliance with the terms of the Court, from an implacable hatred to him, resolved on his death, and that he should be executed not as a traitor but an heretic, and accordingly dispatched her commands to Dr. Cole to prepare a sermon for the occasion of his burning, which was fixed on the 21st of March.

Orders were also sent to divers officers of the peace to assemble at Oxford on that day, to prevent any tumults that might arise on account of the cruel treatment of so popular a man.

Words cannot express the horrors which now shook the very soul of our Martyr, destitute of even a glimmering hope of life, and torn by conscious guilt for denying the cause of his great Lord and Master, in basely signing a recantation.

The morning preceeding the day of his execution, he was visited by Dr. Cole, on a pretence of enquiring whether he continued in the faith he had lately professed, but Cranmer made an evasive reply, telling him, he was determined to abide in the Catholic faith.

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On the morning of the fatal day, Cole came to him, enquired if he had any money, and on his anſwering in the negative, preſented him with fifteen crowns, but gave him not the leaſt intimation of his approaching death, exhorting him to continue ſtedfaſt in the faith which he had profeſſed.

The ſame morning he was viſited by a Spaniſh Friar who had been witneſs to his recantation, and then brought a paper containing articles, to be written and ſigned by Cranmer, who complied with the order, but not without ſome ſuſpicion of his execution.

When the Friar departed, Dr. Cranmer wrote a prayer, and an exhortation, which he determined to repeat to the people, before he made the laſt profeſſion of his faith.

At nine in the morning of the 21ſt of March 1556, the commiſſioners appointed to ſee the ſentence executed, arrived at Oxford, whither a numerous concourſe of people repaired to behold the bloody ſcene.

Cranmer was brought from priſon in ſolemn ſtate, preceded by the Mayor and aldermen, and walking between two Friars toward St. Mary's Church, the Friars repeating pſalms in Latin alternately as they paſſed.

As ſoon as they entered the Church they began the ſong of Old Simeon in Latin, *Nune dimittis*, &c. and ſo conducted Cranmer to a place raiſed above the floor, and oppoſite to the pulpit.

He was cloathed in a thread-bare gown, and vilely inſulted by the bigotted part of the mob while the more candid and humane beheld him with the utmoſt pity.

When he came to the part of the church where he was appointed to ſtand, he lift up his eyes to Heaven and continued in earneſt prayer, till Cole mounted the pulpit and began the ſermon he was ordered to compoſe on the occaſion.

The ſum and ſubſtance of this diſcourſe, was a proof of the juſtice of the ſentence executed on heretics in general and Cranmer in particular, who being a member of the Holy Mother Church, and promoted to the archiepiſcopal dignity, had not only fallen into pernicious errors himſelf, but propagated the ſame, defended them by writings, preaching and authority, and drew many from their adherence to the Holy See.

To palliate Popiſh cruelty, he obſerved that God's mercy was ſo tempered with juſtice, that as he did not puniſh men according to the demerit of their crimes, ſo neither would he let them go always unpuniſhed, as in the caſe of David, whom he puniſhed with the peſtilence for numbering the people.

He further added, that although Cranmer might have expected pardon according to the Canon of the church, ſeeing he abjured his errors, yet the following reaſons might be offered, why the Queen and her council had adjudged him to ſuffer death.

Firſt, that being a traitor, he had diſſolved the lawful matrimony, between King Henry her father, and Queen Catherine her mother, as well

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as driven the Papal authority out of the realm, while he was Metropolitan.

Secondly, That he had been an heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrines and ſchiſmatical opinions (that ſo many years prevailed in England) did firſt riſe and ſpring; that he had not only been a ſecret favourer of theſe, but virulent defender of them to the end of his life, diſperſing them abroad by writings and arguments to the manifeſt decay of the Holy Catholic Church.

Thirdly, that it ſeemed juſt and equitable, that as the death of the late Duke of Northumberland, made a recompence for the death of Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor, who died for the Church, ſo there ſhould be one to ſatisfy for the death of Dr. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and becauſe the deaths of Ridley, Hooper and Farrar could not do it, it ſeemed fit that Cranmer ſhould make it up.

He then exhorted his hearers to take example by this man, and not to promiſe themſelves impunity or ſafety in any condition upon earth, as God's vengeance could overtake them, for this man (ſaid he) who was once advanced to the higheſt dignity in the kingdom, next under the King, was now become ſo extremely miſerable, that the pooreſt wretch would not change conditions with him.

At the cloſe of this diſcourſe he addreſſed himſelf to Cranmer, exhorted him patiently to ſubmit to his ſentence, to rely on the mercy of God, and aſſured him that Chriſt would receive him to favour as he did the penitent thief, promiſing him alſo that Maſſes ſhould be ſaid for his ſoul in all the churches of Oxford.

During the courſe of the ſermon, Cranmer indicated the moſt pungent diſtreſs of mind, and confuſion of ſoul, lifting his eyes to Heaven to emplore forgiveneſs, and caſting them towards the earth as if abaſhed by conſcious guilt to ſeek the pardon of ſo atrocious a crime, as that of denying the truth as it is in Jeſus, and ſet his hand to the corruptions of the Roman church.

Dr. Cole having finiſhed his ſermon, or rather occaſional harangue, thus addreſſed the audience;

Brethren, ſays he, leſt any man ſhould doubt of this man's earneſt converſion and repentance, you ſhall hear him ſpeak before you.

And therefore I pray you, Mr. Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promiſed not long ago, namely, that you will openly expreſs the true and undoubted profeſſion of your faith, that you may take away all ſuſpicion from men, and that all men may underſtand that you are a Catholic indeed.

I will do it, ſays Cranmer, with a good will. So riſing up, and putting off his cap, he began to ſpeak to the people after this manner.

I deſire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me to forgive me my ſins, which above all men, both in number and greatneſs, I have committed; but among all the reſt, there is one offence, which above all at this time doth trouble me, of which you ſhall hear more hereafter.

Then he took his written paper out

out of his bosom, recited, and spake as follows.

Good Christian people, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great without measure: But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, of which you shall hear more afterwards.

But how great, or how many my sins be, I beseech you to pray to God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here, kneeling down, he said:

O Father of Heaven! O son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, three persons and One God, have mercy upon me, most wretched Caitiff and miserable sinner! I have offended both against Heaven and Earth, more than my tongue can express; Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee! to Heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and on Earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself: O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences: Thou didst not give thy son, O Heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world; so that the sinner return unto thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy's sake: I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake, &c. And now therefore, Our Father in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, &c.

Then rising up he said, *Every man (good people) at the time of death desires to give some good exhortation, that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: So I beseech God to grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you may be edified.*

First, *It it an heavy case to see people dote so much on this false world, and be so careful for it that they regard not the love of God, nor the world to come. Therefore my first exhortation shall be, that you set not your minds over-much upon this flattering world, but upon God and the world to come; and learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That* the love of this world is enmity with God.

The second exhortation is, That next under God, you obey your King and Queen, willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging, not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you, and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

The third exhortation is, that you love one another like brothers and sisters: for, alas! what pity is it to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other for brother and sister, but as strangers and mortal enemies. But I

pray you to learn, and bear well away this lesson, to do good unto all men as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own loving brother or sister; for this you may be sure of that whosoever hateth any person, or goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches in this world: They should well weigh and consider three sayings of the scripture; one is of Our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven. *The second is of St. John,* He that has this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth his compassion towards him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? *The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner:* Weep and howl, ye rich men, for the misery that shall come upon you; your riches do corrupt; the garments are moth eaten, and your silver and gold do rust, and the rust of them do witness against you, and shall eat your flesh like fire: you treasure up God's wrath against you for the last day.

Let them that be rich ponder well these three sentences; for if ever they had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor being so numerous, and provision so dear.

And now forasmuch as I come to the end of life, whereupon dependeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently, either Heaven ready to receive me, or else Hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe without any colour or dissimulation, whatever I have said or written in time past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. *And I believe every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by Our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and New Testament.*

And now I come to the great thing that troubles my conscience, more than any thing I ever said or did in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad a writing contrary to truth, which I now here renounce and refute, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth, which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills and papers which I have signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue.

And forasmuch as my hand offended, in writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

And as for the Pope I refute him as Christ's enemy, and Anti-Christ, with all his false doctrine: and as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester. The which book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgement

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Engrav'd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

The Burning of Archbishop Cranmer.

of God, where the Papistical doctrine contrary thereunto shall be ashamed to shew its face.

This ingenuous declaration of our martyr at once confounded and amazed the populace, being an absolute refutation of what he had professed in a late extorted recantation.

The Popish part of the audience upbraided him as a dissembler; but he answered with flowing eyes and abashed countenance, that he ever detested falshood, loved truth and simplicity, and never in his life dissembled but on that sole occasion.

He then proceeded more explicitly to declare his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, but the Papists vehemently exclaimed, *Stop the heretic's mouth, down with him, down with him,* which done, they led him towards the fire, while the Friars upbraided him with folly and madness in returning to his damnable errors, and thereby obviating the least probability of the royal clemency.

But all persuasion was now vain, he regarded not their expostulations, nor made any reply; one indeed, who was remarkably officious, and very troublesome, he desired to go home, retire into his study, consult the Scriptures, and earnestly entreat of God to afford him divine knowledge.

When he came to the spot where Latimer and Ridley suffered, he kneeled, and having spent some time in prayer stripped off his shirt, and prepared himself for the flames.

His head and feet were bare, but his beard was long and thick, and by his venerable aspect he excited at once the respect and pity of the beholders.

Many persons took formal leave of him, and in moving terms expressed their tender concern for the approach of so valuable a loss.

Being led to the stake, he was chained, and soon encircled by the flames, which blazing around him, he stretched out his arm, and held his right hand in the flame, (the unworthy hand that had signed his recantation) which he held there so immoveable, that all the spectators might see his hand, before the flames had reached his body.

He underwent his sufferings with the utmost fortitude, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and frequently repeating *this unworthy hand, this unworthy hand, &c.* crying out, till his powers failed him, in the word of St. Stephen, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit.*

As it is common, at the close of the life of an eminent personage, to give an abstract of his character, we think ourselves bound, by the law of custom, briefly to exhibit a short display of the vices and virtues of this great man.

In a work of this kind, it may be expected, that, blind to the imperfections of mankind, we should partially look over the foibles of those, who were the professed friends of the reformation, but sensible that such a conduct would not only expose us to the just retort of our Popish adversaries, but keenest censure of our Christian friends, we shall deviate from the general rule, and speak of our martyr as he

he was, a man, and yet with all his foibles, a Chriſtian.

Before we diſplay the bright ſide of his character, we cannot but obſerve, that he acted unbecoming humanity, unbecoming Chriſtianity, in being acceſſary to the burning of the poor, ignorant Joan Boucher; for certainly he well knew, that the cauſe of Chriſt, the cauſe of genuine Chriſtianity, was not to be promoted by the infliction of human tortures, but by a powerful conviction of the heart and conſcience. Beſides, our Lord never proceeded on maxims of inhumanity, but by a ſhineing example of patience and forbearance extorted from his very enemies this declaration, *Of a truth God is with him.*

But tho' hurried in ſome inſtances by an impetuous zeal, he partook of the forbearance of the Chriſtian, often times reviled, he reviled not again, nay, it was ſaid proverbially concerning him, *Do my Lord of Canterbury a ſhrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live.*

He had frequent opportunities of avenging himſelf on his enemies, but he availed not himſelf of the ſame, remembring, that it was the duty of the followers of the bleſſed Jeſus to forgive their very enemies.

It is the lot of humanity to err, the moſt eminent Chriſtians have a tincture of the old man, we therefore may venture to pronounce, that if Dr. Cranmer retained much of the carnal temper, he diſplayed more of the Heavenly, and that upon the whole, he was a valuable inſtrument in the hand of God, for promoting the ſpreading of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt in its native truth and primitive ſimplicity.

His candour and ſincerity, faithfulneſs and integrity, meekneſs and humility are acknowledged by all who converſed with him: when in power, his lenity to the Papiſts was ſo great, that he was charged with remiſſneſs and negligence, but his reply was, that men ought to have time allowed them to diſengage themſeves from their prejudices, and that in the mean time, gentle uſage was more likely to have a better influence over them, than could be expected from rigorous treatment.

By his interceſſion with King Henry, he had contributed to the preſervation of the life of the Queen, when her father's anger was inflamed to ſuch an extravagant pitch, and her ruin ſeemed ſo irrecoverably fixed, that neither the Duke of Norfolk, nor Biſhop Gardiner durſt interpoſe a word in her favour, leſt they ſhould be puniſhed with her: but ſuch was the bigotry and prejudice of the Queen, that ſhe determined to bring him to the ſtake.

He was a man of eminent learning, an excellent theologiſt, well verſed in the ſcriptures, read in the Canon and Civil law, and acquainted with the polite branches of literature.

From proofs cited from ſcripture, the fathers, councils and ſchoolmen, he juſtified the Engliſh reformation, and ſhewed how far the church of Rome had degenerated from the doctrine, worſhip and diſcipline of the Primitive church of Chriſt.

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In a word, if he had ſome foibles, he had many virtues, and merits a rank in this claſs of martyrs, as a valuable aſſertor of pure Chriſtianity, for which he lived, and for which he died.

The Life and Martyrdom of Lady JANE GRAY.

TWO days before the death of this excellent lady, Mr. Feckham, otherwiſe Howman, was ſent to her from the Queen to converſe with her, and endeavour to reduce her from the doctrine of Chriſt to Queen Mary's religion. The effect of which communication here followeth.

A Conference between the Lady Jane and Mr. Fecknam.

Fecknam. Madam, I lament your heavy caſe, and yet I doubt not, but you will bear out this ſorrow of your's with a conſtant and patient mind.

Jane. You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Chriſtian exhortation. And as for my heavy caſe, I thank God, through the mercies of Jeſus Chriſt, and the graces of the Holy Spirit, I do ſo little lament it, that rather I account the ſame for a more manifeſt declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he ſhewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cauſe why either you, or others which bear me good will, ſhould lament or be grieved with this my caſe, being a thing ſo profitable for my ſoul's health.

Fecknam. I am here come to you at this preſent from the Queen and her council, to inſtruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith; although I have ſo great confidence in you, that I ſhall have, I truſt, little need to travel with you much therein.

Jane. Forſooth I heartily thank the Queen's Highneſs, which is not unmindful of her humble ſubject: And I hope likewiſe that you no leſs will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were ſent for.

Fecknam. What is then required of a Chriſtian man?

Jane. That he ſhould believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, three perſons and one God.

Fecknam. What! is there nothing elſe to he required or looked for in a Chriſtian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we muſt love him with all our heart, with all our ſoul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourſelf.

Fecknam. Why? then faith juſtifieth not, nor ſaveth not.

Jane. Yes, verily, faith, as St. Paul ſaith, only juſtifieth.

Fecknam. Why, St. Paul ſaith, if I have all faith without love, it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I truſt not? or how can I truſt him whom I love not? faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. How ſhall we love our neighbour?

Jane. To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked,

to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

Fecknam. Why, then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

Jane. I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works, yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us.

Fecknam. How many sacraments are there?

Jane. Two. The one the sacrament of Baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Fecknam. No, there are seven.

Jane. By what scripture find you that?

Fecknam. Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

Jane. By the sacrament of Baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the spirit, and the washing is a token to me that I am a child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

Fecknam. Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

Jane. No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body and shedding of his blood for our sins on the cross.

Fecknam. Why, doth not Christ speak thus, *take, eat, this is my body?* require you any plainer words? doth he not say it is his body?

Jane. I grant he saith so; and so he said, *I am the vine, I am the door*, but he is neither the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, Rom. iv. *He called things that are not as though they were?* God forbid that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross, or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Fecknam. Why? Is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and to be broken, as to be born of a woman without seed of man, and to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that

that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: where was Christ, when he said, *take, eat, this is my body?* was he not at the table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? and what gave he but bread, look what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave; and look, what he gave they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples or else they were deceived.

Fecknam. You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath, and not upon the Church, whom ye ought to give credit.

Jane. No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church, for if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church, nor yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's Supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the Devil, that altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life: do they learn that of St. Paul when he administered to the Corinthians in both kinds? shall I believe this church? God forbid.

Fecknam. That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it.

Jane. Why? shall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? how did King Saul? the Lord God defend.

With these and such like persuasions he endeavoured, but to no purpose, to turn her to the Popish religion. They reasoned about many other things, but these were the chief.

Then Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: for I am sure, said he, that we two shall never meet.

Jane. True it is, said she, we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I am assured, that unless you repent, and turn to God, you are in an evil case: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you the Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart.

The Lady JANE's Letter to her Father.

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possessions with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit

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I am well assured of your impatient griefs, redoubled manifold ways both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state, yet, my dear father, if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps, I think in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent. And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually essayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws; yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that being in so royal estate as I was, mine inforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith, if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father, the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in Heaven with the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost.

When her father, in King Edward's time, flourished in freedom and prosperity, he had belonging to him a certain learned man, a student and graduate of Oxford, who then being his chaplain, and appearing to be a sincere preacher of the gospel according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, but shortly after, when the state of religion began to be altered by Queen Mary, he altered his profession according to the time, and of a Protestant, became a friend and defender of the Pope's proceedings. This pious and Christian Lady seeing such a change in a person whom she thought so sincere, was much grieved, and most of all lamented the dangerous state of his soul, in so cowardly sliding away from the truth, and writeth her mind to him in a sharp and vehement letter: which (as it appeared to proceed from an earnest and zealous heart, so) she prayed that God might make it effectual in restoring him to repentance, and engage him to take better hold of that whereon depended the eternal welfare of his soul. The copy of the letter is as follows:

Another Letter of the Lady *Jane*, to Mr. *Harding*, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her Father, and then fallen from the Truth of God's most holy word.

So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, Luke ix. That he that layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of Heaven. *And, on the other side, the considerable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed some time to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the Devil: some time the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and*

and filthy kennel of Satan; some time the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of Antichrist, some time my faithful brother, but now a stranger; some time a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly run-away. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the Devil hath deceived, the World hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an Infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the Testament of the Lord in thy mouth? wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abusest the Testament and law of God? When thou thyself preachest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and chusest rather to live miserably with shame in the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even death is life? why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? the strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? And wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned and framed thee? wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from custom gathering among the Roman Antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of the eternal word? he that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot say of grace) shall he not now possess thee? darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thy own, but his? how canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a publick professor of his name, art become now a defacer of his glory? wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the Whore of Babylon, the Romish Religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? wilt thou torment again, rent, and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as St. Paul saith, as a lively sacrifice once for all? can neither the punishment of the Israelites, (which for their idolatry they so oft received) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other God but him. Dost thou so regard him who spared not his only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise of honour due unto him to idols, which have mouths and speak not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

What saith the Prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon, they should see Gods of gold, silver, wood and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to

caſt a fear before the heathen? but be not ye afraid of them, ſaith Jeremy, nor do as others do. But when you ſee others worſhip them, ſay you in your hearts, it is thou, O Lord, that oughteſt only to be worſhipped: for as for thoſe Gods, the carpenter framed, and poliſhed them, yea, gilded be they, and laid over with ſilver and vain things, and cannot ſpeak.

He ſheweth moreover the abuſe of their dealings, how the prieſts took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a ſceptre, anotheir a ſword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themſelves, much leſs any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms nor any other evil thing.

Theſe and ſuch like words ſpeaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be vain things, and no Gods. And at laſt he concluded thus, Confounded be all they that worſhip them. *They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hath warned others, and art warned thyſelf by many ſcriptures in many places. God ſaith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worſhip given to him only. And Chriſt ſaith in the fourth of the goſpel according to St. Matthew, to Satan that tempted him, even to the ſame Beelzebub, the ſame Devil that hath prevailed againſt thee.* It is written, ſaith he thou ſhalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve.

Theſe and ſuch like do prohibit thee and all Chriſtians to worſhip any other God than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundation both of Heaven and Earth: and wilt thou honour a deteſtable idol, invented by Romiſh Popes, and the abominable college of crafty Cardinals? Chriſt offered himſelf up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleaſure? but thou wilt ſay, thou doeſt it for a good intent. O ſink of ſin! O child of perdition! doſt thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conſcience beareth thee witneſs of God's threatened wrath againſt thee? how did Saul? who diſobeyed the word of the Lord, for a good intent, was thrown from his wordly and temporal kingdom? wilt thou for a good intent pluck Chriſt out of Heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his croſs by offering him up daily? wilt thou either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuſe thy God, who enriched thy poverty, thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldeſt have kept it? doſt thou not conſider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can as his will is, either twine it harder to laſt the longer, or untwine it again to break the ſooner? doſt thou not then remember the ſaying of David, a notable king, to teach thee a miſerable wretch, in his hundredth and fourth pſalm, where he ſaith thus: When thou takeſt away thy ſpirit, O Lord, they die, and are turned again to their duſt, but when thou letteſt thy breath go forth, they ſhall be made, and thou ſhalt renew the face of the Earth. *Remember the ſaying of Chriſt in his Goſpel, Matth. x.* Whoſoever ſeeketh to ſave his life, ſhall loſe it: but whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake ſhall find it, *And in the ſame place,* Whoſoever loveth Father or Mother above me, is not meet for me. He that

that will follow me, let him forſake himſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow me. What croſs? the croſs of infamy and ſhame, of miſery and poverty, of affliction and perſecution for his name's ſake. Let the oft falling of thoſe heavenly ſhowers pierce thy ſtony heart. Let the two-edged ſword of God's holy word ſheer aſunder the ſinews of wordly reſpects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayeſt once again forſake thyſelf and embrace Chriſt. And like as good ſubjects will not refuſe to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, ſo fly not like a white-livered milkſop from the ſtanding wherein thy chief Captain Chriſt hath ſet thee in array in this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt ſay; I will not break unity. What, not the unity of Satan and its members? not the unity of darkneſs, the agreement of Antichriſt and his adherents. Nay, thou deceiveſt thyſelf with a fond imagination of ſuch an unity as is among the enemies of Chriſt. Were not the falſe prophets in an unity? Were not Joſeph's brethren and Jacob's ſons in an unity? were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites and the Jebuſites in an unity? were not the Scribes and Phariſees in an unity? doth not King David teſtify, Pſ. lxxxiii. 5. They have caſt their heads together, and are confederate againſt the Lord? *Yea, thieves, murderers, conſpirators have their Unity. But what unity? Tully ſaid of Amity, there is no amity but with the good. But mark my friend, yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy; there is no unity but where Chriſt knitteth the knot among ſuch as be his. Yea, be well aſſured, that where his truth is not reſident, there it is verified that he himſelf ſaith* Matth. x. 34. I came not to ſend Peace on earth, but a ſword, *&c. but to ſet one againſt another, the ſon againſt the father and the Daughter againſt the mother in-law. Deceive not thyſelf therefore with the glittering and glorious name of unity, yet not in deed but in name. The agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conſpiracy. Thou haſt heard ſome threatnings, ſome curſings, and ſome admonitions out of the Scripture to thoſe that love themſelves above Chriſt. Thou haſt heard alſo the ſharp and biting words to thoſe that deny him for love of life: ſaith he not* Mat. x. He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in Heaven. *And to the ſame effect writeth St.* Paul, Heb. *vi.* It is impoſſible, *ſaith he,* that they which are once enlightened, and have taſted of the heavenly gift, and were Partakers of the Holy Ghoſt, and have taſted of the good word of God, if they fall and ſlide away, crucifying to themſelves the ſon of God afreſh, and making of him a mocking ſtock, ſhould be renewed again by repentance. *And again, ſaith he, Heb. x.* If we ſhall willingly ſin after we have received the Knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for ſin, but the terrible expectation of judgment and fire which ſhall devour the Adverſaries. *This St. Paul writeth, and this thou readeſt, and doſt thou not quake and tremble?*

Well

Well, if these terrible and thundering threatnings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his Apostles, holy Martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith, Matth. v. Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoyce, and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. *Hear what the prophet Isaiah saith,* Chap. li. Fear not the curse of men, be not ashamed of their blasphemies, for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, said he, that feareſt a mortal man, the child of man which fadeth away like the flower, and forgetteſt the Lord that made thee, that spread out the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the sea to rage and be still, whose name is the Lord of Hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand. *And our Saviour Christ saith,* Matt. xiii. Luke xii. *to his disciples*: They shall accuse you, and bring you before Princes and Rulers for my name's sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill; but fear you not, said he, nor care you what you shall say: for it is the spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasures for yourselves, said he, where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you, John xv.

Let these and such like consolations taken out of the Scriptures strengthen you Godward; let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets, of the three children, of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other Apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the Church. As of good Simeon, Archbishop of Soloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapores the King of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all Torments devised by the tyrants for their Saviour's sake.

Return, return again unto Christ's war, and as becometh a faithful warrior, put on the armour that St. Paul, Ephes. xvi. *teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And above all things take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and spiritual member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.*

Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatned vengeance for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy: and comfort yourself on the other part with the mercy, blood and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to

come

come again with the loſt ſon, ſeeing you have ſo wandered with him. Be not aſhamed to turn again with him from the ſwill of ſtrangers, to the delicates of your moſt benign and loving father, acknowledging that you have ſinned againſt heaven and earth: againſt heaven, by ſtaining the glorious name of God, and cauſing his moſt ſincere and pure word to be evil ſpoken of through you. Againſt earth, by offending ſo many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a ſtumbling block through your ſudden ſliding. Be not abaſhed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with ſhedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but alſo pouring out the ſtreams of your heart, to waſh away out of the ſight of God the filth and mire of your offenſive fall. Be not abaſhed to ſay with the Publican, Luke xvii. *Lord, be merciful unto me a ſinner. Remember the horrible hiſtory of Julian of old, and the lamentable caſe of Spira of late, whoſe caſe methinks ſhould be yet ſo green in your remembrance, that being a thing of our time, you ſhould fear the like inconvenience, ſeeing you are fallen into the like offence.*

Laſt of all, let the lively remembrance of the laſt day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that ſuch ſhall be at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Chriſt, which ſetting more by the world than by Heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them life, did ſhrink, yea did clean fall away from thoſe which forſook them not; and contrarywiſe, the ineſtimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriouſly triumphed over all powers of darkneſs, over Hell, death, and damnation, through their moſt redoubted Captain Chriſt, who now ſtretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiſs you, and laſt of all to feed you with the dainties and delicates of his own precious blood; which undoubtedly, if it might ſtand with his determinate purpoſe, he would not let to ſhed again, rather than you ſhould be loſt. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, be all glory, praiſe and honour everlaſting. Amen.

Be conſtant, be conſtant, fear not for any pain,
Chriſt hath redeemed thee, and Heaven is thy gain.

A Letter written by the Lady *Jane* at the End of the *New Teſtament* in *Greek*, which ſhe ſent to her Siſter the Lady *Catharine*, the Night before ſhe ſuffered.

I have here ſent you, good ſiſter Catherine, a book, which though it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious ſtones. It is the book, dear ſiſter of the Law of the Lord. It is his Teſtament and laſt Will which he bequeathed to us wretches; which ſhall lead you to the path of eternal joy, and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earneſt mind do purpoſe to follow it, it ſhall bring you to an immortal and everlaſting life. It ſhall teach you to live and learn to die. It ſhall win you more than you ſhou'd have gained from your woful father's lands. For, as if God had proſpered him you ſhould have inherited his

lands; for if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheriter of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God.

Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon, if God call, goeth the young as the old, and labour always to learn to die. Defy the World, deny the Devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord.

Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not: and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping, and left for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured that I shall, for losing a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in fear, and to die in the new Christian Faith, from the which, in God's name I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen out your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days to your comfort and his glory: to which glory God bring you now and hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you.

A Prayer made by the Lady *Jane* in the time of her Trouble.

O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and therefore I being defiled with sin, incumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might be both tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou that saidest thou would

Death of Lady Jane Gray.

would not ſuffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now a miſerable wretch, I beſeech thee; which, with Solomon do cry unto thee, humbly deſiring thee, that I may not be too much puffed up with proſperity, neither too much preſſed down with adverſity, leſt I being too full ſhould deny thee, my God, or being too low brought, ſhould deſpiſe and blaſpheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, conſider my miſery beſt known unto thee, and be thou now unto me a ſtrong Tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great miſery, or elſe give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and ſharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Iſrael out of the hands of Pharoah, which for the ſpace of four hundred years did oppreſs them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore ſeem good to thy fatherly goodneſs, to deliver me ſorrowful wretch, for whom thy Son ſhed his precious blood on the Croſs, out of this miſerable captivity and bondage wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be abſent, for ever? O Lord, haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and haſt thou ſhut up thy loving kindneſs in diſpleaſure? wilt thou be no more intreated? is thy mercy clean gone for ever more? why doſt thou make ſo long tarrying? ſhall I deſpair of thy mercy, O God, far be that from me. I am thy workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leiſure, and patiently to bear thy works, aſſuredly knowing, that as thou haſt called me to ſuffer for thy name, thou wilt raiſe me to glory, and give me a crown far ſuperior to any earthly diadem, even a never-fading crown of glory at thy right hand for ever and ever, for which, prepare thy unworthy ſervant, O Lord, and thus receive my departing ſoul. Amen.

When this pious lady mounted the ſcaffold, erected for the cruel ſentence, ſhe addreſſed the numerous throng of ſpectators in the following terms.

Good people, I am come to this place to yield up my life to the ſentence of the law: that I did conſent to the deſign concerted againſt the Queen's highneſs to deprive her of the crown of this realm I frankly confeſs, but abſolutely deny that I entertained the leaſt deſire to have that honour transferred to myſelf: I therefore waſh my hands, in token of my innocency, before God and all that behold me this day.

This done ſhe wrung her hands, deſiring all preſent to bear witneſs, that ſhe died in the true Chriſtian faith, looking and hoping for ſalvation by no other means, than the mercy of God through the atoning ſacrifice of the blood of his only Son Jeſus Chriſt. She confeſſed, that ſince ſhe had been taught the word of God in its purity and ſimplicity, from an attachment to the pleaſures and vanities of the preſent evil world, ſhe had too much neglected the ſame, eſteeming ſufferings, the puniſhment for her ſin, though ſhe bleſſed God, for graciouſly

ciouſly bringing her to ſincere repentance, deſiring all preſent to offer up their prayers to Almighty God in her behalf.

Having thus addreſſed the multitude, ſhe devoutly repeated in Engliſh the pſalm, *Miſereri mei Deus*, preſented part of her attire to two attending ladies, and prepared herſelf for the block.

Thus ready for the awful ſentence the executioner ſued her forgiveneſs on his bended knees, this ſhe readily granted, as he was only the innocent and unwilling cauſe of her death.

Kneeling upon the block ſhe deſired to be diſpatched quickly, and her head at one ſtroke was ſevered from her body, having firſt recommended her departing ſpirit to that God who gave it, and was able to waft it by an Almighty power to worlds immortal.

Thus died the Lady Jane, on the ſame day with her conſort Lord Guildford Dudley, who fell victims to the implacable reſentment of the Queen, becauſe, through want of years and experience, they ignorantly acquieſced with the ſchemes of others, and thereby expoſed themſelves to the moſt rigorous ſentence of the law.

It is very remarkable, that Judge Morgan, who pronounced ſentence of condemnation on the Lady Jane, a ſhort time after her execution, became inſane, and in the extremity of his raving, would cry out, *Take her from me, Take her from me*, till he ended his life with inexpreſſible horror.

This execution was ſucceeded by that of Henry Duke of Suffolk, who was beheaded on Tower-hill the fourth day after his condemnation, together with many gentlemen and yeomen in and about the city of London.

AGNES POTTEN, and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD.

THESE pious women, and ſtedfaſt believers in the pure goſpel of Chriſt, living in the town of Ipſwich and dioceſe of Norwich, were examined in the Biſhop's court concerning their religion in general and their faith in the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar in particular. They delivered it as their opinion, that in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, there was repreſented the memorial only of Chriſt's death and paſſion, ſaying, that Jeſus Chriſt is aſcended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father according to the ſcriptures, as he was born of the Virgin Mary.

Continuing ſtedfaſt in this profeſſion, ſentence was pronounced againſt them as Heretics, and they were delivered to the ſheriffs to be burned in the town of Ipſwich in the Month of May 1556.

The conſtancy of theſe women in the profeſſion of their faith was admired by the multitude that ſaw them ſuffer; for as they undreſſed, and prepared themſelves for the fire, they earneſtly exhorted the people to believe, rely on the unerring word of the only living and

The Burning of Agnes Potten & Joan Trunchfield at Ipswich.

and true God, and not regard the devices and intentions of men.

They openly declared that they deſpiſed the errors and ſuperſtitions of the Church of Rome, and moſt patiently ſubmitted to the acute torments of devouring flames, calling upon the God of their ſalvation, and triumphing in being deemed worthy to ſuffer for the glorious cauſe of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, to the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all that beheld them.

ROBERT DRAKE, WILLIAM TIMS, RICHARD SPURG, THOMAS SPURG, JOHN CAVILL, *and* GEORGE AMBROSE.

THESE perſons reſided in the county of Eſſex and dioceſe of London, and were ſent up by the lord Rich and other commiſſioners at divers times, to biſhop Gardiner, Lord Chancellor of England, who after a ſhort examination, ſent ſome of them to the King's Bench priſon and others to the Marſhalſea in the Borough of Southwark, where they continued during the ſpace of a whole year, till the death of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

When Dr. Heath, Archbiſhop of York, ſucceeded to the Chancellorſhip, four of theſe perſecuted brethren, weary of their tedious confinement, preſented a petition to the Lord Chancellor, ſubſcribing their names, and requeſting his intereſt for their enlargement.

Soon after the delivery of this petition, Sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the Court of Chancery, was ſent by the Chancellor to the Marſhalſea to examine them.

The firſt who paſſed examination was Richard Spurg, who being aſked the cauſe of his impriſonment, replied, that he, with ſeveral others, being complained of by the miniſter of Bocking for not coming to their Pariſh Church, to the Lord Rich, was thereupon ſent up to London by his Lordſhip, to be examined by the late Chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at Church ſince the Engliſh ſervice was changed in Latin (except on Chriſtmas day was Twelvemonth) becauſe he diſliked the ſame and the maſs alſo, as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then deſired, that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleaſed the preſent Chancellor to enquire his faith concerning the ſame which he was ready to deliver.

THOMAS SPURG on his examination, anſwered to the ſame effect with the other, confeſſing that he abſented himſelf from church, becauſe the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the ſacraments of Chriſt duly adminiſtered, as preſcribed by the ſame word.

Being farther examined touching his faith in the ſacrament of the altar, he ſaid, that if he ſtood accuſed in that particular, he would anſwer as God had given him knowledge.

GEORGE AMBROSE anſwered

to the ſame effect, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Biſhop of Wincheſter's book, intituled, *De verâ Obedientiâ*, with Biſhop Bonner's preface thereunto annexed, both inveighing againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, he eſteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

JOHN CAVILL agreeing in the main with thoſe of his brethren who had been already examined, added moreover, that the cauſe of his abſenting himſelf from church, was, that the miniſters there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for firſt, in a ſermon he delivered when the Queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the goſpel, declaring it to be the truth, and that if they believed it not, they would be damned; and that ſecondly, in a future diſcourſe he declared that the Teſtament was falſe in forty places, which contrariety gave him much diſguſt and was among other things, the cauſe of his abſenting himſelf from church.

ROBERT DRAKES, who was miniſter of Thunderſly in Eſſex, being preſented to that living by the Lord Rich in the reign of King Edward VI. when he was ordained prieſt by Dr. Ridley then biſhop of London, according to the reformed Engliſh ſervice for ordination.

But now on the acceſſion of Queen Mary to the throne of England, he was ſent to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who demanded of him, whether he would conform, like a good ſubject, to the laws of the realm, then in force; he replied that he would abide by all the laws, that were agreeable to the law of God, upon which he was committed to priſon where he remained near a year.

WILLIAM TIMS was a deacon and curate of Hockley in Eſſex in the reign of Edward VI. but being deprived of his living ſoon after the ſucceſſion of Queen Mary, he abſconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many repaired to hear the word of God.

For this reaſon he was apprehended by one of the conſtables and ſent up to the biſhop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter and Lord Chancellor, who committed him to the King's Bench priſon.

Tims, ſoon after his confinement was examined by the biſhop of London together with the others abovementioned, and with them queſtioned in the uſual manner, concerning his faith in the ſacrament of the altar.

He anſwered, that the body of Chriſt was not in the Sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, and that they had been a long time of that opinion, even ſince the time that it pleaſed God of his infinite mercy to call them to the true knowledge of the goſpel of his grace.

Upon the 28th of March 1556, the ſix perſons abovementioned were brought into the Conſiſtory court in St. Paul's church, before the biſhop, in order to be examined for the laſt time

time, and assured, that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began the examination of Tims as the ringleader of his companions, reminding them that he taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself, with many more terms to the same purpose.

He was then demanded what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent the bishop from proceeding against him as his ordinary.

Having obtained permission from his lordship to speak, he said as follows:

My lord, I am astonished that you should begin your charge with a falshood; you aver that I am the ringleader of the company now brought before you, and have taught them principles contrary to the Romish church since we have been together in confinement; but the injustice of this declaration will soon appear, if you will be pleased to enquire of these my brethren, whether when at liberty and out of prison, they dissented not from Popish principles as much as they do at present: such enquiry I presume will render it evident, that they learned not their religion in prison.

For my own part I declare I never knew them, till such time as I became their fellow-prisoner, how then could I be their ringleader and teacher? With respect to the charge alledged against me, a charge which you endeavour to aggravate to the highest degree, whatever opinion you maintain concerning me, I am well assured that I hold no other religion than what Christ preached, the Apostles witnessed, the Primitive Church received, and of late the Apostolical and Evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught, and for which you have cruelly caused them to be burnt, and now seek to treat us with the like inhuman severity. I acknowledge you to be my ordinary.

The bishop finding it necessary to come to a point with him, demanded, if he would submit himself to the Holy Mother-Church, promising that in so doing he should be kindly received, and threatening at the same time, that, on his non-compliance, judgment should be denounced against him as an heretic.

Tims assured his lordship, that he was well persuaded he was within the pale of the Catholic church, whatever he might judge concerning him, and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm the authority of the Pope, and was therefore perjured and forsworn in the higher degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the usurped power of the Pope, tho' he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the Pope to be the supreme head of the church.

When Bonner sternly demanded what he had writen against the church of Rome? Tims pertinently answered, *My lord, the late bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned treatise, intituled, De verâ Obedientiâ, which contains many solid*

ſolid arguments againſt the Papal Supremacy: to this book you wrote a preface, ſtrongly inveighing againſt the biſhop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and uſurpation, and ſhewing that his power was ill founded, and contrary both to the will of God and the real intereſt of mankind.

Bonner, ſtruck with the poignance of this reproof, evaſively told him, that the biſhop of Wincheſter wrote a book againſt the ſupremacy of the Pope's Holineſs, and he wrote a preface to the ſame book, tending to the ſame purpoſe: but that the cauſe of the ſame aroſe not from their diſregard to his Holineſs, but becauſe it was then deemed treaſon by the laws of the realm to maintain the Pope's authority in England.

He alſo obſerved, that at ſuch time it was dangerous to profeſs to favour the church of Rome, and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times; for if any perſon had conſcientiouſly acknowledged the Pope's authority in thoſe days, he would have been put to death: but that ſince the Queen's happy acceſſion to the throne, they might boldly ſpeak the dictates of their conſcience; and farther reminded him, that as my Lord of Wincheſter was not aſhamed to recant his errors at St. Paul's Croſs, and that he himſelf had done the ſame, every inferior clergyman ſhould follow the example of their ſuperiors.

Tims ſtill perſiſting in the vindication of his own conduct and reprehenſion of that of the biſhop, again replied, *My lord, that which you have written againſt the ſupremacy of the Pope may be well proved from ſcripture to be true; but that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can ſufficiently prove.*

Then Biſhop Bonner, after much converſation, proceeded to form of law, cauſing his articles and anſwers to the ſame to be then and there openly read.

Tims acknowledged only two ſacraments, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, commended the biſhop of Wincheſter's book *De verâ Obedientiâ*, and the biſhop of London's preface to the ſame.

He declared that the maſs was blaſphemy to Chriſt's paſſion and death; that Chriſt is not corporally but ſpiritually preſent in the ſacrament, and that as they uſed it, it was an abominable idol.—Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and hereſies, conform to the Church of Rome, and not abide ſo ſtrenuouſly by the literal ſenſe of the ſcripture, but uſe the interpretation of the Fathers.

Tims frankly declared that he would not conform thereunto, notwithſtanding the execrations denounced againſt him by the Church of Rome, and demanded of the biſhop what he had to ſupport the doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, but the bare letter of ſcripſure? On the biſhop's replying the author of the Holy Catholic Church, Tims informed him that he had the Popiſh Church for which he was perjured and forſworn, declaring that the See of Rome was the See of Antichriſt, and therefore he would never conſent

conſent to yield obedience unto the ſame.

Bonner finding him ſo inflexible in his adherence to the faith he profeſſed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitleſs, read his definitive ſentence and he was delivered over to the Secular Power.

The biſhop uſed the ſame meaſures with Robert Drakes as he had done with Tims, but Drakes bluntly declared, that he defied and denied the Church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the Devil and all his works.

Bonner perceiving all his exhortations fruitleſs, pronounced ſentence likewiſe againſt Drakes and delivered him into the cuſtody of the ſheriff.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambroſe, and John Cavill were ſeverally demanded, if they would forſake their hereſies and return to the Catholic church? they denied conſenting to the church of Rome, but were willing to return to the true Catholic Church and continue in the ſame.

The biſhop therefore read their ſeveral definitive ſentences and judgments, and committed them to the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of London, who ſent them all to Newgate, where they remained moſt joyfully till they were brought together into Smithfield, faſtened to the ſame ſtake, and burnt in one fire, patiently ſubmitting themſelves to the flames, and reſigning their ſouls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer for whoſe ſake they delivered their bodies to be burned.

N° 7.

JOAN BEACH *and* JOHN HARPOLE.

THE former of theſe martyrs for the cauſe of Chriſt, lived in the county of Kent and dioceſe of Rocheſter and was brought before Maurice biſhop of the ſaid dioceſe, who exhibited the following articles againſt her.

1. *That living in the pariſh of Tunbridge ſhe belonged to the dioceſe of Rocheſter.*

This ſhe granted.

2. *That all people, who preach, teach, believe or ſay otherwiſe or contrary to their Mother, the Holy Catholic church are excommunicate perſons and hereticks.*

This ſhe acknowledged to be true, but added withal, that nevertheleſs, ſhe believed not the Holy Catholic Church to be her Mother, but believed only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

3. *That ſhe had affirmed, and did affirm, maintain and believe, contrary to the ſaid Mother Church of Chriſt, that in the bleſſed ſacrament of the Altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt in ſubſtance, but only a token and memorial thereof, and that the very body and blood of Chriſt is in Heaven and not in the ſacrament.*

4. *That Chriſt being in Heaven, could not be in the Sacrament.*

To this ſhe anſwered, that ſhe had and did verily believe, hold and affirm, in the Sacrament of the Altar, under

the forms of bread and wine, there was not the very body and blood of our Saviour in ſubſtance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and that his body and ſubſtance is only in Heaven and not in the ſacrament.

5. *That ſhe had been and then was, among the pariſhioners of Tunbridge noted and ſtrongly ſuſpected of being a ſacramentary and an heretic.*

She anſwered, that ſhe did not know how ſhe had been or was reputed amongſt the pariſhioners of Tunbridge, nor was their opinion of any avail to her immortal ſtate.

JOHN HARPOLE of the pariſh of St. Nicholas in Rocheſter, was alſo brought before Maurice biſhop of that dioceſe, and had articles adminiſtered unto him of the ſame import with thoſe adminiſtered to Joan Beach.

He likewiſe replied much to the ſame effect, upon which the biſhop pronounced ſentence of death on them both according to the uſual form.

Being delivered over to the ſecular power, they were burned together in one fire in the city of Rocheſter, April 1, 1556, as appears by the Bloody Regiſter of that dioceſe.

CHRISTOPHER LISTER, JOHN MACE, JOHN SPENSER, SIMON JOYN, RICHARD NICHOLS, *and* JOHN HAMMOND, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Colcheſter in Eſſex.*

THESE ſix perſons were ſent by the Earl of Oxford and other Commiſſioners, to John Kingſton, Batchelor of Civil Law, Commiſſary in Eſſex, under Dr. Bonner, Biſhop of London.

Kingſton referred them to the biſhop, who ordered them to be brought to his houſe at Fulham, and there adminiſtered to them divers articles, of the ſame nature, as thoſe which had been adminiſtered to others, and with the uſual form.

1. *To the firſt, there was one Holy Catholic church on earth, in which the religion and faith of Chriſt is truly profeſſed, they all conſented and agreed, but John Spenſer added, that the church of Rome was no part of Chriſt's Catholic Church.*

2. *To the ſecond, concerning the ſeven ſacraments they anſwered, that in the true Catholic Church of Chriſt, there are but two ſacraments, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.*

3. *To the third, they unanimouſly agreed and confeſſed, that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the Catholic church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had promiſed and profeſſed for them, as contained in the article adminiſtered.*

4. *To the fourth article, concerning their continuance in that faith and profeſſion into which they were baptized and agreed that they did ſo continue; Nichols obſerved that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profeſſion, by the doctrine ſet forth in the days of King Edward the ſixth, that thereupon he had built his faith, and would continue in the ſame by the grace of God to his life's end.*

5. *Concerning ſwerving from the Catholic faith, they declared that they had not*

Engravd for Englands
Bloody Tribunal

The Burning of C. Lyster, J. Mace, J. Spencer, S. Joyne,
R. Nichols & J. Hammond at Colchester.

not ſwerved nor departed from the faith of Chriſt.

However, they confeſſed, that within the time mentioned in the ſame article, they had diſapproved and ſpoken againſt the ſacrifice of the Maſs, and the Sacrament of the altar, affirming, that they would not come to hear, nor be partakers thereof; that they had believed and then did believe, that they were ſet forth and uſed contrary to God's word and glory.

They granted alſo that they had ſpoken againſt the uſurped authority of the Biſhop of Rome, who was an oppreſſor of the goſpel church of Chriſt, and ought not to have any power in England.

6. *Concerning their reconciliation to the unity of the Church, they declared that they never refuſed, nor did then refuſe to be reconciled to the unity of Chriſt's Catholic Church, but declared they had and then did and would for ever hereafter refuſe to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the Papal See; but did utterly abhor the ſame for rejecting the book of God, the bible, and ſetting up the maſs, with other ridiculous and Antichriſtian ceremonies.*

7. *That diſapproving the maſs and ſacrament of the altar they had refuſed to come to the Popiſh Church, &c.*

This they all granted, and Simon Joyn added moreover, that the cauſe wherefore he refuſed to be partaker of their trumpery, was, becauſe the commandments of God were there broken, and Chriſt's ordinances changed, and the biſhop of Rome's ordinances put up in their room and ſtead.

Chriſtopher Liſter affirmed, that in the ſacrament of the altar, there is the ſubſtance of bread and wine, as well after the words of conſecration as before, and that there is not in the ſame the very body and blood of Chriſt, really, ſubſtantially, and truly, but only ſacramentally and ſpiritually, by faith in the Faithful Receiver, and that the Maſs is not a propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and dead, but meer idolatry and abomination.

To the 8th article they replied, that they were ſent to Colcheſter priſon by the King and Queen's commiſſioners, becauſe they would not come to their Pariſh churches, and by them ſent to the biſhop of London to be examined.

To this article they generally replied, that what was contained in the premiſes was true, and that they belonged to the dioceſe of London.

After this examination, the biſhop of London diſmiſſed them till the after noon, and then commanded them to be brought into the church again, where their articles and anſwers were once more read to them, and they reſolutely perſiſted in the profeſſion they had made.

After various endeavours to bring them to a recantation, without the leaſt effect, ſentence of condemnation was pronounced againſt them, and they were delivered over to the Secular Power, which upon receiving the King's writ for their execution, ſent them to Colcheſter, where, on the 28th of April 1556, they were faſtened to two ſtakes, and moſt chearfully reſigned their lives, giving glory to God in the midſt of the flames, and encouraging

raging others to die with pleaſure for the ſake of the truth when ever God in the courſe of his wiſe Providence might call them to the fiery trial.

HUGH LAVEROCK *an old lame Man, and* JOHN APPRICE, *a blind Man.*

HUGH LAVEROCK lived in the pariſh of Barking in Eſſex, was by trade a painter, and had arrived to the age of ſixty-eight years, when together with his fellow-ſufferer he was accuſed of Hereſy, by ſome of their officious Popiſh neighbours, unto the biſhop of London, who examined them at his palace, May 1. 1556.

Bonner objected to them the very nine articles mentioned in the former lives, and they returned anſwers much to the ſame effect with other Proteſtant Martyrs.

On the ninth of the ſame month, they were both brought into the Conſiſtory Court at St. Paul's, where their articles and anſwers were publicly read, and the biſhop perſuaded them to recant their opinion concerning the ſacrament of the Altar.

Hugh Laverock declared, that by the grace of God he would ſtand to the profeſſion he had already made, nor could he find the leaſt authority in the word of God for enjoining the doctrine of the corporal preſence of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Biſhop Bonner then addreſſed himſelf to John Apprice, and demanded what he could urge in his own defence? the honeſt blind man told the haughty prelate, that the doctrine he ſet forth and taught was ſo conformable to the world, that it could not be agreeable to the ſcripture of God, and that he was no member of the Catholic Church of Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing he made laws to kill men, and made the Queen his executioner.

The biſhop having occaſion to retire to Fulham, commanded theſe poor men to be brought thither, and after ſome diſcourſe with them, pronounced the definitive ſentence according to the uſual form, and they were delivered up to the Secular Power, ſent to Newgate, where they continued to the 15th of May, when they were conveyed to Stratford Le Bow, faſtened to a ſtake, and yielded up their lives, in teſtimony of the truth.

Laverock, caſting away his crutch, ſaid to his blind fellow martyr, *John Apprice, be of good comfort, brother, for my Lord of London is our good phyſician, he will cure us both ſhortly, thee of thy blindneſs and me of my lameneſs.*

They endured their ſuffering with great fortitude, and died in the moſt lively exerciſe of faith in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to obtain eternal life in the glorious ſtate where the wicked ceaſe from troubling and the weary are at reſt.

CATHERINE HUT, JOAN HORNES, *and* ELIZABETH THACKVILL.

THESE three women by order of Sir John Mordaunt, and Edmund Tyrrel Eſqs; juſtices of the peace of the county of Eſſex, were ſent

ſent up priſoners to the biſhop of London at his palace, for not conforming to the order of the Church, nor believing the real preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, as expreſſed in the letter which the juſtices ſent with them to the biſhop, dated March 2, 1556.

The biſhop objecting to them the articles uſually produced on the occaſion, they replied as follows.

To the firſt, concerning their belief, that there was a Catholic Church of Chriſt upon earth, they all aſſented.

To the ſecond, relating to the ſeven ſacraments, they did not underſtand properly what a ſacrament was.

To the third, concerning their Baptiſm, they replied, they believed they were baptiſed, but knew not what their Godfathers and Godmothers promiſed for them.

To the fourth, about their continuance in the ſame faith into which they were baptiſed, until they arrived at the age of fourteen years, or the age of diſcretion, without diſapproving the ſame; they granted it to be true.

To this article Catherine Hut obſerved, that at that time ſhe did not underſtand what ſhe profeſſed.

Joan Hornes added, that in the days of king Edward VI. ſhe learned the faith that was then ſet forth, and yet continued in the ſame, and would, with God's aſſiſtance, continue the remainder of her life.

To the fifth article concerning the maſs, and the ſacrament of the altar, they ſaid, they could diſcern no excellence in the maſs, nor could they believe but that Chriſt's natural body was in Heaven, and not in the ſacrament of the altar.

Concerning the ſee of Rome, they acknowledged no ſupremacy in the ſame, nor would they adhere to it.

To the ſixth article of their reconciliation to the church of Rome, they refuſed to be reconciled to the ſame.

To the ſeventh, of their diſapproving the ſervice of the church, and not frequenting their pariſh-church, they acknowledged it to be true.

Catherine Hut alledged, as the cauſe of her abſenting herſelf from church, that ſhe neither approved the ſerivce in Latin, the maſs, mattins, or even ſong, nor were the ſacraments uſed and adminiſtered according to God's word.

She declared, moreover, that maſs was an idol, neither was the true body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar, as they compelled perſons to believe.

To the eight article they declared, that they were all ſent up to the biſhop of London by Sir John Mordaunt and Edmund Tyrell, Eſqs. juſtices of the peace for the county of Eſſex, becauſe they could not affirm the preſence of Chriſt's body and blood in the ſacrament of the altar, and for abſenting themſelves from their pariſh church.

To the ninth article, they were of the dioceſe of London they all aſſented, excepting Catherine Hut, who ſaid ſhe was of the pariſh of Bocking in Eſſex, which is of the peculiar juriſdiction of Canterbury, and not under that of the dioceſe of London.

Upon the 13th of April they were again brought before the biſhop, and

their anſwers and articles publickly read in court in order to their final judgment.

Firſt, Catherine Hut was required to declare her opinion of the ſacrament of the altar and to return to the Catholic faith. She openly proteſted that the ſaid ſacrament was not truly God, but a dumb God made with men's hands, upon which ſhe received ſentence of death.

Joan Hornes was next examined, and being charged that ſhe did not believe the ſacrament of Chriſt's body and blood to be Chriſt himſelf, ſaid, if you can make your God to ſhed blood, or ſhew any ſign of a true, living body, then will I believe you: but it is bread as to the ſubſtance, and that which you call hereſy is the manner in which I truſt to ſerve my God to the end of my life.

Concerning the biſhop and ſee of Rome, I deteſt them as abominations, and deſire ever to be delivered from the ſame.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced upon her.

Elizabeth Thackvill continuing ſtedfaſt in her former confeſſions, and refuſing to recant, was likewiſe condemned to ſuffer with the reſt.

Being delivered over to the ſheriffs of London, on the 16th of May they were brought to Smithfield, where, being faſtened to a ſtake, their bodies were conſumed by the flames, having recommended their ſpirits into the hands of that God, for the truth of whoſe word they joyfully ſuffered death, in order to obtain eternal life.

THOMAS SPICER, JOHN DENNY, *and* EDMUND POLE.

THESE perſons were apprehended for not attending maſs at their pariſh church, by the juſtices of the county of Suffolk, and committed to priſon, where they continued till they were brought before Chancellor Dunning of Norwich, and Mynges the regiſter, who ſat at the town of Beccles to examine them.

The articles objected to them, were thoſe commonly objected to others of the ſame dioceſe by Dr. Hopton, biſhop of Norwich, viz.

1. *That they believed not the Pope of Rome to be ſupreme head immediately under Chriſt, of the univerſal Catholic Church.*

2. *That they believed not holy bread and holy water, aſhes, palms, and other like ceremonies uſed in the church to be good and laudable for ſtirring up the people to devotion.*

3. *That they believed not after the words of conſecration ſpoken by the prieſt, the very natural body of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance of bread and wine, to be in the ſacrament of the altar.*

4. *That they believed it to be idolatry to worſhip Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar.*

5. *That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's paſſion.*

6. *That they would not follow the croſs in proceſſion, nor be confeſſed to a prieſt.*

For theſe doctrines and articles they were

were condemned by Dr. Dunning the chancellor, who firſt endeavoured to reclaim them from their opinions, and bring them over to the Holy Mother Church of Rome, but all his admonitions and exhortations proving ineffectual, he pronounced ſentence againſt them with much reluctance, and delivered them over to the high ſheriff of Suffolk and Norfolk, who cauſed them to be brought to the ſtake at Beccles, May 21, 1556.

When they came to the place of execution, they devoutly prayed, and repeated the articles of their faith, and when they came to that article concerning Holy Catholic Church, Sir John Silliard the high ſheriff, thus addreſſed them, *That is well ſaid, ſirs, I am glad to hear you ſay you believe that cathol c church; this is the beſt expreſſion I have heard from you yet.*

Pole obſerved on the occaſion, that though they believed the Catholic Church, yet they believed not in their Popiſh church, which is no part of Chriſt's Catholic Church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they aroſe from prayer, they went joyfully to the ſtake, and being bound, they praiſed God with ſuch chearfulneſs in the midſt of the flames, as exacted the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all who heard them.

A perſecuting, bigotted Papiſt called to the executioner to throw faggots at the heretics, in order to ſtop their mouths, but our martyrs being ſtedfaſt in the faith, regarded not their malice, but boldly confeſſed the truth of Chriſt with their lateſt breath; dying as they had lived, in certain hopes of a reſurrection to life eternal.

THOMAS HARLAND, JOHN OSWALD, THOMAS ABINGTON, *and* THOMAS READ.

IT was objected by the biſhop of London to Thomas Harland, that he abſented himſelf from church: he anſwered, that ſince the maſs was reſtored, he never choſe to hear the ſame, becauſe it was in Latin, which he did not underſtand, and therefore could reap no benefit thereby.

John Oſwald refuſed to anſwer any objection, till his accuſers were brought face to face before him; nevertheleſs he declared that he was not to be awed into any conceſſions by the fear of fire and faggot; but as the faithful miniſters of the goſpel of Chriſt, during the reign of King Edward VI, had ſuffered and gone before him, he was ready to ſuffer and follow after them, and would count it his glory and honour ſo to do.

Abington and Read profeſſed their faith in the pure goſpel of Chriſt, and abjured all popiſh ſuperſtitions and errors.

After a long confinement in the King's-bench priſon, they were all ſent down to Lewes in Suſſex, and there burnt in one fire June 6, 1556.

On the 20th of the ſame month were burnt in the ſame town, Thomas Wood, miniſter, and Thomas Mills for oppoſing the doctrine of the church of

of Rome, but the particulars of their trial is not upon record.

Thirteen Perſons who ſuffered Martyrdom together at Stradford Bow, near London.

THESE perſons, eleven of whom were men, and two women, were ſent by divers officers from ſeveral places to Dr. Bonner, Biſhop of London to be examined, concerning their religious principles.

On the 9th of June they were brought before Dr. Darbyſhire, the Biſhop's chancellor, who in form of law adminiſtered the ſame articles unto them as had been uſually propounded to others,

To the firſt article, that there is on earth a Catholic church wherein the religion of Chriſt is truly profeſſed, they all anſwered in the affirmative; but added that they believed the true faith of Chriſt was, wherever the word of God was truly preached.

To the ſecond article concerning the ſeven ſacraments, they all anſwered in the negative; ſome affirmed, that in the church of Chriſt there were only two ſacraments, viz. Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; others deſired to believe as the ſcriptures taught them; others refuſed to reply, not properly underſtanding theſe points.

To the third article, that they were baptized in the faith of the Catholic church, profeſſing by their god-fathers, &c. the religion of Chriſt, and to renounce the devil and all his works, &c. They all aſſented without exception.

To the fourth article, that when they come to years of diſcretion, they did not depart from the ſaid profeſſion and faith, and did not diſprove any part thereof for ſeveral years.

To this moſt of them anſwered in the affirmative, but one of them refuſed making any reply, others ſaid they believed the article to be true, but it was for want of better knowledge.

One of the women added, that in the days of king Edward VI, ſhe departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the goſpel of Chriſt as it was then taught and ſet forth.

The fifth article, that of late they had ſwerved from their former Catholic faith, and had ſpoken againſt the Maſs, the ſacrament of the altar, and authority of the Papal ſee. This upon the whole they confeſſed to be true.

One of them ſaid, that the maſs was of ſuch a nature as he could not in his conſcience believe to be authorized from God.

Another obſerved, that for nine or ten years paſt, he could not approve the maſs nor the Sacrament of the Altar, becauſe they could not be proved from the ſcripture of truth, declaring at the ſame time, that at the age of fourteen years he had taken an oath againſt the authority of the Papal See, and would by the grace of God abide firmly by the ſame.

The ſixth article, that they refuſed to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confeſs the lawfulneſs of the Papal See.

To

To this article all, except two, anſwered in the affirmative; thoſe who refuſed to reply, declaring that they underſtood not the import of the ſame.

The women added, they refuſed to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then uſed in the realm of England, though they never refuſed to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the Catholic church of Chriſt.

The ſeventh article, that diſapproving the ſervice of the church, they refuſed to come to their pariſh churches, denied the bodily preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, called the maſs an abomination, &c.

This was anſwered in general in the affirmative, but one denied that he called the maſs an abomination or an idol; another, though he granted the article confeſſed his infirmity, that he went to his pariſh church and received before he was put in priſon.

Before we proceed to the conſideration of the two laſt articles it will be expedient to mention the names and profeſſions of the ſeveral perſons examined, as ſuch diſtinction will be neceſſary to illuſtrate their various religious principles, as well as aſcertain their courage and perſeverance in the faith once delivered to the ſaints:

Henry Wye, brewer of Standford le Hox, aged 23 years.——William Hallywell of Waltham-Croſs, aged 32 years.—Ralph Jackſon ſervant in the pariſh of Chipping Ongar in Eſſex, aged 31 years.—Laurence Pern, ſmith of Hodſden in the county of Hertford aged 22 years.—John Derifall, labourer of the pariſh of Kettington in Eſſex, aged 50 years.—Thomas Bowyer, Weaver, of the pariſh of Much-Dunmow in Eſſex, aged 26 years.—George Searls Taylor, of the pariſh of White Noſtle in Eſſex, aged 20 years.—Lyon Couch of London, broker, born in Flanders, aged 28 years.—Henry Adlinton, Sawyer of Greenſted in Suſſex, aged 30 years.—John Routh labourer, of the pariſh of Wycks in Eſſex, aged 26 years.—Elizabeth Peper, wife of Thomas Peper of the pariſh of St. James's Colcheſter, and Agnes George, wife, of Richard George, huſbandman of Weſt Batefield in Eſſex, aged 26 years.

Concerning the eighth article, which related to their being brought before the commiſſioners, and by them ſent to the biſhop of London, they anſwered in the following order.

Edmund Hurſt, Ralph Jackſon and George Searls anſwered in the affirmative.

Henry Wye ſaid, that he was brought before ſeveral juſtices of peace in Eſſex, concerning one Highed his late maſter, and thereupon committed to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence ſent to London to the Biſhop of London for farther examination.

William Hallywell made the like confeſſion, excepting the circumſtance of Highted.

John Derifall ſaid, he was called before the Lord Rich, and Mr. Mildway of Chelmsford, and by them ſent to the Biſhop of London to be farther examined.

Thomas Bowyer ſaid, he was brought before one Mr. Wiſeman of Felſtead, and by him ſent to Colcheſter caſtle, and from thence to the Biſhop of London,

don to be farther examined.

Lyon Couch ſaid that he was three times brought before the King and Queen's commiſſioners and by them ſent to the Biſhop of London.

Henry Adlinton ſaid, that coming to Newgate, to ſpeak with one Gratwick priſoner there for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story and by him ſent to the biſhop of London.

Agnes George ſaid, that ſhe was commited to priſon in Colcheſter by Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, for refuſing to go to church, and by him ſent to the biſhop of London.

Elizabeth Peper ſaid, that ſhe was apprehended by two conſtables and an alderman, for refuſing to come to church, and by them ſent to the biſhop of London to be farther examined.

The ninth and laſt article, that they believed the premiſes to be true, as confeſſed above, and that they were of the dioceſe of London.

Elizabeth Peper added, ſhe was of the Town of Colcheſter, and Agnes George ſaid, ſhe was of the pariſh of Barefold.

Theſe thirteen perſons being thus examined by the biſhop of London's chancellor, in open court, perſiſting in their anſwers, and refuſing to recant or be reconciled to the church of Rome, had ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them, and were delivered to the Secular Power, who ſent them all to Newgate.

Three others were alſo condemned to die at the ſame time, but before the day appointed for their execution, a reprieve was ſent them by Cardinal Pole.

The Sunday after the condemnation of our martyrs, Dr. Fecknam Dean of St. Paul's obſerved, that the perſons abovementioned held as many tenets as they had faces, in conſequence of which repreſentation, they drew up in writing a public confeſſion of their faith, agreeable to the word of God and ſubſcribed it with their names.

On the 28th of June 1556, the ſheriff cauſed them to be removed from Newgate to Stratford Bow, being the place appointed for their execution, and on their arrival they were divided into two companies and put into two ſeveral apartments.

This occaſioned the ſheriff to uſe a ſtratagem to bring them to a recantation: he viſited one company, and told them that the others had recanted, and would by that means ſave their lives, exhorting them to follow their example, and not caſt themſelves away, by their own meer obſtinacy.

But this ſcheme failed in its effect, for they told the ſheriff, that their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt crucified.

The ſheriff finding his project fail with the firſt party, to whom he applied, had recourſe to the ſame means with the others, admoniſhing them to recant like wiſe men, and not be guilty of deſtroying themſelves by their own bigotry and prejudice.

But they anſwered to the ſame effect as their brethren had done before, aſſuring the ſheriff, that their faith was not built on man, but on Chriſt and his infallible word.

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When he found that this ſtratagem had no effect, he cauſed them all to be brought forth to the place of execution, where they met together with joy, joined in prayer, chearfully went to the ſtake, and heartily embraced it.

The eleven men were chained to three ſtakes, and the two women put looſe among them, without any ſtake or bands, and ſo burnt together in one fire, ſhewing ſuch love to each other and ſtedfaſt faith in their Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, that the concourſe of ſpectators aſſembled on the occaſion were aſtoniſhed at the undaunted behaviour of ſo many poor innocents, thus patiently enduring the acuteſt torments, rather than comply with the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, which had corrupted the earth with her abominations and was drunk with the blood of the ſaints and the martyrs of God, who had courageouſly withſtood the devices and inventions of men, and maintained the cauſe of Chriſt in oppoſition to the power of men and devils.

ROBERT BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER *and* ROBERT LAWSON, *who were martyred, in St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk in the dioceſe of Norwich.*

ROBERT BERNARD a labourer in the pariſh of Fraſden in the county of Suffolk, was apprehended for not coming to church, and brought before Dr. Hopton biſhop of Norwich, who enquired of him, whether he had been with a prieſt at Eaſter to be confeſſed, or received the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.

Bernard bluntly replied, *No, I have not been with the prieſt nor confeſſed myſelf unto him, but I have confeſſed my ſins unto Almighty God, and I truſt he hath forgiven me, wherefore I need not go to the prieſt for ſuch matters, as he cannot forgive his own ſins.*

After ſome perſuaſion to induce him to go to confeſſion without effect, the Biſhop pronounced him an heretic, and Bernard thus anſwered his Lordſhip, *My Lord, it grieveth me not one whit to be called an heretic by you, for ſo your forefathers called the prophets and apoſtles of Chriſt long before this time.*

The Biſhop incenſed at the abruptneſs of the reply, roſe up and bid Bernard follow him, and went to the Sacrament of the Altar, to which he kneeled and prayed, and ſeverely reproved Bernard for not doing the ſame; but our martyr told him, he knew no authority for ſuch behaviour in the word of God.

The Biſhop then addreſſing him, pointed to the pix over the altar in which the wafer or hoſt is kept, and ſaid, *Why, lewd fellow, whom ſeeſt thou yonder?* Nobody, my lord, replied Bernard, *ſeeſt thou not thy Maker, varlet? demanded the prelate*; My Maker, returned the countryman, No, I ſee nothing but a few clouts hanging together in a heap.

The Biſhop then roſe up much diſpleaſed, and commanded the goaler to take him away and lay irons enough on him, declaring, that he would take him

him and reduce him to ſubjection before he left him.

Being brought before him the following day, he was aſked if he retained the ſame opinions as he profeſſed yeſterday, he replied, *Yes, my lord, I remember myſelf well, for I am the ſame man to-day that I was yeſterday, and hope I ſhall remain ſtedfaſt to the end of my life in the principles I have profeſſed.*

One of the guards deſirous of examining him, adviſed the Biſhop to prevent bringing farther trouble on himſelf, to commit his examination to him, and having obtained orders from his lordſhip, took him to an inn, where ſeveral perſons were aſſembled, and uſed many fair words and alluring promiſes to perſuade him to abjure, what they called his heretical opinions; when fair means ſucceeded not, they threatned him with whipping, ſtocks, and burning, but all to no purpoſe, for Bernard ſaid to them, *Friends, I am not better than my maſter Chriſt and the prophets whom your forefathers ſerved after this ſort, and I, for his ſake, am content to ſuffer the like at your hands, if God ſhould ſo permit, truſting that he will ſtrengthen me in the ſame, according to his promiſe and that of all his miniſters.*

After this declaration, they carried him back to the Biſhop, who according to the uſual form of proceeding in the court, condemned him as an heretic, and then delivered him into the hands of the ſheriff, in order for his execution.

ADAM FOSTER, who lived in the pariſh of Mendleſham in the county of Suffolk, was apprehended in his own houſe by two conſtables at the command of a neighbouring juſtice, for abſenting himſelf from maſs, and not receiving the Sacrament at Eaſter, and brought before the Biſhop of Norwich, who examined him concerning his religious principles, and finding him ſtedfaſt in his faith, according to the doctrines ſet forth in the days of good king Edward, condemned him as an heretic, and delivered him to the Secular Power to be proceeded againſt according to law.

ROBERT LAWSON, by trade a linen draper, was apprehended and ſent to Aye dungeon at the command of Sir John Tyrrel for the ſame cauſe as the perſon under conſideration, and proceeded againſt by the Biſhop of Norwich in the ſame manner.

They were all three carried to the place of execution at St. Edmundſbury June 30th, 1556, where being chained to the ſtake, they made a moſt triumphant exit, and died in full aſſurance of faith, giving glory to God.

There was alſo, about the ſame time and place, one John Fortune, a blackſmith of the pariſh of Hendleſham, in Suffolk, who was ſeveral times examined by the Biſhop of Norwich and others about the maſs, the Sacrament of the Altar, and other points of the Romiſh religion, which he refuted by texts quoted from ſcripture.

His ſentence of condemation is recorded in the Biſhop's regiſter, but whether it was ever pronounced, or if pronounced, whether it was carried

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ed into execution, cannot be determined.

JULIUS PALMER, *Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford*; JOHN GWIN, *and* THOMAS ASKINE, *who suffered Martyrdom at Newbery in Berkshire, in the Diocese of Salisbury.*

MR. Julius Palmer was born at Coventry, in the county of Warwick, his father was a merchant of that city, gave him a good education at the free school, and afterwards sent him to Magdalen college, Oxford, where, in process of time, he obtained a fellowship.

Being a zealous papist, and refusing to conform to the service of the church, used in the days of king Edward VI. he was expelled the college, and obliged to teach school for his living.

On the accession of queen Mary to the crown of England, the visiters came to Magdalen college among the rest, to displace such as refused to be of the Popish religion; at this time Julius Palmer upon his application to them, was reinstated in his fellowship.

During the time of his expulsion from the college, he used to converse occasionally with some of his acquaintance, who were Protestants, insomuch that being by them advised to study the scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of several Romish doctrines, and would frequently ask questions about the same.

His sincere attachment to the principles he professed, was the cause of his expulsion in the days of king Edward VI, and his troubles in the reign of queen Mary; for had he been a dissembler, he might have retained his fellowship under the reign of the former, and escaped death under that of the latter.

When the persecution raged in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, he enquired very particularly into the cause of persons being apprehended, the nature of the articles upon which they were condemned, the manner of their treatment, and their behaviour at the time of their suffering.

Nay to this end, he sent over one of his pupils from Oxford to Gloucester, to see the whole form of Bishop Hooper's execution, and bring him a minute account of the bloody transaction.

Before he imbibed well-grounded notions of the gospel of Christ, and the pure uncorrupted worship of God, he was inclined to think that very few would undergo the fiery trial for the sake of their profession, but when experience proved to him the cruelties which the Papists inflicted and the Protestants endured; when he had been present at the examination of Bishop Ridley and Latimer, and had seen them burnt at Oxford, as well as been an eye-witness to their faith, patience and fortitude, these scenes converted him absolutely from Popery, and on his return from the execution, he was heard to utter these expressions amongst his friends, *O raging cruelty, O barbarous tyranny?* from that very day he applied himself most assiduously

to learn the truth of God's word, and to that end, borrowed Peter Martyr's commentary on the Corinthians, and other well-written treatiſes on religion, till at length he became as zealous an aſſertor of the Proteſtant cauſe as he before had been an obſtinate oppoſer of it.

He now began to form excuſes and pretences for abſenting himſelf from maſs and other Popiſh ſervices and ceremonies, but finding that his abſence on theſe occaſions, incurred the ſuſpicions of many, and diſapprobation of the preſident of the college; to avoid expulſion, which might be attended with danger, he reſigned his fellowſhip to preſerve his conſcience inviolate.

When he left college, his friends procured him a patent for teaching the grammar ſchool at Reading in Berkſhire, where he was received by thoſe who loved the goſpel of Chriſt, both on account of his eminent learning and zealous adherence to the truth. But in proceſs of time, ſome hypocritical profeſſors of the reformed religion inſinuated themſelves in his confidence, with a deſign to learn his religious principles.

Their diſingenuous ſtratagem ſucceeded to their wiſhes; for as he was a man of an open, unreſerved temper, he freely declared his ſentiments, which thoſe ſnakes reported to his enemies, who thereupon cauſed his library to be ſearched for heretical books, and finding ſome of his writings both Latin and Engliſh, that inveighed againſt Popiſh cruelty, they threatened they would lay this diſcovery before the queen's commiſſioners, unleſs he would quietly reſign his ſchool to a friend of theirs and then depart. For fear of death he complied with their unjuſt propoſal, and departed from Reading, leaving behind him all his goods with a quarter's ſalary, that was due to him.

Being thus deſtitute of a livelihood, he went to Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, where his mother lived, in order to obtain from her a legacy which his father had bequeathed him four years ago.

When he came into his mother's preſence, he implored her bleſſing on his bended knees, but having been informed by his brother of the cauſe of his reſignation, and the buſineſs of his viſit, ſhe haſtily exclaimed, *Thou ſhalt have Chriſt's curſe and mine, whither ſoever thou goeſt.*

Julius at firſt ſtood amazed at ſo unexpected and heavy a curſe from his own mother, but after he had recollected himſelf a little, *O mother, ſaid he, your own curſe, you may give me, which God knoweth I never deſerved; but God's curſe you cannot give me, for he hath already bleſſed me.*

Thou wenteſt (replied the mother) from God's bleſſing, when thou waſt baniſhed for an heretic from thy fellowſhip at Oxford and for the like knavery haſt thou been expelled from Reading too. *Alas mother*, returned Julius, *my caſe has been miſrepreſented to you, for I was not expelled from the college at Oxford, but freely I reſigned my fellowſhip there. Heretic, I am none, for I oppoſe not the true doctrine of Chriſt, but defend it to my utmoſt power.*

His

His mother vehemently declaring, that he believed not as his father and forefathers had done, but according to the new doctrine taught and set forth in the days of King Edward VI. which is damnable hereſy; he confeſſed, that he believed that doctrine that was publickly ſet forth in the reign of King Edward VI. but affirmed it to be truth, and inſtead of being new, that it was as old as Chriſt and his Apoſtles.

The old woman incenſed at this frank declaration of his principles, commanded him to depart the houſe, nor ever more eſteem her as his mother, informing him at the ſame time, that he had no property there either in money or goods, as his father bequeathed nothing to heretics.

But our martyr, as became a true follower of the bleſſed Jeſus, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but committed his cauſe to him, who judgeth righteouſly, and thus on his departure beſpoke his blind and bigotted parent.

Mother, when you have curſed me, I again beſeech God to bleſs you, and proſper your undertakings as long as you live; this pathetic addreſs attended with flowing tears in ſome degree excited her parental affection, ſo that ſhe threw a piece of gold after him, ſaying, *keep that to make thee a true man.*

Thus repulſed by his mother, on whom he relied as his only friend, as well as diſregarded by his brother, he was deſtitute of all help, and knew not which way to turn himſelf.

Amidſt a diſtraction of mind, he thought of returning privately to Magdalen College, upon confidence of a few friends he had in that houſe, when through the intereſt of Mr. Allen Cope a fellow of the ſame, he obtained a recommendation to a ſchool in Glouceſterſhire.

But he had not proceeded far in his journey thither, before he altered his reſolution, and determined to go privately to Reading, to try if he could obtain his ſalary that was due, and at the ſame time diſpoſe of his goods.

He accordingly arrived thither, but remained not long, before his old enemies got knowledge of it and conſulted in what manner they ſhould proceed againſt him.

In a ſhort time, it was concluded among them that one Mr. Hampton, who had formerly profeſſed himſelf a Proteſtant (but was in reality a time-ſerver) ſhould viſit him under colour of friendſhip, to learn the cauſe of his return.

Hampton traiterouſly went, and Palmer with his uſual ſincerity, and openneſs of ſoul, diſcloſed his whole deſign, which the other immediately related to the confederates, who cauſed him to be apprehended that very night by the officers appointed for the purpoſe, requiring him in the Queen's name quietly to ſurrender himſelf to them.

He was then carried to priſon, and put in the ſtocks, where he remained ten days in the cuſtody of an unmerciful keeper.

He was, at the expiration of that time, brought before the mayor of Reading, and charged with the following crimes.

1. *That he said the Queen's sword was not put into her hand, to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.*

2. *That her sword was too blunt towards the Papists, but too sharp towards the true Christians.*

3. *That certain servants of Sir Francis Knowles and others resorting to his lectures, fell out among them, and had almost committed murder; therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawfull assemblies.*

4. *That his landlady had written a letter to him, which they had intercepted, wherein she requested him to return to Reading, and sent her commendations by the token, that the knife lay hid under the beam, whereby they inferred that she had conspired with her husband.*

5. *That they once found him alone with his said landlady by the fire side, the door being shut, thereby suspecting him of incontinency with her.*

Three men were suborned by one of the confederates to swear these things against him before the mayor, who thereupon sent him to the cage, to be an open spectacle of contempt to the people.

The same villain also spread a report, that he was thus punished for the most enormous crimes and misdemeanours, which had been fully proved against him.

After he had been thus unjustly exposed to public shame, the mayor sent for him to answer for himself, concerning what was laid to his charge.

He fully overthrew all the evidence and asserted his own innocence, and proved the letters to be of their own forging, so that the mayor was confounded that he had given so much credit to them, and considered of means to send him away privately, before the matter was divulged.

During the time of his imprisonment, he was visited by one John Galant, a true professor of the gospel, who said to him, *O Palmer! thou hast deceived many men's expectations for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness sake, but for thy own demerits.*

Palmer replied, *O brother Galant, these be the old practices of that fanatical brood; but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself and detected their falshood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.*

When his enemies found they had miscarried in their plot against him, they feared he should escape privily, and therefore resolved to accuse him of heresy (tho' some of them had been formerly accounted zealous brethren.)

In consequence of their information, he was brought out of prison before the mayor, and Mr. Bird the Bishop of Salisbury's official and two justices of peace, to render an account of his faith, and to answer to such informations as might be laid against him.

Upon his examination, they gathered from his own mouth, sufficient matter to entrap him.

They drew up articles against him, which they sent to Newbery, to Dr. Jeffrey, who was to hold his visitation there, on the Tuesday following, being the tenth day of July.

Palmer

Palmer was therefore ſent thither with one Thomas Aſkine, his fellow priſoner, on account of his religion, and on his arrival together with him committed to the blind-houſe, where they found one John Gwyn their faithful brother in the Lord.

On Tueſday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the pariſh church of Newbery to hold the conſiſtory court, Dr. Jeffrey repreſentative of the Biſhop of Sarum, Sir Richard Abridge, and John Winchom, Eſq; and the miniſter of Inglefield repaired thither, as commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe.

After the priſoners were produced, the commiſſion read, and other things paſſed according to the uſual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the preſence of ſeveral hundred ſpectators, called to Palmer, and aſked if he was the writer of a two penny pamphlet that had been lately publiſhed?

Having ſome altercation about this affair, in which Palmer anſwered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the Doctor riſing from his ſeat, ſaid to him, *Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles againſt you from the right worſhipful the Mayor of Reading, and other Juſtices, whereby we underſtand, that being brought before them, you were convicted of certain hereſies.*

1. *That you deny the ſupremacy of the Pope's Holineſs.*

2. *That you affirm there are but two ſacraments.*

3. *You ſay that the prieſt ſheweth up an idol at maſs, and therefore you went to no maſs ſince your firſt coming to Reading.*

4. *You hold there is no purgatory.*

5. *You are charged with ſowing ſedition, and ſeeking to divide the unity of the Queen's ſubjects.*

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being aſked if he was the author of them, replied in the affirmative, declaring at the ſame time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

The doctor then reviled him, declaring that ſuch opinions were dictated by no good ſpirit, and that he was very wicked in ſlandering the dead, and railing at a Catholic and learned man living.

Our martyr replied, if it be a ſlander, he ſlandered himſelf, for I do but report his own writings, and open the abſurdities therein contained; and I eſteem it not railing to inveigh againſt Annas and Caiphas being dead.

Jeffrey incenſed at this reply, aſſured him, that he would take ſuch meaſures as ſhould compel him to recant his damnable errors and hereſies, but Palmer told him, that although of himſelf he could do nothing, yet if he and all his enemies both bodily and ghoſtly ſhould exert all their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they deſired, neither could they prevail againſt the mighty Powers of Divine Grace, by which he underſtood the truth, and was determined to ſpeak it boldly.

After much diſcourſe, the miniſter of Inglefield pointed to the pix over the altar, ſaying to Palmer, what ſeeſt thou there? he anſwered, a canopy of ſilk embroidered with gold.

But what is within it, demanded the prieſt? a piece of bread in a cloth, replied our martyr.

The prieſt then upbraided him as a vile heretic, and aſked him if he did not believe that they who receive the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, do truly eat Chriſt's natural body.

He anſwered, if the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper be adminiſtered as Chriſt did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed ſpiritually and truly eat and drink in it Chriſt's very body and blood.

On being aſked, if he meant with the Holy Mother Church, really, carnally, and ſubſtantially; he declared he could not believe ſo abſurd and monſtrous a doctrine.

When the doctor demanded the preciſe manner in which Chriſt was preſent in the ſacrament, he anſwered, that the doctors ſay it was *modo ineffabili*: (that is, in an unſpeakable manner) therefore why do you aſk me? would to God you were diſpoſed in your heart to believe it, or I had a tongue able to expreſs it.

The court being adjourned, one of the juſtices ſent for Palmer, and in the preſence of divers perſons of Newbery exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and ſpare his youth, promiſing him at the ſamo time if he would conform to the church to take him into his family in the capacity of Chaplain, and a ſalary ſuitable to his capacity, or if he choſe not to reſume the clerical function, to procure him a wife, help him to a farm and ſtock it for him.

Our martyr heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but aſſured him that he had already renounced his living in two places for the ſake of Chriſt and his goſpel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the ſame, if God in his providence ſhould ſee fit to call him to it.

When the juſtice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he ſaid, *Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two muſt be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and ſalvation.*

Palmer obſerved on the occaſion, that it was poſſible they might both be ſaved, for that as it had pleaſed a merciful God, to call him at the third hour of the day, that is in the prime of life, at the age of twenty four years, ſo he truſted that in his infinite goodneſs, he would graciouſly call him at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the ſaints in light.

After much converſation had paſſed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to priſon, but the other men, John Gwin and Thomas Aſkine, were brought into the conſiſtory court, received their definitive ſentence, and were delivered over to the Secular Power, to be burned as heretics.

Though their particular examinations and anſwers, are not recorded, there is the utmoſt reaſon to believe they were of the ſame faith with their brother Palmer with whom they ſuffered, though they were ignorant, and could alledge very little in their own defence.

The next morning, the commiſſioners required Julius Palmer to ſubſcribe

ſcribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his anſwers, with the addition of thoſe odious epithets and terms, horrid, heretical, damnable and execrable doctrines, which when he had read, he refuſed to ſubſcribe, affirming that the doctrine which he held and profeſſed, was not ſuch, but agreeable to and founded on the word of God, the oracles of truth.

The Doctor, being now greatly incenſed, Palmer conſented to ſubſcribe provided they would ſtrike out thoſe odious epithets; upon which, they gave him a pen, and bid him do as he pleaſed, and he made ſuch alterations as he thought proper and then ſubſcribed.

Having thus ſet his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they aſked him if he would recant, and upon his refuſal pronounced ſentence againſt him and delivered him alſo to the Secular Power in order to his being executed.

An hour before they were led to the place of execution, Palmer comforted his two fellow ſufferers in the preſence of many people with words to this effect.

Brethren be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Saviour Chriſt who ſaith, Happy are ye when men ſhall revile and perſecute you for myſake: Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. *Fear not them that kill the body, but are not to hurt the ſoul, God is faithful and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We ſhall end our lives in the fire, but exchange them for a better life: yea for coals we ſhall receive pearls; for God's ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that he hath prepared for us bliſsful manſions in Heaven, for his ſake, who ſuffered for us.*

Theſe words not only ſtrengthened and confirmed the reſolution of his too weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude, which heard them delivered.

When they were brought by the high ſheriff and conſtables of the Town to the Sand-pits (the place appointed for their execution) they fell on the ground and Palmer with an audable voice repeated the 31ſt pſalm, but the other two made their prayers ſecretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer aroſe from prayer, there came behind him two Popiſh prieſts, exhorting him to recant and ſave his ſoul.

Our martyr exclaimed, *Away, away, and tempt me no longer! away! I ſay from me, all ye that work iniquity,* for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears.

When they were chained to the ſtake. Palmer thus addreſſed the ſpectators; *Good people, pray for us, that we may perſevere to the end, and for Chriſt's ſake beware of Popiſh teachers, for they deceive you.*

As he ſpoke this, one of the attendants threw a faggot at him, which ſtriking him on the face, cauſed the blood to guſh from three ſeveral places; but this cruel behaviour eſcaped not the notice or reſentment of the ſheriff, who not only upbraided his cruelty, but manually retaliated the injury on the

the man, who had thus insulted suffering innocence.

When the fire was kindled, and began to reach their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards Heaven, and chearfully, as though they felt not much pain, said, *Lord Jesu, strengthen us! Lord Jesu assist us! Lord Jesu, receive our souls,* and thus they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and sometimes beating upon their breasts, and calling on the name of Jesus, till they ended their mortal lives, and exchanged a scene of exquisite pain, for that glorious rest that remaineth for the people of God.

JOAN WAST, *a poor blind Woman, who suffered Martyrdom in the Town of Derby, in the Diocese of Litchfield and Coventry.*

THE poor woman now under consideration, in the time of king Edward VI. used to frequent the church to hear Divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with Homilies and Sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the reformed religion and doctrines.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices that prevailed in those days.

Thus increased this pious woman in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation or any kind of interruption, during the reign of good king Edward.

But on his demise, and the introduction of Popery, with the accession of queen Mary, because she continued stedfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from the knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines; she was brought before Dr. Ralph Bayn, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies; and by them committed to Derby prison.

She was divers times privately examined by Peter Finch the Bishop's official; and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners.

The following articles were alledged to her charge.

1. *That she held the Sacrament of the Altar, to be only a memorial or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.*

2. *That she held, that in the receiving the Sacrament of the Altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind.*

3. *That she held, that Christ at his last supper did not only bless the bread which*

which he had then in his hands, but was bleſſed himſelf; and that by virtue of the words of conſecration, the ſubſtance of the bread and wine was not converted, nor turned into the ſubſtance of the body and blood of Chriſt.

4, *That ſhe granted ſhe was of the pariſh of Allhollows in Derby, and that all and ſingular the premiſes were true.*

To theſe articles Joan Waſt anſwered, that ſhe believed juſt as much as the holy ſcriptures taught her, and according to what ſhe heard preached by many pious and learned men; ſome of whom ſuffered impriſonment, and others death for the ſame doctrine.

Among others, ſhe mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked of them if they would follow his example in teſtimony of their doctrine? which, unleſs they were willing to do, ſhe deſired for God's ſake they would not trouble her (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman) declaring at the ſame time, ſhe was ready to yield up her life in defence of that faith ſhe had publickly profeſſed.

The Biſhop and his chancellor urged many arguments from Chriſt's omnipotence in proof of the doctrine of the real preſence in the Sacrament of the Altar, demanding why Chriſt was not as able to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raiſe Lazarus from the dead and the like, threatening her at the ſame time with impriſonments, torments, and death.

The poor woman terrified at theſe threatenings, told the Biſhop, if he would before that company take it upon his conſcience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the Sacrament, was true, and that he would at the awful tribunal of God anſwer for her therein (as Dr. Tayor in ſeveral ſermons has offered) ſhe would then further anſwer them.

The Biſhop declaring that he would, the chancellor ſaid to him, *My lord, you know not what you do, you may in no caſe anſwer for an heretic.*

The Biſhop ſtruck by this interpoſition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether ſhe would recant or not, and told her ſhe ſhould anſwer for herſelf.

This honeſt chriſtian finding at length they deſigned but to prevaricate, told his lordſhip, that if he refuſed to take upon himſelf to anſwer for the truth of what they required her to believe, ſhe would anſwer no farther, but deſired them to do their pleaſure.

In conſequence of which ſentence of death was pronounced againſt her, and ſhe was committed to Derby priſon, where ſhe continued till the day of execution.

When ſhe came to the fatal place, ſhe deſired the people to pray for her, and ſaid ſuch prayers as ſhe had formerly learned, and ſo being bound to the ſtake, and fire put to her, ſhe called on Chriſt to have mercy on her as long as her lips laſted. She died with great fortitude Auguſt 1. 1556.

Twenty-two Prisoners brought in one band from Colchester to London.

Copy of a bloody Commission set forth by King Philip, *and Queen* Mary, *to prosecute the poor members of* Christ.

PHILIP and Mary, by the grace of God, king and Queen of England, &c. To the Right Reverend Father in God our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsore, Knight, Lord Windsore, Edward North, Knight, Lord North, and to our trusty and well beloved counsellor J. Bourn, Knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, Knight, Frances Inglefield, Knight, master of our Wards and Liveries, Edward Wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, Knight, Master of the Rolls, Thomas Pope, Knight, Roger Cholmley, Knight, Richard Rede, Knight, Rowland Hill, Knight, William Rastal, Serjeant at Law, Henry Cole, Clerk, Dean of St. Paul's, William Roper, and Ralph Cholmley, Esquires, William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, Doctors of the Law, greeting.

Forasmuch as divers deviliſh and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruted, and set forth divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects with divers other outrageous misdemeanors, enormities, contempts and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us, and our people, we, minding due punishment of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidences in your fidelities, wisdoms, discretions, have authorised, appointed and assigned you to be our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to enquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politick ways you can devise, of all the heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruted, invented, or set forth against us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers; sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of such letters, books, rumour and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you and three of you full power and authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hand, and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writing whereseever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printing houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you

you and every of you to search for them in all places according to your discretions.

And also to enquire, hear and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or with-holding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

And also to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all such as refuse to go in procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, whereseever any of the officers have been, or hereafter shall be committed within this our realm.

Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called and converted before you, do obstinately persist, or stand in any manner of heresy or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to enquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barretours, quarrellers, and suspected persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

And farther to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you or three of you from time to time, to use and devise all such politick ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premisses, as by you or three of you, concerning the premises or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation, of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you shall be thought meet and convenient.

Further willing and commanding you and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you at calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing, or not obeying your decrees, orders and commandments in any thing or things, touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered.

This

This bloody proclamation, which was iſſued the eighth day of February, gave the new inquiſition an opportunity of extending their horrid ravages; ſo that perſecution univerſally prevailed, and the jails were full of priſoners.

The rage of perſecution was very prevalent in and about the town of Colcheſter, inſomuch that three and twenty perſons were apprehended together, of which number only one eſcaped; the other being ſent up bound to London, in order to abide by the award of a moſt bloody tribunal.

The biſhop, however, fearing the reſentment of the populace, if ſo many ſhould be committed to the flames at once, drew up a very eaſy ſubmiſſion for them, or rather permitted them to draw it up for themſelves; but this was meer art and cunning, for ſeveral of them were apprehended afterwards and brought to the ſtake.

Theſe fourteen men and eight women were conducted to London, two and two together, having a band or line placed between them, each holding the ſame in their hands, and having at the ſame time a cord about the arm, as though they were tied.

At their entry into London, they were pin-ironed, and march into the city in proceſſion.

Here it will be neceſſary to tranſcribe the Popiſh Commiſſary letter directed to Biſhop Bonner, in order to enhance the reader's deteſtation of that faith which can juſtify ſuch horrid cruelty and injuſtice.

The Commiſſary's Letter to Bonner, biſhop of London.

After my duty done in receiving and accompliſhing your honourable and moſt loving letters, dated Auguſt the ſeventh, be it known unto your lordſhip, that the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, the Lord Oxenford, Lord Darcy, H. Tyrel, A. Brown, W. Bendlaws, E. Tyrel, R. Weſton, R. Appleton, publiſhed their commiſſion to ſeize the lands, tenements and goods of the fugitives, ſo that the owners ſhould have neither uſe nor advantage thereof, but by inventory remain in ſafe keeping, until the cauſe were determined.

And alſo there was likewiſe proclaimed the queen's warrant, for the reſtitution of the church goods within Colcheſter, and the hundreds thereabout, to the uſe of God's ſervice. And then were called the pariſhes particularly, and the hereticks partly committed to my examination. And that divers perſons ſhould certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the juſtices next appearance, which ſhall be on Michaelmas next. And the pariſhes which had preſented at two ſeveral times, to have all ornaments, with other things, in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again, and others to make their appearance from time to time.

And thoſe names blotted in the indenture were indicted for treaſon, fugitives, or diſobedients, were put forth by Mr. Brown's commandment. And before the ſealing, my Lord Darcy ſaid unto me apart,

apart, and Mr. Bendlows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your lordship, yea, if need were, the hereticks to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea till the Lord Legate's Grace's commissioners come into the country.

And Mr. Brown came unto my Lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging unto Mr. Barnaby, before my said Lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good lordship, and asked me if I would: and I said yea with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I would not be charged with so sudden carriage.

But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the jailors, and then after took me unto them, and make collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Mr. Brown commanded me this afternoon being the thirtieth of August, to go and receive my prisoners. Then I said, it is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men.

Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know, whether it will please my lord my master to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them to his lordship.

Then Mr. Brown said, We are certified that the council have written to your master to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste.

I answered, Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days. Then Mr. Brown said, The limitation lieth in us, and not in you, wherefore get you hence. I replied, Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I knew not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the Catholicks. Well, said Mr. Brown, for that cause ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Mr. Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands, on Wednesday, set open your door and let them go. Then I said, my lord, and masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these hereticks within these ten days. The Lord Darcy answered, commissary, we do and must agree all in one. Wherefore do ye recieve them on or before Wednesday. To which I replied, my lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Catherine's chapel two hours and a half in great press and danger. Therefore this may be to desire your lordship, to give in commandment to Mr. Sayer my bailiff here present, to aid me through the liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours warning; all which both my lord and Mr. Brown commanded.

The thirty-first of August, William Goodwin of Muchbirch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford, your lordship's apparitor of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a

bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clock in the afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Mr. Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eight-pence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the castle and Mote-hall, fourteen men and eight women, bound with cords and fetters, and drive, carry or lead and feed with meat and drink, as hereticks ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said Goodwin and Alsey shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered unto my lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said lord, and then to bring unto me again the said fetters, with a perfect token of or from my said lord, and then this covenant is void, or else, &c. Mr. Bendlows said unto me in my lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's Head, after I had said mass before the lords, the morrow after Holy Rood Day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, I think Mr. Archdeacon, you, and Mr. Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest, or else I think they will not labour the matter, and so do you say unto Mr. Archdeacon.

Alice the wife William Walley of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do solemn penance in her parish Church at St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholick and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture, and she is big with child.

Wherefore she remaineth at home, and this done in the presence of the Bailiffs, Aldermen and Town-clerk. And because Mr. Brown was certified there was no curate at Lexdon, he enquired who was the former? The answer was made, Sir Francis Jobson. Who is the parson? They of the quest men answered, Sir Roger Ghostlow. When was he with you? Not these fourteen years. How is your cure served? Now and then. Who is the patron? My Lord of Arundel. And within a short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my Lord Darcy's place. And of all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in.

Sir Robert Smith, priest, sometime canon of Bridlington, now curate of Appledoore in the Wild of Kent, came to Colchester the twenty-eighth day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined by the Lords, and Mr. Brown told me that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen (but his right name is Smith) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same.

Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen. If it please your lordship to have in remembrance, that the housholder might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her

own

own ſeat in the church in time of divine ſervice, it would profit much.

And alſo there be yet ſtanding hoſpitals, and others of like foundation about Colcheſter, which I have not known to appear at any viſitation, as the maſters and lazars of St. Mary Magdalene in Colcheſter, the proctor of St. Catherine's Chapel in Colcheſter, the hoſpital or breadhouſe of the foundation of the lord H. Harney in Laremarny, the hoſpital and beadman of Little Horſley.

Thus preſuming on your lordſhip's goodneſs, I am more than bold to trouble you with this worldly buſineſs, beſeeching Almighty God to ſend your honourable lordſhip a condign reward.

From Eaſtthorp this preſent thirtieth day of Auguſt.

We found a letter concerning the marriage of prieſts in the hands of the aforeſaid Sir Robert Smith. Alſo I deſired Mr. Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation? I ſaid, yea. Then he ſaid openly upon the bench, that they ſhould be proclaimed once every quarter. And then take the conſtables and officers, and they alone take and puniſh the offenders accordingly.

By your poor Beadman,

John Kingſton, Prieſt.

An Indenture made between the Lords and Juſtices within ſpecified, and Bonner's Commiſſary, concerning the delivery of the Priſoners abovenamed.

THIS indenture made the nineteenth of Auguſt, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady Philip and Mary, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of England, Spain, France, both Cicilies, Jeruſalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, Dukes of Burgundy, Millain and Brabant, Counties of Haſburgh, Flanders and Tirol, between the Right Honourable Lord John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain of England, Thomas Lord Darcy of Chich, Henry Tirel, Knight, Anthony Brown the King and Queen's Serjeant at law, William Bendelows, Serjeant at Law, Edmund Tirel, Richard Weſton, Roger Appleton, Eſquires, Juſtices of Oyer and Terminer, and of the Peace within the ſaid county of Eſſex, to be kept of the one party; and John Kingſton, Clerk, Batchelor at Law, Commiſſary to the Biſhop of London, of the other party, witneſſeth, that Ro. Colman of Walton in the county of Eſſex, Labourer; Joan Winſeley of Horſeley Magna in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Stephen Glover, of Rayley, in the county aforeſaid, Glover; Richard Clerke of Much-Holland in the ſaid county, Mariner; William Maunt of Much-Bentley in the ſaid county, Huſbandman; Thomas Winſeley of Much-Horſeley in the ſaid county, Sawyer; Margaret Field

Field of Ramſey in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Alice Munt of Much-Bentley, in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Agnes Whitlock of Dovercourt in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Roſe Allin of the ſame town and county, Spinſter; Richard Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſaid county, Currier: Richard Atkin of Halſtead in the ſaid county, Weaver; Robert Barcock of Wiſton in the county of Suffolk, Carpenter; Richard George of Weſtbarhoult in the county of Eſſex, Labourer; Richard Jolley of Colcheſter in the ſaid county, Marine; Thomas Feereſanne of the ſame town and county, Mercer; Robert Debnam late of Debham in the ſaid county, Weaver; Ciſely Warren of Cockſall in the ſaid county, Spinſter; Chriſtian Pepper, Widow, of the ſame town and county: Allin Sampſon, Elen Euring, Alice the wife of William Wallis of Colcheſter, Spinſter; William Bongeor of Colcheſter in the ſaid county, Glazier; being indicted of Hereſy, are delivered to the ſaid John Kingſtone, Clerk, Ordinary to the Biſhop of London, according to the ſtatute in that caſe provided.

In witneſs whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices, the ſaid Ordinary hath ſet to his hand and ſeal; and to the other part remaining with the ſaid Ordinary, the ſaid Earl, Lord, and other the Juſtices have ſet to their ſeveral hands and ſeals, the day and years above written.

Oxenford. William Bendelows,
Thomas Darcy. Edmund Tyrel.
Henry Tyrel. Richard Weſton.
Anthony Brown, Roger Appleton.

The twenty-two priſoners thus ſent from Colcheſter to London, were brought at length to Biſhop Bonner, who, on that account ſent the following letter to Cardinal Pole.

A Letter of Biſhop Bonner to Cardinal Pole.

MAY it pleaſe your grace, with my moſt humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to underſtand, that going to London upon Thurſday laſt, and thinking to be troubled with Mr. Germain's matter only, and ſuch other common matter as are accuſtomed, enough to weary a right ſtrong body, I had the day following to comfort my ſtomach withal, letters from Colcheſter, that either that day, or the day following I ſhould have ſent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commiſſioners, and indeed ſo I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, a ſum of money that I thought full evil beſtowed. And theſe hereticks, notwithſtanding they had honeſt Catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and in all the way from Colcheſter to Stradford-Bow did go quietly and obediently, yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleaſed themſelves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increaſed till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged Friday-night.

And albeit I took order that the ſaid hereticks ſhould be with me early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me; yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but

through

through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham then being with me, to tell the Mayor and the Sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty hereticks all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort from the promiscuous multitude; and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they shewed themselves desperate and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and other, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty before I any farther proceeded herein, to advertise first your Grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your Grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. At Fulham, Anno 1556.

Your Grace's most bounden Beadsman and Servant,

EDMUND BONNER.

From the contents of this letter, we evidently learn the persecuting spirit of the blood thirsty Bonner, who was apparently desirous of gluting himself with the massacre of these three and twenty innocent persons.

Cardinal Pool though a Papist was a man of moderation and humanity, as appears not only by his endeavour to mitigate the fury of Bonner, but also by several of his letters directed to Archbishop Cranmer, as well as many complaints alledged against him to the Pope for his lenity towards the heretics.

Nay, so incensed was his Holiness at his proceedings, that he ordered him up to Rome, and would have proceeded against him most rigorously had not Queen Mary interposed in his behalf, and warded off the danger that threatened him.

It was shrewdly suspected that the cardinal a short time before his coming from Rome to England, began to favour the opinion and doctrine of Luther.

But to return to the immediate account of our martyrs, who were thus brought from Colchester to London and would have been shortly executed together, had not the cruel sentence been deferred by means of the cardinal.

It would exceed the compass of our design minutely, to relate the articles that were respectively propounded to them and their several answers to the same; we shall therefore confine ourselves to that of the Lord's Supper, on account of which they chiefly suffered, some imprisonment and some death.

General Confeſſion of theſe Perſons concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

WHEREAS Chriſt at his laſt Supper, took Bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *take eat, this is my body.* And likewiſe took the Cup and thanked, &c. We do underſtand it to be a figurative ſpeech, as the common manner of his language was in parables and dark ſentences, that they which were carnally minded ſhould ſee with their eyes and not underſtand; ſignifying this, that as he did break the Bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, ſo we through his Body, in that it was broken and offered upon the Croſs for us, are all partakers thereof, and his blood cleanſeth us from our ſins, and hath pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is in the true light.

And in that he ſaid further, *Do this in remembrance of me:* it is a memorial and token of the ſuffering and death of Jeſus Chriſt: and he commanded it for this cauſe, that the congregation of Chriſt ſhould come together to ſhew his death, and to thank him for his benefits, and magnify his holy name, and ſo to break Bread, and drink the wine in remembrance that Chriſt had given his Body, and ſhed his Blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, tho' Chriſt called the Bread his Body, and the Wine his Blood, yet it followeth not, that the ſubſtance of his Body ſhould be in the Bread and Wine, as divers places in ſcripture are ſpoken by the Apoſtles in like phraſe of ſpeech, as in *John* xv. *I am the true vine.* Alſo in *John* x. *I am the door.* And as it is written in the ninth Chapter to the *Hebrews*, and in *Exodus* xxiv. how *Moſes* took the blood of the calves, and ſprinkled both the book and all the people, ſaying, *This is the Blood of the Covenant or Teſtament.* And alſo in the fifth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, how the Lord ſaid unto him concerning the third part of his hair, ſaying, This is Jeruſalem, &c.

Thus we ſee how the ſcriptures ſpeak in figures, and ought to be ſpiritually examined, and not as they would have us to ſay, that the bodily preſence of Chriſt is in the bread, which is a blaſphemous underſtanding of the word, and contrary to the holy ſcriptures.

Alſo, we ſee that great idolatry is ſprung out of the underſtanding of the words of Chriſt, *This is my body*, and yet daily ſpringeth to the great diſhonour of God; ſo that men worſhip a piece of bread for God; yea, and hold that to be their Maker.

After this confeſſion of their faith and doctrine was written and exhibited, they alſo drew up a letter in form of a ſhort ſupplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commiſſioners, requiring that juſtice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be adminiſtered unto them. The copy of which letter followeth.

A Supplication of the Prisoners to the Judges.

TO the right honourable audience, before whom our writings, and the confession of our faith shall come; we poor prisoners being fast in bonds upon the trial of our faith which we offer to be tried by the scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves, as obedient subjects in all things, yet being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people, and defend the cause of the poor and helpless.

God for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God which art the Most High, the Creator and Maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and careth for all alike, who dost try all mens works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

And if any thing here seemeth to you to be erroneous or disagreeing with the scripture, if it shall please your lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to be tried by the scriptures, thereby to make answer, and, in so doing we poor subjects being in much captivity and bondage, are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation.

The request of these men being so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop, and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them immediately, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended: for as they were now under the edge of the ax, ready to be condemned, it was thought otherwise by the Cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might arise among the people; and so it was decreed among themselves, that they should rather make some submission or confession, such as they would themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were; howbeit divers of them were apprehended and put to death. Their submission which they made, was in the following form.

The Submiſſion or Confeſſion of the aforeſaid Priſoners.

BEcauſe our Saviour at his laſt Supper took Bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it; and gave it unto his diſciples, and ſaid, *Take, eat, this is my Body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me.* Therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt we do believe in the Sacrament to be Chriſt's Body. And likewiſe he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his Diſciples, and ſaid, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament which is ſhed for many.*

Therefore likewiſe we do believe that it is the Blood of Chriſt, according as Chriſt's church doth adminiſter the ſame. Unto which Catholick church of Chriſt we do in like as in all other matters ſubmit ourſelves, promiſing therein to live as it becometh good chriſtian men, and here in this realm to behave ourſelves as becometh faithful ſubjects unto our moſt gracious King and Queen, and to all other ſuperiors both ſpiritual and temporal according to our bounden duties.

The Names of thoſe who ſubſcribed to this Submiſſion were theſe,

John Atkyn,	Robert Bercock,
Alin Symſon,	Margaret Hide,
Richard George,	Elyn Euring,
Thomas Firefanne,	Chriſtian Pepper,
William Munt,	Margaret Field,
Richard Joly,	Alice Munt,
Richard Gratwicke,	Joan Winſley,
Thomas Winſſey,	Cicely Warren,
Richard Rothe,	Roſe Alin,
Richard Clark,	Ann Whitlocke,
Stephen Glover,	George Barker,
Robert Colman,	John Saxby,
Thomas Merſe,	Thomas Locker,
William Bongeor,	Alice Locker.

THOMAS LOSEBY, HENRY RAMSAY, THOMAS THYRTELL, MARGARET HYDE, *and* AGNES STANLEY, *who ſuffered Martyrdom in Weſt Smithfield.*

THESE perſons were apprehended in conſequence of the information of ſome of their malicious Popiſh neighbours, and having been examined by ſeveral juſtices of the county of Eſſex in which they reſided, were ſent up to the biſhop of London, and by him referred to the chancellor, who propounded to them the articles uſual on the occaſion in the dioceſe of London. Having been impriſoned by order of the chancellor near three months, the biſhop ſummoned them before himſelf and objected to them the following extraordinary articles.

1. *That they thought, believed, and declared within ſome part of the city and dioceſe of London, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice here obſerved and kept, as it is in the realm of England, was not a true and laudable faith, religion and ſervice, eſpecially concerning the maſs and the ſeven ſacraments, nor were they agreeable to God's word; and that they could not without grudging and ſcruple receive and*

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use it, nor conform themselves unto it as other subjects of this realm customarily have done.

2. *They had thought, &c. that the English service set forth in the time of King Edward VI. in this realm of England, was good, godly, and catholick in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm, to be received, used, practised, and none other.*

3. *They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to their parish church, and there to be present at mattins, mass, even-song and other divine service.*

4. *They had thought, &c. that they were not bound to come to procession to the church, upon times appointed, and to go in the same, with others of the parish singing or saying, the accustomed prayers used in the church nor to bear a taper, or candle on Candlemas day, nor take ashes on Ash-Wednesday, nor bear palms on Palm-Sunday, nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed, nor to receive holy water and holy bread, or to accept or allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner, in which they were then used in this realm.*

5. *That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound at any time to confess their sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands as God's minister, nor to receive at any time the blessed Sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in the church of England.*

6. *That they had thought, &c, that in matters of religion and faith, they were bound to follow and believe their own conscience only, and not credit the determination and common order of the Catholic Church and See of Rome, nor any member thereof.*

7. *That they had thought, &c. that the fashion and manner of christening infants is not agreeable to God's word, and that none can be effectually baptized, and therefore saved, except they are arrived to years of discretion to believe themselves, and willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.*

8. *That they had thought, &c. that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, were not available, nor allowable by God's word, and that souls departed this life do immediately go to Heaven or Hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom: so that there is no place of purgation at all.*

9. *That they had thought, &c. that all those, who in the time of King Henry VIII. or in the time of Queen Mary the present sovereign of England had been burned as heretics, were no heretics, but faithful sincere Christians; especially, Barns, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and that they did allow and approve all their opinions, and disapproved their condemnations and burnings.*

10. *That they had thought, &c. that fasting and prayers used in the church of England, and the appointing a day for fasting and abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, especially in the time of Lent is not laudable nor allowable by God's word, and that men ought to have liberty at all times to eat all kind of meats.*

11. *That they had thought, &c. that the Sacrament of the Altar is an idol, and to reserve, keep and honour it, is idolatry and superstition, as was also the mass and elevation of the sacrament.*

12. *That they had thought, &c. that they were not bound to be convened*

before an eccleſiaſtical judge concerning matters of faith, nor to make anſwer at all, eſpecially upon oath on a book.

The firſt, ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth they granted in general, excepting that they denied the ſouls departed to ſleep till the day of judgment as mentioned in the eighth article.

With reſpect to the ſixth article objected to them, they thought themſelves bound to believe the true Catholic Church, ſo far as it inſtructed them according to God's Holy word, but not to follow the determinations of the Babylonical Church of Rome.

Concerning the eighth and twelfth articles, they denied that they ever maintained any ſuch abſurd opinions, but granted that man of himſelf without the aid and aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit had no power to do any thing acceptable in the ſight of God.

To the tenth article they anſwered, that true faſting and prayer uſed according to God's word was allowable and available in his ſight, and that by the ſame word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thankſgiving to God for the ſame.

Having given theſe anſwers, they were diſmiſſed and conveyed to their reſpective places of confinement, where they remained till they were again brought before the biſhop who made no other enquiry than whether they would abjure their heretical opinions, and on their refuſal again dimiſſed them.

At length they were brought into the publick Conſiſtory court at St. Paul's, and ſeverally demanded what they had to alledge why he ſhould not pronounce ſentence of condemnation againſt them.

Thomas Loſeby being firſt queſtioned, thus replied, *God give me grace to withſtand you, your ſentence, and your law, which devours the flock of Chriſt, for I perceive death is my certain portion, unleſs I will conſent to believe in that accurſed idol the maſs.*

Thomas Thyrtell being examined, ſaid, *My Lord, if you make me an Heretic, you make Chriſt and the twelve Apoſtles all heretics, for I hold one and the ſame faith with them, and I will abide in that faith, aſſured that it will obtain for me everlaſting life.*

Henry Ramſay being required to recant, anſwered, *My Lord, would you have me abjure the truth, and for fear of death, here forfeit eternal felicity hereafter?*

Margaret Hyde being queſtioned, replied, *My Lord, you have no cauſe to pronounce ſentence againſt me; for I am in the true faith, nor will ever forſake it, and I wiſh I was more confirmed in it than I am.*

Agnes Stanley, the laſt examined, ſaid, *My Lord I would ſuffer every hair of my head to be burned before I would renounce the faith of Chriſt and his holy goſpel.*

The court now broke up, but was convened again in the afternoon, when the priſoners appeared, and were again ſeverally examined.

Thomas Loſeby being firſt called upon, his articles and anſwers were read, after which many attempts were made to bring him to a recantation, but he perſiſted in his faith, declairing that he hoped he had the ſpirit of truth, which

which had led him into all truth: his ſentence of condemnation was therefore pronounced and he was delivered to the cuſtody of the ſheriff in order to execution.

Divers exhortations were made with Margaret Hyde to the ſame purpoſe, but ſhe declared that ſhe would not depart from what ſhe had ſaid upon any penalty, and added, that ſhe would gladly hear his lordſhip inſtruct her from ſome part of God's word, and not talk to her concerning Holy-bread and Holy-water, which was no part of God's word.

The biſhop finding her reſolute, pronounced ſentence on her and delivered her over to the Secular Power.

Agnes Stanley was alſo admoniſhed to return to the communion of the Holy Mother church, but ſhe continued ſtedfaſt in her faith, declaring that ſhe was no heretic, and that thoſe who were burned, as the Papiſts ſaid for Hereſy, were true martyrs in the ſight of God.

She likewiſe received ſentence and was committed to the care of the ſheriff.

Thomas Thyrtell being demanded what he had to alledge, anſwered, *My Lord, I will not hold with thoſe idolatrous opinions you would inculcate, for I ſay the maſs is idolatry, and I will abide by the faith of Chriſt, as long as I live.*

He was then proceeded againſt in the ſame manner as the former.

Henry Ramſay who was laſt called, and aſked whether he would ſtand by his anſwers as the reſt had done, or recant and become a true member of the church; replied, I will never abjure my religion, in which I will live and in which I will die.

They were then all ſent back to priſon, where they continued till the 12th of April, 1557, when they were brought to Smithfield, and being faſtened to two ſtakes, were all conſumed to aſhes, chearfully ending their lives in teſtimony of the truth, and in full aſſurance of eternal life in the world to come.

WILLIAM MORANT, STEPHEN GRATWICK, *and* JOHN KING *who ſuffered Martyrdom, in St. George's-fields, in the County of Surry, and Dioceſe of Wincheſter.*

STEPHEN Gratwick after a long impriſonment in the Marſhalſea, on account of his faith and his oppoſition to the Romiſh religion, was brought before Dr. White biſhop of Wincheſter in St. George's church, in Southwark, who demanded of him, if he would revoke the hereſies which he had maintained and defended within his dioceſe, and often in his preſence, and that he had defended his errors in the face of the whole church.

The Biſhop at the ſame time demanded of him as he had offended within the liberty of his dioceſe, to anſwer immediately to the articles he had to object to him.

The articles being read, Gratwick replied; *My Lord, theſe articles are of your making and not of mine, nor have*

have I had any time to examine them, therefore I desire the liberty of lawful appeal to mine Ordinary, having no concern with you.

Before he was dismissed, arrived the Bishop of Rochester and Archdeacon of Canterbury, when, on a consultation about the present case, it was agreed to introduce a person to represent the Ordinary, which being done, Gratwick desired leave to depart, but the counterfeit Ordinary insisted on his being detained; that he was justly summoned before those Lords and him on trial of his faith, and that if he confessed the truth, he should be quietly dismissed and allowed full liberty.

Gratwick told him that he would turn his own argument upon him, for Christ came before the high priest, scribes, and pharisees, bringing the truth with him, being the very truth himself, yet both he and his truth were condemned, and had no avail with them; the apostles likewise, and all the martyrs that died since Christ, did the same.

The Bishop of Winchester then asked his opinion concerning the sacrament of the altar, to which he replied, *My lord, I do verily believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, truly administred in both kinds according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and blood of Christ.*

The other Bishop observed, that this definition of his was a meer evasion of the principal points, for that he separated the sacrament of the altar from the Supper of the Lord, intimating thereby, that the former was not the true sacrament, and also condemned their method of administring it in one kind, as well as allowed not the unworthy receiver to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, which if duly weighed were points of the highest importance, though he had craftily evaded them.

Having entered into closer examination concerning this matter, the counterfeit Ordinary ordered the articles to be read again, and Gratwick refusing to make any reply, was threatened with sentence of excommunication, and therefore thus addressed himself to his examiners.

Since you thirst for my blood before you are glutted with the same, permit me a word in my own cause. On Sunday my lord of Winchester, I was before you who took occasion to preach from these words of St. James. If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain. *From these words my lord, by wrested inferences you slander us poor prisoners, upbraiding us with the title of Arians, Herodians, Sacramentaries and Pelagians. When we stood up to speak in vindication of ourselves, you threatened to cut out our tongues, and caused us to be dragged out of the church by violence; nevertheless, I will abide by the truth, to the end of my life.*

The incensed prelate, after various endeavours, by threats and promises, to bring him to a recantation without any effect, pronounced sentence of condemnation upon him, delivered him over to the Secular Power, and he was sent to the Marshalsea prison, where he

he remained, till the latter end of May 1557, when he was burned in St. George's Fields together with Morant and King, of whom we can find no account upon record.

JOHN FISHCOCK, NICHOLAS WHITE, NICHOLAS PARDUE, BARBARA FINALL, MARY BRADBREGE, ANN WILSON *and* ALICE BENDON, *who were burned at Canterbury.*

ALICE BENDEN was the wife of Edward Benden of the Pariſh of Staplehurſt, in the county of Kent, and being brought before an officer of the peace, on information of hereſy, was demanded why ſhe abſented herſelf from church; ſhe replied, becauſe there was much idolatry practiſed there againſt the honour and glory of God.

Being confined for that anſwer in Canterbury Caſtle, intereſt was made by her huſband for her diſcharge, whereupon the Biſhop of Dover applied to her and aſked her if ſhe would go home and go to church; though ſhe made not a ſatisfactory anſwer, ſhe was diſmiſſed, and returned home accordingly.

Her huſband, in conſequence of this trouble, admoniſhed her to go to church with him, but ſhe abſolutely refuſed, and was therefore apprehended and brought before Sir John Gifford, who committed her to her former priſon, Canterbury Caſtle.

Application was again made by her huſband to the Biſhop of Dover for her diſcharge; but in this ſecond effort he failed, the biſhop telling him, ſhe was a moſt obſtinate irreclaimable heretic, and therefore he could not releaſe her.

Her huſband then informed his lordſhip, that if he could keep her brother Roger Hall from her, ſhe would conform to the Mother Church, whereupon ſhe was removed to another priſon, and charge given, that if her brother came to viſit her he ſhould be apprehended.

She continued ſome time in this place without her brother's knowledge, though he ſought diligently to find her at the peril of his life.

In proceſs of time, he found her out accidentally, by hearing her voice as he paſſed by the priſon-window, when ſhe was repeating a pſalm, and bemoaning herſelf; but fearing to go to her in a public manner, he found a method of conveying to her ſome money and ſuſtenance, by means of a long ſtick which reached to the window.

In this vile priſon, ſhe continued nine weeks, without ſeeing any one but her keeper, lying in her cloathes upon ſtraw, and having but three farthings a day in bread allowed for her ſubſiſtance, drinking water at the ſame time, nor could ſhe procure any more proviſion for her money.

This hard uſage brought upon her a complication of diſorders, inſomuch that ſhe could not walk without the greateſt pain.

On the 26th of March 1557, the biſhop ſummoned her before him, and aſked her if ſhe would go to church, promiſing her great favours if ſhe would

be reformed, and return to the Holy Mother Church.

Alice Benden anſwered, I am verily perſuaded by the great ſeverity which you have uſed towards me, that ye are not of God, neither can your doings be godly, and I ſee that you ſeek my utter deſtruction.

She then ſhewed them how miſerable and lame ſhe was grown, by lying ſo long on the cold ground in that filthy priſon, where ſhe was deprived of the neceſſaries of life.

The biſhop afterwards cauſed her to be removed from thence to the priſon at the Weſt-gate in Canterbury, where ſhe had better uſage, and continued till the latter end of April following, when ſhe and the reſt of the priſoners were brought before the Commiſſioners ſeverally examined, and on perſiſting in thoſe principles, which they deemed hereſy, they received ſentence of excommunication, were delivered to the Sheriffs, and ſent back to priſon, where they continued till the 19th of June, when they were all ſeven brought to the place of execution.

Alice Benden behaved remarkably courageous on the melancholy occaſion, ſetting an example to her fellow martyrs, who kneeled down, joined together in prayer, and behaved with ſuch zeal and affection, as excited the eſteem of their very enemies.

Having finiſhed their devotions, and mutual ſalutations, they were chained to ſeveral ſtakes, and being encompaſſed with the flames, quietly yielded up their ſouls to the Lord, in hopes of a joyful reſurrection to life eternal.

RICHARD WOODMAN, GEORGE STEPHENS, WILLIAM MAYNARD, ALEXANDER HOSMAN, THOMASIN WOOD, MARGERY MORRIS, JAMES MORIS, DENNIS BONGESS, ANN ASHDON, *and* MARY GROVES, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Lewes, in the County of Suſſolk, and Dioceſe of Chicheſter.*

RICHARD WOODMAN, who lived in the pariſh of Warbleton, was an eminent merchant in iron, of conſiderable property, and great repute in the neighbourhood—The occaſion of his trouble aroſe from the following incident.

There was one Fairbank, who for ſome time had been a married prieſt, and ſerved the cure of Warbleton, where he often perſuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, and which was then taught and ſet forth in the days of King Edward the VI. but in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, Fairbank deſerted his reformed principles, and favoured the Romiſh tenets, upon which Woodman upbraided him with inconſtancy, and cowardice, and reminded how differently he then preached from what he had formerly done.

From this open and frank behaviour, pretence was ſought for apprehending and bringing him before ſeveral of the juſtices of peace, for the county of Suſſex, who committed him to the King's Bench priſon, where he re-

remained a conſiderable time, and was at ſeveral ſeſſions in that county.

At length, on the very day of Philpot's execution in Smithfield, Richard Woodman and four other priſoners were brought before Dr. Bonner, Biſhop of London, who required of them, that they ſhould be honeſt men, and members of the true Catholic church, that was built upon the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt being the head of the ſame; they all affirmed that they were members of the true Church, and determined by God's grace to continue in the ſame, whereupon they were all diſcharged.

Woodman had not long returned home before a report was ſpread that he had conformed to the church of Rome, but our martyr boldly vindicated himſelf from the aſperſion in ſeveral companies ſo that he was complained of by ſome of his neighbours to Sir John Gage, and warrants iſſued out for his being apprehended.

As he was employed in his ordinary occupation, three men came to him from the Queen's chamberlain, arreſted him in her Majeſty's name, and told him he muſt go with them before their Lord.

The ſurpriſe of the action put him into a great conſternation, and he deſired to go home in order to put on a dreſs ſuitable to appear in before his ſuperiors.

On his way homeward he reflected on the unreaſonableneſs of his fear, as they could lay no evil to his charge, and if they killed him for well doing, he might think himſelf happy.

Theſe reflections afforded him courage and comfort, and he found that his fear aroſe from the frailty of human nature, his attachment to his worldly poſſeſſions and his love to his wife and children.

But when on the moſt ſerious conſideration he determined by the grace of God to die for the ſake of Chriſt and his goſpel, he regarded nothing in this world, praiſing God with the utmoſt courage and reſolution.

When he came to his houſe he demanded of the men that arreſted him to ſhew their warrant, that he might know the cauſe wherefore he was apprehended, and better prepared to anſwer for himſelf, when he ſhould come before their maſter.

Having no warrant, the men were ſtartled at this demand, and Woodman ſeverely reprimanded them for offering to take him without.

I heard (ſays he) there were ſeveral warrants out againſt me, but they were called in as ſoon as I had ſatisfied the commiſſioners by letter, that I was not guilty of the things laid to my charge; therefore ſet your hearts at reſt, for I will not go with you without a warrant, unleſs you force me, which do at your peril.

When they departed from his houſe, he called them back, and told them if they would produce a warrant he would go with them freely, and one of them ſaid he would fetch one that was left at his houſe; but while he was gone, Woodman eſcaped, and abſented himſelf from home three days, during which they ſearched his houſe ſeveral times, but did not obtain their end.

Find-

Finding his enemies thus reſolute on his deſtruction, he prepared himſelf a conveninent cottage in a wood, near his houſe, where he had pen and ink, bible and other neceſſary proviſion every day.

It was now reported that he had left the kingdom; his enemies therefore ceaſed to ſearch for him, and he embraced this opportunity of viſiting his friends and brethren, and afterwards went over to Flanders, but not approving of ſo remote a ſituation from his family, he returned to England in a few weeks.

As ſoon as it was known that he was come home, the prieſt that was curate of the pariſh, and other Popiſh emiſſaries procured warrants to apprehend him, often ſearched his houſe, but could not find him, for he had artfully contrived a ſecret place which they could not diſcover.

But at length through the treachery of his father, and one of his brothers, (whom he had told of his hiding place, and having great part of his ſubſtance, both land and money in their hands) his houſe was beſet in the night, which as ſoon as he diſcovered, he ran out bare foot, but unhappily treading upon ſome ſtones, he fell down, was apprehended, and ſent priſoner up to London.

Upon April the 14th 1557, Richard Woodman was brought before Dr. Chriſtopherſon biſhop elect of Chicheſter, who to'd him he was ſorry to ſee him on the preſent occaſion, as he heard that he was a man greatly eſteemed in the country where he lived for his probity and charity, and at the ſame time adviſed him ſeriouſly to conſider his preſent ſituation, nor think himſelf wiſer than all the realm, aſſuring him that he meant to do him much ſervice.

Woodman told the Doctor, that ſo far from eſteeming himſelf wiſer than all the realm, he was diſpoſed to learn of every man, that could teach him the truth, and that with reſpect to the general eſteem in which he was held by his neighbours, he had ever endeavoured to maintain a conſcience void of offence.

As for my wife and children (ſaid he) they are all in God's hand, and I have them all as though I had them not, according to the words of St. Paul, but had I ten thouſand pounds in gold, I wou'd forego it all, rather than diſpleaſe my God.

When the biſhop informed him that the ſheriff applied to him out of reſpect to his character; he replied that he thought proper to appeal to his ordinary; for they ſeek moſt unrighteouſly to ſhed my blood, and have laid many unjuſt things to my charge.

If you can prove from the word of God that any of my religious principles are falſe, I am willing to renounce the ſame, and ſtand here deſirous of being reformed.

Several divines after this converſed with our martyr, on the ſacrament of the altar, purgatory, and other Popiſh Topics, and Woodman confuted his opponents with great energy and propriety, aſſerting and proving from ſcripture that there were but two ſacraments, ordained by Chriſt, and obſerved by him and his immediate Diſciples and Apoſtles.

Being

Being required by the biſhop of Chicheſter, to relate a plain and full account of his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he made this explicit confeſſion; *I do believe that if I came to receive the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, truly miniſtered, believing that Chriſt was born for me, and that he died on the croſs for me, and that I ſhall be ſaved from my ſins by his blood, and receive the ſacrament in that remembrance, then I believe that I do receive the whole Chriſt, myſtically by faith.*

Some time after, Woodman was privately examined by Lord Mountague's chaplain who made uſe of many arguments to bring him over to the Romiſh faith, but all his efforts were ineffectual, for Woodman would yield to nothing, that was not founded on the authority of ſacred writ.

In proceſs of time our martyr was again brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter in St. George's church Southwark, where ſeveral gentlemen and clergy were preſent, and examined concerning the cauſe of his impriſonment: he replied, that it was for ſpeaking to the curate of his pariſh in the pulpit, and not for hereſy.

Being demanded what he had to alledge in vindication of himſelf from that charge, he cited the words of the ſtatute:

Whoſo doth interrupt any preacher or preachers lawfully authorized by the Queen's majeſty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all ſuch ſhall ſuffer three months impriſonment for ſo doing; and furthermore be brought to the Quarter ſeſſions, and being ſorry for the ſame, be releaſed upon his good behaviour for one whole year.

Woodman obſerved that he had not ſo offended againſt the ſtatute, for the perſon to whom he ſpoke was not lawfully authorized, as he had not put away his wife, and conſequently according to the law then in force, he had no right to preach.

On the 15th of June 1557, Woodman was again brought before the biſhop of Wincheſter in St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in the preſence of the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdall, and above three hundred people.

The biſhop producing ſome of his own writings, he acknowledged the ſame; but refuſed to anſwer to the articles he might object to him, becauſe he was not of his dioceſe though he was then in it, conſequently he had nothing to do with him, who was not his ordinary.

After much diſpute, the prelate peremptorily aſked him if he would become an honeſt man, and conform to the Holy Mother Church; he replied, that no perſon could with juſtice object to his character, and that he was, ſurprized he ſhould charge him with hereſy, as my lord of London had diſcharged him of all matters that were laid againſt him.

But Wincheſter obſerved, that when he was releaſed perhaps thoſe things were not laid to his charge, and that therefore they were now objected to him, becauſe he was ſuſpected of being an heretic.

Woodman at length conſented, diſtinctly rehearſed the articles of his be-

belief, which he did in the following form.

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, my Saviour, very God, and Man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's chosen people, and that he is equal with the father and the son. I believe the true Catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto.

Being further enquired concerning his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he told them he would answer no farther questions, because he perceived they sought to shed his blood.

The bishop of Chichester having not yet been consecrated, would not undertake judicially to examine Woodman, and therefore referred him to the bishop of Wincheſter, who after many questions and much discourse pronounced sentence of condemnation against him, and delivered him up to the Secular Power.

He was then conveyed to Lewes in Sussex, together with his fellow martyrs already mentioned, concerning whose examination there is nothing recorded, but that they were all condemned for heresy a few days after their apprehension.

When they came to the place of execution, they were chained to several stakes, and consumed together in one fire, July 22, 1557.

They died with becoming fortitude and resignation, committing their departing spirits to that redeemer, who was to be their final judge, and who they knew would usher them into the Realms of bliss, with *Come ye blessed of my Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

John Hullier, *Clerk.*

Mr. Hullier was educated at Eaton from whence he was elected to King's College Cambridge, according to the rules of the Fonndation.

After he resided three years there, he was admitted to a fellowship, obtained a curacy at Babram three miles from Cambridge; whence he was sent to Lynn, where he had several debates with the Papists, who reporting his principles to Dr. Thurlby Bishop of the Diocese, he was by him sent prisoner to Cambridge Castle.

He was soon after cited to appear at St. Mary's Church in Cambrige on Palm Sunday, before several doctors, both of Law and Divinity, by whom he was reprimanded for opposing the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and maintaining and defending that set forth in the days of King Edward the VIth.

After examination, he was required to recant his erroneous opinions, and on his refusal, degraded, condemned and delivered over to the Secular power which conveyed him to prison and deprived him of all his books, writings and papers.

On Maunday Thursday, which is the Thursday before Easter, being then April 2d. 1557, he was brought to the stake, without the town to a place called Jesus Green near Jesus College, where

where having prepared for his execution he desired the spectators to pray for him, and to bear witness that he died in the faith of Christ, sealing the same with his blood.

He likewise assured them that he died in a good cause, for the Testimony of the truth, and that there was no other rock, but Jesus Christ to build upon, nor any hope of salvation, but through his death and sufferings.

One of the Proctors of the University and some of the fellows of Trinity College, were offended at his address to the people, and reproved the Mayor for giving him liberty to speak, but our martyr made no reply in vindication of himself, till he was chained to the stake, when he earnestly called upon God for his grace and support to endure the fiery trial.

When some of his friends perceived the fire to be ill-kindled, they caused some of the attendants to turn it and light it up in that place where the wind might blow it towards the sufferer.

This being done, a parcel of books were cast into the fire, and among the rest by chance a communion book fell into his hands, in which he joyfully read, till the flame and smoke prevented him from seeing, when he betook himself to prayer, holding up his hands, and the book between his arms, next his heart, praising God for sending it to him as a comforter in his last moments.

After the spectators thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered, *Lord Jesus receive my spirit*, and quietly expired.

The people in general prayed for him, and many tears were shed on his account, having been a man of eminent piety, and exemplary virtue.

SIMON MILLER *and* ELIZABETH COOPER, *who were burnt in the City of Norwich.*

MILLER was an eminent merchant in the town of Lynn Regis, a godly man, zealous for the truth, and averse to the Popish Religion, that was revived in the days of Queen Mary.

His business calling him to Norwich, he was observed to enquire of some people coming out of church, from the Popish service, where he might go to receive the Communion, which being reported to Chancellor Dunning, he summoned him before him, asked him divers questions, to which he replied according to the dictates of his conscience, and was committed to custody in the bishop's palace.

Having been some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to adjust his worldly concerns, and on his return being required to recant, and remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered to the Secular Power, but the particulars of the process are not upon record.

Elizabeth Cooper was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich, and had formerly been prevailed upon to recant the Protestant and return to the Romish re-

religion, but being troubled in her conſcience, on a certain day at St. Andrew's Church, in the preſence of a numerous audience, ſhe ſtood up and publickly revoked her recantation, for which ſhe was apprehended, carried before the Biſhop, and in a ſhort time for perſiſting in her faith, condemned as a relapſe, and delivered to the Sheriff.

On the 13th of July, our martyrs were brought to the ſtake, at which the woman at firſt diſcovered ſome fear, but being encouraged by the adviſe and example of Miller, ſhe remained fixed, and they died chearfully together, for the truth of God's word.

JOHN HALLINGDALE, WILLIAM SPARROW *and* RICHARD GIBSON; *who were burnt in Smithfield, London.*

THESE three perſons were brought before Bonner, Biſhop of London, as being ſuſpected of hereſy, November the 5th, 1557, to whom he and his officers adminiſtered divers articles, requiring their reſpective anſwers thereunto.

He began with John Hallingdale, to whom the following articles were propoſed:

1. *That the ſaid John Hallingdale is of the Dioceſe of London, and ſo ſubject to the biſhop of London's juriſdiction.*

2. *That the ſaid John, before the time of the Reign of Edward the* VIth, *late King of England, was of the ſame faith and religion that was then obſerved, believed, taught, and ſet forth here in this Realm of England.*

3. *That during the Reign of the ſaid Edward the* VIth, *late King of England, upon the occaſion of the preaching of certain miniſters in that time, he did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and ſo did and doth continue till this preſent day, and ſo determineth to do (as he ſaith) to his life's end.*

4. *That the ſaid John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and ſpoken, divers times, that the faith, religion, and eccleſiaſtical ſervice, received, obſerved and uſed now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but againſt God's commandment and word; eſpecially, concerning the maſs and the ſeven ſacraments: And that the ſaid John will in no wiſe conform himſelf to the ſame; but ſpeak and think againſt it during his natural life.*

5. *That the ſaid John abſenteth himſelf continually from his own Pariſh-church of St. Leonard, neither hearing Mattins, Maſs, nor Evenſong; nor yet confeſſing his ſins to the Prieſt, or receiving the ſacrament of the Altar at his hands, or in uſing other ceremonies, as they are now uſed in the churches and realm of England: And, as he remembereth, he never came but once into the ſaid Pariſh-church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he ſaith) if he never come there any more, the ſervice being as it is there at preſent, and ſo many abuſes being there, as he ſaith there are, eſpecially the Maſs, the Sacraments, and the Ceremonies and ſervice ſet forth in Latin.*

6. *That the ſaid John, when his wife,*

wife, called Alice, was brought to bed of a man child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the Reign of King Edward the VI*th, aforesaid, and caused it to be called Joshua, and would not have the said child christened in Latin, after the form and manner now used in the church and Realm of England; nor will have it, by his will, (as he saith) confirmed by the bishop.*

Unto all which articles John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all and every part of them to be true: And saying, that he would not revoke his answers.

Farthermore, the bishop demanding of the said John Hallingdale, whether he did firmly believe, that in the said Sacrament commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ or no? He made answer, that he neither, in the time of King Edward the VIth, nor at the present, did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is really the very Body and Blood of Christ: for, if he had so believed, he would (as others have done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had believed and then did believe that the very Body of Christ is only in Heaven, and no where else.

Moreover, he said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley and Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for hereticks, were no hereticks because they preached the Gospel.

Upon their preachings he grounded his faith and conscience, according to the saying of St. John, in the 18th Chapter of his Revelation, that the Blood of the Prophets and of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was founded in the Babylonical Church: by which is understood, that church whereof the Pope is head.

After this examination, he was sent to prison again. And the next day being the 6th of November, called before the bishop again, to whom, persuading him to recant, he answered, because I will not come to your Babylonical church, therefore you go about to condemn me.

Then bishop Bonner demanded of him again, whether he would persevere and stand in his opinions or no? he replied, that he would continue and persist in them unto death; then the bishop read the sentence of condemnation against him, and delivered him to the secular power. At the Reading of the sentence, John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it, and was sent to prison again.

The Examination of William Sparrow, before the bishop of London, Nov. the 6th, 1557, *upon the following articles.*

1. *That thou, William Sparow, wast, in times past, detected and presented lawfully unto thine ordinary the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary, and of the said diocese: and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errors, and unlawful*

opinions, which thou didſt believe, ſet forth, and hold.

2. *That thou, before thy ſaid ordinary, didſt openly and judicially confeſs the ſaid hereſies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court made before thine ordinary.*

3. *That thou, after the premiſes didſt make thy ſubmiſſion in writing, and didſt exhibit and deliver the ſame as thy deed to thy ſaid ordinary, openly confeſſing and recognizing thy hereſies, errors, and unlawful opinions, and thine offences and tranſlations in that behalf.*

4. *That thou, after the premiſes, didſt promiſe unto thy ſaid ordinary, voluntarily, and of thine own accord, that always, after the ſaid ſubmiſſion thou wouldeſt in all points conform thyſelf unto the common order of the Catholic church obſerved and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wiſe fall again into hereſies, errors, or unlawful opinions.*

5. *That thou, ſince thy ſaid ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly fal'en into certain hereſies and errors, and haſt holden and ſet forth divers unlawful opinions, to the very great hurt of thine own ſoul, and alſo to the great hindrance and loſs of divers others: eſpecially, againſt the ſacraments of the Catholick Church.*

6. *That thou, ſince the ſaid ſubmiſſion, haſt willingly gone about divers places within the dioceſe of London, and ſold divers heretical, erroneous, and blaſphemous ballads, and waſt apprehended and taken with the ballads about thee, and committed to priſon.*

Unto all which articles William Sparrow anſwered in effect as followeth.

To the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth articles, he anſwered affirmatively: that he was preſented and detected by biſhop Bonner, unto whom he made his ſubjection, &c. as in the ſaid articles.

To the fifth article he anſwered, that if he had ſpoke againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, &c. he had ſpoken but the truth.

To the ſixth anſwered, that he granted it; adding, that he did ſell the ballads then ſhewed and read before him, and that the ſame contained God's holy word.

After which anſwers he was ſent back to priſon.

The ſame day, in the afternoon, he was brought again before the biſhop of London, and charged with his former ſubmiſſion, a year ago.

Unto this charge he anſwered, I am ſorry that I ever made it, for it was the worſt deed that ever I did.

Then the biſhop ſaid, that he went to church, and there was confeſſed, and heard maſs.

William owned that he did. But ſaid, that it was with a troubled conſcience, as God knoweth. And added, that which you call the truth, I do believe to be hereſy.

The biſhop charged William again with the contents of the fifth article: to which he anſwered, that he had done as is contained in the article, and ſo he would again if he were at liberty.

Being farther demanded of the biſhop, whether he would perſiſt and continue in the ſame or no? he made anſwer, that he would not go from his

his opinions. And added, that which you call hereſy, is good and godly; and if every hair of my head were a man, I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

After this, ſome other diſcourſe of the like nature, paſſed between the biſhop and William Sparrow; when finding him to be reſolute and unchangeable in his faith and opinions, he proceeded to read the ſentence of excommunication againſt him, and condemned him as an heretick; and delivered him into the hands of the Secular Power, by whom he was ſent to priſon again, in order to his execution.

The Examination of Richard Gibſon, before Edmund Bonner, Biſhop of London.

Richard Gibſon was at firſt caſt into the Poultry Compter in London, for ſuretyſhip in a matter of debt, where he had been priſoner about two years; and when he was about being releaſed, ſome perſons out of ill-will to him accuſed him to the biſhop of London on ſuſpicion of hereſy, becauſe he never confeſſed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar while he was in priſon, for which cauſe he was ſeveral times brought before the biſhop and examined concerning his faith and religion.

And at firſt he ſeemed to make a certain ſubmiſſion, which was recorded in the biſhop's regiſter, but it ſeemed not ſatisfactory to the biſhop, becauſe he was ſtill continued in priſon. The articles objected to the aforeſaid Richard Gibſon, by the biſhop of London were as follow.

1. *That the ſaid Richard Gibſon, priſoner in the Compter in the Poultry, in the dioceſe of London, hath, otherwiſe than became a faithful Chriſtian, and a good ſubject in this realm of England, behaved himſelf in words and deeds, in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Chriſt's Catholic Church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the priſoners of the priſon of the ſaid Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own ſoul; offending eſpecially in the articles following: by reaſon whereof the ſaid Richard Gibſon was and is in the juriſdiction of the ſaid biſhop of London, and ſubject to the ſaid juriſdiction, to make anſwer to his offences and tranſgreſſions, underwritten, according to the order of the law.*

2. *That the ſaid Richard Gibſon hath irreverently ſpoken againſt the Pope, and See, and Church of Rome, and likewiſe againſt the whole church of this realm of England, and againſt the ſeven ſacraments of the Catholic and whole church of Chriſtendom, and againſt the articles of the Chriſtian Faith here obſerved in this realm of England, and againſt the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.*

3. *That the ſaid Richard Gibſon hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, and alſo other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the eccleſiaſtical laws condemned for heretics; and alſo liked all their heretical erroneous, damnable*

damnable and wicked opinions, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the authority of the Pope and See of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

4. *That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, hereticks and erroneous persons, or at least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the Catholick Church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.*

5. *That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed and kept, and used now here in this Realm of England, is not good or laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's Word and Commandment.*

6. *That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books commonly called the books of communion, or Common-Prayer, here set forth in this Realm of England, in the time of King Edward the VIth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this Realm of England.*

7. *That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may at once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any Parish-Church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear the Mattens, Mass, or Evensong, or any Divine Service now used in this Realm of England, nor come to the Procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive Pix, at Mass-time, nor to receive Holy Water, nor Holy Bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the Catholick Church, here observed and kept commonly in this Realm of England.*

8. *That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest, convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive absolution at his hands, nor to receive of him the Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the Altar, after such form as is now used within the Realm of England.*

9. *That the said Richard Gibson hath affirmed, that Prayer unto Saints, or Prayers for the Dead, are not laudable, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time, or in any place, to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said Sacrament of the Altar.*

The chief matter that Richard Gibson was charged with, was not coming to confession, being thereunto required, and not receiving the sacrament of the altar.

After these examinations, Gibson was kept in the Compter, prisoner from May to November following, and then he was brought to a final judiciary examination. But he would not swear to answer to their demands; and said, that the Bishop of London was not his Ordinary; his last appearing was at the Bishop's Consistory Court, where the bishop, after other discourse with him, asked if he knew any cause why sentence should not be pronounced against him? He answered, that the bishop had nothing a-

againſt him for which he might juſtly condemn him.

Then the biſhop objected to him, that men ſaid he was an evil man.

Gibſon replied, yea; and ſo may I ſay of you alſo. Then ſentence was read againſt him, at the end of which he ſaid, bleſſed am I that am curſed at your hands; and ſo being committed to the ſecular power, he was ſent to priſon.

Upon the 18th of November, 1557, theſe three good men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibſon, were brought by the ſheriffs into Smithfield in London, to their execution, where they made their prayers to God, and then were faſtened to the ſtake with chains: The wood was ſat about them, and then the fire being put to, in the midſt of the flames they freely and joyfully yielded up their ſouls into the hands of God, for the teſtimony of his truth.

JOHN ROUGH, *Miniſter*; MARGARET MARING, *who were burnt in Smithfield, London.*

JOHN Rough was born in Scotland, and being kept out by ſome of his kindred from the right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, out of diſcontent he entered himſelf into the order of the Black Fryars at Sterling in Scotland, at the age of ſeventeen years: where he continued for the ſpace of ſixteen years, until the Lord Hamilton, Earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland, taking a liking to him, made ſuit to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews to have his profeſſed order, that as a ſecular prieſt he might ſerve him as his Chaplain. At which requeſt, the Archbiſhop cauſed the provincial of the houſe (having thereto authority) to diſpenſe with him for his habit and order.

Rough being thus ſet at liberty from his monaſtery, continued Chaplain to the Earl for one year; in which time it pleaſed God to open his eyes and give him ſome knowledge of his truth.

The governor ſent him to preach in the freedom of Ayre, where he continued four years.

After the death of the Cardinal of Scotland, he was ſent for to St. Andrews, to officiate there, and had twenty pounds a year penſion allowed him by King Henry VIII.

But when he conſidered his own danger, and alſo abhorring the idolatry and ſuperſtition of his own country, and hearing there was free profeſſion of the goſpel in the realm of England, ſince king Edward VIth's coming to the crown, he therefore, ſoon after the battle between the Engliſh and the Scots at Muſſleburrow, came firſt to Carliſle; and from thence he went to the Duke of Summerſet, Protector to the young King of England. The Protector allowed him twenty pounds a year from the crown, and ſent him to ſerve as a preacher at Carliſle, Berwick and Newcaſtle upon Tyne; then he married, and the Archbiſhop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingſton upon Hull, in his dioceſe, where

where he continued till the death of good King Edward.

In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when religion was altered, and perſecution aroſe thereupon, Rough took his wife with him, and fled into Frieſland, in the Low Countries, and at a place called Norden, maintained himſelf by knitting and ſelling of caps and hoſe, until the month of October before his death; at which time wanting yarn and other neceſſaries for his trade, he came into England to procure the ſame; and the 10th of November 1557, he arrived at London.

Hearing that there was a private congregation of religious people in that city he joined himſelf to them, and was elected their miniſter. In this office he continued for ſome time, until by means of Roger Serjeant, a hypocrite and falſe-brother, upon the 13th of December, both he and one Cutbert Simſon, Deacon of the aforeſaid congregation, were apprehended by the Vice Chamberlain of the Queen's houſe-hold, at the Saracen's Head in Iſlington, where the congregation had then purpoſed to have aſſembled to their uſual worſhip of prayer and hearing God's word, and to avoid being ſuſpected, it was given out that their meeting was for hearing a play.

The vice-chamberlain having taken Rough and Simſon, carried them before the Queen's council, where they were charged for aſſembling to celebrate the Communion, or Lord's Supper.

After ſundry examinations, Rough was ſent priſoner to Newgate, in London, with a letter ſigned by the council.

Upon the 18th of December, Biſhop Bonner ſent for Rough from Newgate to his palace in London, and miniſtered to him the following articles:

1. *That thou John Rough, didſt directly ſpeak againſt the ſeven Sacraments uſed commonly and reverently as things of eſtimation and great worthineſs in the Catholic Church; and alſo didſt reprove and condemn the ſubſtance of the Altar; affirming, that in the ſame is not really and truly the very body and blood of Chriſt; and that confeſſion to the prieſt, and abſolution given him (by the miniſter of Chriſt) for ſins, is not neceſſary nor available in any wiſe.*

2. *Thou haſt miſliked and reproved the religion and eccleſiaſtical ſervice, as it is now uſed in this realm: and haſt allowed the religion and ſervice, uſed in the latter years of king Edward VI; and ſo much as in thee lieth, haſt by word, writing, and deed, ſet forward, taught, and preached the ſame openly; and in ſundry places affirmed, that the ſaid Engliſh ſervice, and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and to the truth, condemn utterly the Latin ſervice now uſed in the Queen's reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.*

3. *Thou haſt in ſundry places within this realm, commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar; affirming, that in the Sacrament there remained, after the words of conſecration, ma-*

terial

terial bread and material wine, without any tranſubſtantiation.

4. *Item. That thou haſt in ſundry places of this realm, ſince the Queen's reign, miniſtered and received the communion, as it was uſed in the late days of king Edward VI; and thou knoweſt, or credibly haſt heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the ſaid communion, and uſe the ſame in private houſes, out of the church, and are of opinion againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.*

5. *Item. Thou doſt know, and haſt been converſant with all, or a great part of ſuch Engliſhmen as have fled out of the realm; and haſt conſented and agreed with them in their opinions, and haſt ſuccoured, maintained, and holpen them; and haſt been a conveyor of their ſeditious letters and books into this realm.*

6. *Item. That thou in ſundry places of this realm haſt ſpoken againſt the pope of Rome and his Apoſtolick See, and haſt plainly contemned and deſpiſed the authority of the ſame; miſliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine hereof, but directly ſpeaking againſt it; and by thine example, haſt induced others, the ſubjects of this realm, to ſpeak and do the like.*

7. *That thou haſt ſaid that thou haſt been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days, or more, and that thou haſt ſeen little good, or none, there, but very much evil. Amongſt the which, thou ſaweſt one great abomination, that is to ſay, a man (or the Pope) that ſhould go on the ground, to be carried upon the ſhoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man. Alſo a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind him. And thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave expreſs licence to have and uſe their ſtews, and to keep open bawdry, by the Pope's approbation and authority.*

8. *Item. That thou, ſince thy laſt coming into England, from parts beyond ſea, haſt perniciouſly allured and comforted divers of the ſubjects of this realm, both young and old, men and women, to have and uſe the book of Communion ſet forth in this realm in the latter days of King Edward VI, and haſt alſo thyſelf read and ſet forth the ſame, cauſing others to do the like, and to leave off their coming to their pariſh-churches, to hear the Latin ſervice now uſed.*

9. *Item. That thou, the third Sunday of Advent, the 12th of December, 1557, waſt apprehended at the Saracen's head at Iſlington, in the county of Middleſex, and dioceſe of London, by the Queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Cuthbert a Taylor, and Hugh a Hoſier, and divers others there aſſembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the communion-book, and to have uſed the accuſtomed faſhion as was in the latter days of King Edward VI.*

John Rough's anſwer to the aforeſaid articles.

To the firſt, he ſaid, That he had ſpoken againſt the number of the ſaid Sacraments, being fully perſuaded that there are only two Sacraments, to wit, Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be Sacraments, and therefore had ſpoken againſt them.

As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar

Altar (which he had called the Supper of the Lord) he confeſſed that he had ſpoken and taught, that in the ſaid Sacrament there is not really and ſubſtantially the very body and blood of Chriſt, but that the ſubſtance of bread and wine doth remain in that Sacrament, without any Tranſubſtantiation at all.

As touching confeſſion of ſins to a prieſt, he anſwered, that he thought it neceſſary, if the offence was done unto the prieſt; but if the offence was done to any other, then the confeſſion made to the prieſt is not neceſſary, but reconciliation to be made to the party ſo offended.

To the ſecond he anſwered, that he did, and had before miſliked the order of the Latin ſervice then uſed; and alſo did allow the ſervice uſed in the latter time of King Edward's reign, for that the Holy Scripture had taught the ſame; and therefore he granted, that he did teach and ſet forth the ſaid Engliſh Service, as in the ſame article is objected.

The third he granted, that he had approved the doctrine of the parties articulate, as agreeable to God's word; and they were godly, learned men, and ſuch as had perfect underſtanding, as in the contents of the ſame article.

To the fourth article he anſwered, That he did well like the communion uſed in King Edward's days; but ſaid, that he had not miniſtered nor received the ſame in England ſince the Queen's reign; nor yet knew many that had the books thereof; but on the other ſide the ſea he knew many that had theſe books, and that there alſo he had received the communion in ſundry places.

To the fifth he confeſſed. That he had been familiar with divers Engliſh men and women, being in Frieſland, and agreeing with them in opinion: as Mr. Story, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred perſons, who fled thither for religion, uſing there the order ſet forth in the reign of King Edward; but otherwiſe he denied the contents of this article.

The contents of the ſixth and ſeventh articles he granted to be true.

To the eighth article he anſwered, That ſince his laſt coming into England (which was about the tenth of November) he had in ſundry places in the ſuburbs of London, prayed and read ſuch prayers and ſervice as are appointed in the book of Communion, and had deſired others to do the like, both men and women, whom he knew by ſight, but not by name.

However, he did neither cauſe any to withdraw themſelves from the Latin ſervice; but only ſaid, that it were better to pray in a tongue they underſtood, than in an unknown tongue.

To the ninth article he confeſſed, that at the time and place articulate, he was preſent to hear and ſee a play, and there was apprehended by the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, with one Cutbert a taylor, and one Hugh a hoſier, and divers others, both men and women, whoſe names he knew not; and by the ſaid Vice-Chamberlain was brought

brought before the council, who ſent him to Newgate, and from thence he was brought to the biſhop of London; but otherwiſe he denied the contents of this article.

Upon theſe anſwers John Rough was diſmiſſed and carried back to priſon.

The next day (being the 19th of December) he was again brought before the biſhop of London and others, who after their diſcourſing with him, and perceiving his conſtancy in his faith and opinion, determined the next day to bring him openly into the Conſiſtory court at St. Paul's, there to judge and condemn him as an heretick; and he was again diſmiſſed.

Accordingly on the 20th of December he was brought into court, where were preſent Dr. Bonner, biſhop of London, the biſhop of St. David's, Dr. Fecknam, abbot of Weſtminſter, and others.

After fair words uſed by the court to perſuade him to recant, without any effect, Dr. Bonner read his articles and anſwers abovementioned, and alſo charged him with receiving the orders of the church, and therefore he might not marry; and that he had refuſed to conſent to the Latin ſervice then uſed in the church.

Rough anſwered, that their orders were nothing at all, and that his children that he had by his wife were legitimate. As for the Ratin ſervice then uſed he utterly deteſted it, and ſaid, that if he ſhould live as long as Methuſalah, he would never come to church to hear the abominable maſs.

Upon this Declaration the biſhop proceeded to the actual degradation of John Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; and after condemning him as an heretick, delivered him to the Secular Power, who taking him into their charge, carried him back to Newgate in order to execution.

Account of Margaret Maring, fellow-ſufferer with John Rough.

Margaret Maring was one of the private congregation in London, where Rough uſed to officiate, but both by him and others, ſuſpected as if ſhe were not ſincere in her profeſſion of religion; but the event ſhewed that ſhe was therein much wronged.

The biſhop of London having had ſome information of her principles, ſent his ſumner Cluny to her houſe near Mark-lane in London, where he apprehended her, and brought her before his Lordſhip, who ſent her to priſon for that time.

Upon the 18th of December ſhe was brought before him, and had the accuſtomed articles objected to her, to which ſhe anſwered as follows.

1ſt, That there is here on earth a catholic church, and there is the true faith of Chriſt obſerved and kept in the ſame church.

2dly, That there were only two ſacraments in the church, namely the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt, and the ſacrament of baptiſm.

3dly, That ſhe was baptized in the faith and belief of the ſaid church, renouncing

nouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works.

4thly, That when ſhe came to the age of fourteen years, ſhe did not know what her true belief was, becauſe ſhe was not then of diſcretion to underſtand the ſame, neither yet was taught it.

5thly, That ſhe had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but ſhe ſaid that the maſs was abominable in the ſight of God and all true chriſtian people, and that it is the plaineſt cup of fornication of the whore of Babylon.

As concerning the ſacrament of the altar, ſhe believed there was no ſuch ſacrament in the catholic church. That ſhe utterly abhorred the authority of the biſhop of Rome, with all the religion obſerved in the ſame antichriſtian church.

6thly, That ſhe had refuſed to come to her pariſh church, becauſe the true religion was not then uſed in the ſame. And that ſhe had not come into the church for the ſpace of one year and three quarters, neither did mean to come any more to the ſame in theſe idolatrous days.

7thly, She acknowledged that ſhe was apprehended and brought before the biſhop of Cluny.

Theſe anſwers being regiſtered by the biſhop's officer, ſhe was for the preſent diſmiſſed; and brought before the biſhop at his Conſiſtory the 20th of December, where her articles and anſwers were read unto her again; and they demanded if ſhe would ſtand to the ſame as they were regiſtered? She anſwered, That ſhe would ſtand to them to her death; for the very angels in heaven, ſays ſhe, laugh you to ſcorn, to ſee your abomination that you uſe in the church.

After this the biſhop, having no hopes of his reclaiming her to his church, read the ſentence of excommunication againſt her, and delivered her into the hands of the Secular power, who forthwith carried her, together with John Rough, to the priſon of Newgate.

Two days after, being the 22d of December, 1557, the ſheriffs brought John Rough and Margaret Maring into Smithfield, where being faſtened to the ſtake, and fire put to them, they joyfully gave up their lives to God, for the profeſſion of the goſpel of Chriſt, dying in full aſſurance of faith.

CUTBERT SIMSON, HUGH FOX, JOHN DAVENISH, *who were burnt in Smithfield, London.*

THESE three perſons were apprehended together at Iſlington, at the ſame time with the foremention'd John Rough, and brought before the council, and ſent to priſon.

CUTBERT SIMSON was deacon to the private congregation of Proteſtants in London as aforeſaid, and ſent priſoner to the Tower: He was thereby examined in preſence of the conſtable of the Tower, by the Recorder of

of London, and one Mr. Cholmley, who commanded him to declare unto them what Perſons he called upon, or ſummoned to come to the Engliſh ſervice; but Cutbert anſwered, that he would declare nothing.

Then they commanded him to be put in the rack, where he continued ſtretched about three hours in great torture: while he was on the rack they aſked him the ſame queſtion as they had before, but he ſaid he would declare nothing. Then he was looſed from the rack, and ſent to his lodging in the Tower for that time.

On the Sunday following they brought Cutbert to the ſame place, where he had been racked, where were the recorder of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, who examined him as they did before, but he refuſed to give them any other anſwer than formerly.

They tied two of his fore-fingers together, and put a ſmall arrow between them, and drew it backward and forward ſo faſt that the blood followed and the arrow brake: after which they racked him twice, and then ſent him back to his lodging.

Ten days after this the lieutenant aſked him again if he would not confeſs what before they had aſked him, but Cutbert anſwered, he had ſaid as much as he would ſay.

Being brought to the Biſhop of London, he had the following articles miniſtered to him on the nineteenth of March.

1. *That thou Cutbert Simſon art at this preſent abiding within the city and dioceſe of London, and not out of the juriſdiction of the Biſhop of Rome.*

2. *That thou within the city and dioceſe of London, haſt uttered many times, and ſpoken deliberately, theſe words and ſentences following, viz. That though thy parents, anceſtors, kinsfolks and friends, yea, and alſo thyſelf, before the time of the late ſchiſm here in this realm of England, have thought, and thoughteſt that the faith and religion obſerved in times paſt here in this realm of England, was a true faith, and the religion of Chriſt in all points and articles, though in the church it was ſet forth in the Latin tongue, and not in Engliſh: yet thou believeſt and ſayeſt that the faith and religion now uſed commonly in this realm, and not in Engliſh, but in the Latin tongue is not the true faith and religion of Chriſt, but contrary and expreſly againſt it.*

3. *Item. That thou, within the ſaid city and dioceſe of London, haſt willingly, wittingly, and contemptuouſly, done and ſpoken againſt the rites and ceremonies commonly uſed here through the whole realm, and obſerved generally in the church of England.*

4. *That thou haſt thought and believed certainly, and ſo within the dioceſe of London haſt affirmed and ſpoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholick Church ſeven Sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England they are.*

5. *That thou haſt likewiſe thought and believed, yea, and haſt ſo, within the city and dioceſe of London, ſpoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not really, ſubſtantially, and truly, the very body*

body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

6th, That thou hast been, and to thy power art, at this present, a favourer of all those that either have been here in this realm heretofore called heretics, or else convented and condemned by the ecclesiastical judges for heretics.

7. That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hast at sundry times and places, within the city and diocese of London, being at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the late years of King Edward VI; and also to hear and have Communion both read, and the Communion ministered both to the said multitude, and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and Communion-book, and all things contained in either of them, was good and laudable; and for such thou didst and dost allow and approve either of them at this present.

Unto these articles he answered thus:

To the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, he confessed them to be true in every part.

To the seventh article he said, he was not bound to answer thereunto, as he believed.

With the aforesaid Cubert Simson were also apprehended Hugh Fox and John Davenish, who were both examined by the Bishop of London and his Officer the 19th of March, 1558, upon the usual articles administered to others suspected of heresy in the diocese of London; to which they answered as follows.

To the first article concerning the Catholick Church, they answered affirmatively, that there is such a church. But John Davenish added, That the true church is grounded on the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and in that church there is the true faith and religion of Christ.

To the second article they all confessed and believed that in Christ's Catholick Church there are but two Sacraments, that is Baptism and the Lord's Supper; otherwise they do not believe the said article to be true.

To the third article they answered affirmatively, that they were baptized in the faith of the Catholick Church.

To the fourth they answered affirmatively, that they continued in the said faith until the age of fourteen years without misliking thereof.

To the fifth article they all answered affirmatively they do believe, and have and will speak against the sacrifice of the mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and likewise against the authority of the See of Rome, are not sorry for the same, but will do it while they live.

To the sixth article they answered, that they denied to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome to be lawful and good, neither yet his religion.

To the seventh article they answered affirmatively, that they have and do mislike the mass and Sacrament of the Altar, and thereupon refused to come to their parish-church, and they will still

ſtill do ſo while they live. John Daveniſh added, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as now uſed, is no Sacrament.

To the eighth article they confeſſed and believed all things above by them acknowledged, and declared to be true, and that they are of the dioceſe of London, and juriſdiction of the ſame.

Theſe their anſwers were written, and read unto them, and they perſiſting and continuing ſtedfaſt in their faith and opinions, the biſhop of London, read the definitive ſentence againſt them all three, viz. Cutbert Simſon, Hugh Fox, and John Daveniſh, and delivered them to the ſecular power. in order to their execution.

It is obſervable, that while Cutbert Simſon was in the Conſiſtory Court, Biſhop Bonner took notice of him, and ſaid to the people, *Ye ſee this man, what a perſonable man he is; and I tell you, that if he were not an heretic, he is a man of the greateſt patience that ever came before me. He hath been thrice racked in one day in the Tower, and alſo in my houſe he hath felt much ſorrow, and yet I never ſaw his patience broken.*

Upon the 28th of March, 1558, the three priſoners above-named were, by the ſheriffs, brought into Smithfield, where they all patiently ſuffered death together in one fire, for the truth of the goſpel, to the glory of God, and confirmation of the faith of all true belivers in Chriſt.

WILLIAM BONGEOR, THOMAS BENHOTE, WILLIAM PURCHASE, AGNES SILVERSIDE, HELLEN EWRING, ELIZABETH FOLK, WILLIAN MUNT, JOHN JOHNSON, ALICE MUNT, *and* ROSE ALLEN, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Colcheſter in Eſſex.*

UPON the 7th of March 1557, at two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrell, who was of the family of the Tyrrell's, that murdered King Edward V. in the Tower of London) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, two conſtables, and a great company and beſet the houſe of William Munt, Farmer at Much-Bently in Eſſex, informing the farmer and his wife that they muſt go with them to Colcheſter-Caſtle.

Mrs. Munt being at that time indiſpoſed, deſired that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her ſome drink, before ſhe went, which being granted, Tyrrel took an opportunity of adviſing the daughter, as ſhe paſſed by him, to give her father and mother better council, and admoniſh them to behave more like good Catholic people.

The daughter replied, that they had the Holy Ghoſt for their inſtructor and therefore needed no other; upon which Tyrrel grew angry, began to uſe harſh methods, aſſuring her that he was now convinced of the abſolute neceſſity of calling ſuch heretics to immediate account.

From the moſt abuſive language, that monſter of inhumanity proceeded to the moſt cruel behaviour, and in order to try if ſhe would ſtand burning, took the girl by the wriſt, and held the lighted candle under her hand, burning it acroſs the back till the ſinews cracked, frequently exclaiming during the barbarous operation, *Why, thou whore, will thou not cry?* This ſhe endured with the utmoſt patience, told the villain, if he thought proper, he might then begin at her feet and proceed to the head, for that he that prompted him to the work, would one day pay him his wages.

William Munt, Alice his wife, and Roſe Allen her daughter, whom Tyrrell had cruelly tortured, together with John Johnſon of Thorpe, were brought to Colcheſter caſtle, while the other ſix were ſent priſoners to Mote Hill.

They were all ſeverally examined before divers juſtices of the peace, prieſts and officers, amongſt whom were Kingſton the Commiſſary, Boſwell the biſhop of London's Secretary, (who reported the proceedings to the biſhop) and divers other commiſſioners.

William Bongeor was firſt called, and being examined concerning his faith in the Sacrament, replied that what they termed the Sacrament of the Altar, was bread, is bread, and remaineth bread, and was not in the leaſt holier for the conſecration. This he affirmed and proteſted againſt all the Popiſh doctrines in general, upon which they immediately paſſed ſentence of condemnation upon him.

Thomas Benhote alſo denied the Sacrament of the Altar, and abjured errors of the Romiſh church.

William Purchaſe declared, that when he received the Sacrament of the Altar, he received bread in an holy uſe, and both bread and wine as ſuch, but in remembrance of Chriſt's death and paſſion.

Agnes Silverſide ſaid ſhe approved not the Popiſh conſecration, nor any of the pageant abſurdities and ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, which was the church of Anti-chriſt.

Hellen Ewring renounced all the doctrines and practices ſet forth by the Pope with all her heart.

Elizabeth Folk being aſked, Whether ſhe believed the preſence of Chriſt's Body to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, really and ſubſtantially, replied, She believed it was a ſubſtantial and a real lie.

The commiſſioners being incenſed at ſo abrupt a reply, demanded of her, whether after conſecration, there remained not the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament? She anſwered, that before conſecration, and after it was bread, and that what man bleſſed without God's word, was accurſed and deemed abominable by that word.

They then examined her of confeſſion to a prieſt, of going to church to hear maſs, of the authority of the biſhop of Rome, &c. Unto all which ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would neither uſe, nor frequent any of them, by the grace of God, but did utterly deteſt them from her immortal Soul.

Sentence of condemnation having been pronounced, Elizabeth Folk kneeled

kneeled down, lifted her hands and eyes to heaven, and in an audible voice praiſed God, that ſhe was deemed worthy to ſuffer for the teſtimony of Chriſt, praying at the ſame time for thoſe by whom ſhe was to die.

William Munt being aſked his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar? ſaid, it was a moſt abominable idol; and that if he ſhould obſerve any part of the popiſh ſuperſtitions, he ſhould diſpleaſe God, and bring a curſe upon himſelf, and therefore for fear of the divine vengeance, he would not bow down to an idol.

John Johnſon anſwered to the ſame effect with Munt, and added, that in receiving the Sacrament according to Chriſt's inſtitution, he received the body of Chriſt ſpiritually.

Alice, the wife of John Munt, renounced all Popiſh error and ſuperſtition, and continued ſtedfaſt in the profeſſion of the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt.

Roſe Allen who was laſt called, being examined concerning auricular confeſſion, hearing maſs, and the ſeven ſacraments? anſwered, that they were an abomination in the eyes of the Lord, and that ſhe would therefore for ever reject them.

She likewiſe told them that ſhe was no member of their church, for they were the members of Antichriſt, and would have the reward of Antichriſt if they repented not.

Sentence was then read againſt her, and ſhe and the reſt were delivered over to the Secular Power, and ſent to the priſons from whence they came.

They continued under confinement with much joy and comfort, frequently reading the word of God, and exerciſing themſelves in fervent prayer, impatiently waiting their happy diſſolution.

Biſhop Bonner having an account tranſmitted to him for the condemnation of theſe ten innocent perſons, for the alledged crime of hereſy, ſent down a warrant for their being burned, which was determined to be put in execution on the 2d of Auguſt following.

As the priſoners were confined in different places, it was reſolved by the officers, that part of them ſhould be executed in the former, and the reſt in the latter part of that day. Accordingly William Bongeor, William Purchaſe, Thomas Benhote, Agnes Silverſide, Hellen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk, were brought to a plat of ground within the Tower-wall, where every thing was prepared for the bloody cataſtrophe.

When our martyrs arrived at the ſpot, they kneeled and humbly addreſſed themſelves to Almighty God, tho' they were interrupted by their Popiſh enemies.

They then aroſe and were faſtened to the ſtakes, clapping their hands for joy, and all died with amazing fortitude and reſignation, triumphing in the midſt of the flames, and exulting in the future glory that awaited their departure from a world of Sin and ſorrow.

In like manner, in the afternoon of the ſame day, William and Alice Munt, Roſe Allen, and John Johnſon

ſon were brought into the Caſtle-yard, and after they had devoutly prayed to almighty God, chearfully ſubmitted to be faſtened to the ſtakes, earneſtly calling upon their Father in heaven, and exhorting the people to beware of idolatry, and with their lateſt breath confeſſing the faith of Chriſt crucified, whom to know was eternal Life, for whom to die was the glory of all his choſen people.

RICHARD CRASHFIELD.

RICHARD CRASHFIELD of Wymoundham in the county of Norfolk, was brought before Chancellor Dunning on a ſuſpicion of hereſy, and by him examined concerning the ceremonies of the church, whether he believed them to be good and godly?

Our martyr replied, that he believed as many of them as were founded on the word of God, and authorized by the practice and example of Chriſt and his apoſtles.

When the Chancellor examined him particularly concerning the corporal preſence in the euchariſt, Craſhfield ſaid, He believed that Chriſt's body was broken for him upon the croſs, and his blood ſhed for his redemption, of which, the bread and wine are a perpetual remembrance, the pledge of God's mercy and the ſeal of his promiſes to the faithful to the end of the world:

He was then diſmiſſed and ſent back to priſon, and the following day brought again before the Chancellor, who enquired if he perſiſted in his heretical opinions.

On his replying in the affirmative, and confirming the ſame by his anſwers to other queſtions and articles propoſed to him, Dunning ſtood up and in form required him to turn from his wicked errors and damnable hereſies, and not be an example of impiety and obſtinacy, adding, that thro' his preſumptuous reading, he perſuaded ſilly women to embrace his errors at the hazard of their ſouls, and promiſing him mercy on his compliance with theſe terms.

Craſhfield boldly maintained his faith in the pure doctrines, and uncorrupted ceremonies of the church of Chriſt, telling the arrogant chancellor, that it was of God, whom he had offended, that he craved mercy, and not of him who was a ſinner like himſelf, and therefore incapable of diſperſing pardon or ſhewing any eſſential mercy to his ſoul.

Dunning at length finding him inflexibly attached to his opinions and principles, to ſeek pretence of condemnation, enquired of him, when he was laſt at his pariſh church, and on his anſwering, that it was two years paſt, told him that he ſtood excommunicated and conſequently condemned as an heretic.

Accordingly he was condemned, and delivered to the ſheriffs of the county, who, in a few days brought him to the ſtake, where in the preſence of numerous ſpectators, with much patience and conſtancy he yielded up his ſoul to God in hopes of eternal life, through

through the merits of Jesus Christ, with whom as he had suffered, he had good hope through grace, he should be gloried.

JOYCE, *Wife of Thomas Lewis of Manchester, who suffered Martyrdom at Litchfield.*

OUR female martyr in the begining of the reign of Queen Mary went to church, and heard mass, was confessed, and attended to all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till it pleased God, by the preaching of a Protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the true faith of the everlasting gospel.

The circumstances which in a great measure tended to her conversion, was the burning of a faithful servant of God at Coventry.

When she enquired into the cause of the same, she was told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of the religion she professed, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had suffered much himself for his stedfast attachment to the truth of Christ's gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church proving them to be antiscriptural and antichristian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and regulate her faith and practice by that alone.

Upon this godly advice Mrs. Lewis gave herself much to prayer and acts of devotion, determining by the grace of God, both to do and believe, what she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being compelled one day by her husband to go to Church, when the holy water was cast about, she turned her back upon it, and shewed herself displeased at it, upon which she was accused to the Bishop of Litchfield, for despising the Sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her before him; and when the summons was delivered to her husband, he threatened the officer, unless he would return with it from whence he came.

In consequence of this treatment, Thomas Lewis and his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, who dismissed the husband on his begging pardon for the offence, and offered forgiveness to her, upon the same terms.

But she courageously told his lordship, that by refusing Holy water she had not offended God, nor any of his laws.

The bishop though he was much offended with her, as she was a person of considerable repute, did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her the space of a month to consider of it, binding her husband in a hundred pound bond to bring her again to him at the expiration of a mouth and then dismissed them both.

When the fixed time of her appearance approached, many of their friends advised her husband by all means not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, inti-

mating, that he had better ſuſtain the loſs of an hundred pounds than to be inſtrumental in caſting his wife into the fire:

But Lewis, like an unnatural huſband, repiled, that he would not forfeit his bond for her ſake, and accordingly when the time was expired, he delivered her unto the biſhop, who finding her reſolute, committed her to a loathſome priſon.

The biſhop examined her ſeveral times, and as he reaſoned with her on her not coming to maſs, receiving the Sacrament, and Sacramentals of the Holy Church, ſhe replied, that ſhe found not theſe things in God's word which he ſo much urged and magnified as neceſſary to ſalvation, adding, that if thoſe things were founded on God's word, ſhe would receive them with all her heart.

His Lordſhip told her, that if ſhe would believe no more than is in ſcripture, ſhe was a damnable heretick; and after much diſcourſe with her pronounced ſentence againſt her as an irreclaimable heretick.

After her condemnation ſhe remained a whole year in confinement, when at length the writ for her execution arriving, ſhe ſent for ſeveral of her friends to adviſe her how to behave herſelf, that her death might redound to the glory of God, and the eſtabliſhment of his people; declaring at the ſame time, that ſhe feared not death, when ſhe thought on her Saviour Chriſt.

The night before ſhe ſuffered, two prieſts came to hear her confeſſion, but ſhe rejected their offer.

In the morning ſhe was brought to the place of execution by two ſheriffs and a ſtrong guard. When ſhe came to the ſtake, ſhe prayed three times, earneſtly deſiring God to aboliſh the idolatrous maſs, and deliver the kingdom from Popery, to which many of the people, and one of the ſheriffs cried Amen.

When ſhe was chained to the ſtake ſhe wore a pleaſing countenance and was very patient.

The fire being kindled, ſhe moved not in the leaſt, but lifted up her hands to heaven, reſigning up her ſoul to God, and then expired, September, 10, 1557.

RALPH ALLERTON, JAMES AWSTOO, MARGERY AWSTOO, and RICHARD ROTH, *who were burned at Iſlington.*

RALPH Allerton, a year before his condemnation, was apprehended and brought before lord Darcy, where he was accuſed not only of abſenting himſelf from church, but alſo that by preaching he had perſuaded others to follow his example.

Being examined thereupon, he confeſſed that coming to his pariſh church of Bently, and finding the people ſitting there, ſome gazing about, and others talking upon unprofitable ſubjects, he exhorted them to pray and meditate on God's word, and not ſit idle, to which they willingly conſented, and after prayer, he read them a chapter out of the New Teſtament.

In

In this exercise he continued for some time, till he was informed that his proceedings were contrary to law, as he was neither priest nor minister, upon which he desisted.

He likewise confessed that he was taken up for reading in the parish of Welly; but when those that apprehended him understood that he had read but once, and that it was an exhortation to obedience, they let him go; and after that, being afraid, he kept in woods, barns, and solitary places, till he was taken.

After this examination, the lord Darcy sent him to London to the Queen's commissioners, by whom he was referred to bishop Bonner, who persuaded him publicly to recant his profession at St. Paul's church, and then dismissed him; whereupon he returned into the country.

He was greatly troubled in his conscience for what he had done, earnestly repented of the same, and openly professed the faith he had shamefully revoked, till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish (who had been a professor of the truth, but was now a persecutor of) caused him to be apprehended and again brought up to the bishop of London.

When Allerton came before his Lordship, he asked him the cause of the same, telling him, he believed he was wrongfully accused, unless he had dissembled.

Allerton told his Lordship that he was not guilty of what was laid to his charge, desired to know his accusers, and the particulars of his accusation in order that he might be able to defend himself.

But the bishop, in answer to his request, reminded him, that if he had not dissembled, he needed not to be afraid or ashamed, and urged him to tell him if he dissembled in his former recantation.

Allerton replied, "If my accusers are not produced before your Lordship, my conscience will constrain me to accuse myself; for I confess I have most grievously offended God by my dissimulation, when I was last before your Lordship, for which I am now heartily concerned." When the bishop enquired the cause of his dissembling, he replied, *My lord if your lordship remembers, I set my hand to a certain writing, the contents of which were, that I did believe in all things as the Catholic Church teacheth, &c. in which I did not disclose my mind, but most shamefully dissembled, as I made no distinction between the true church and the false one.*

Being called upon to declare what he thought to be the true church, he would not allow the church of Rome to be it, but said that on the contrary those Christians that were persecuted by the Romish Church were members of the true Catholic Church of Christ, upon which the bishop called him heretic, and sent him to the little-ease prison at Guild-hall in London.

Having confined him there a whole day, the bishop sent for him again, and in the presence of the Dean of St. Paul's and the Chancellor of the diocese, produced some writings and challenged him with them.

He acknowledged the writings, and

being asked whether he had been at at mass since he was last before the bishop, answered in the negative, declaring that he had neither been at mass, or mattens, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

Thomas Tye, the priest of Bentley appeared against him before the court, affirming that he was a seditious person, and had stirred up much strife in his parish.

This, with other complaints being alledged against him, he was sent to prison again, and in a short time brought before the Queen's council, who demanded of him whether he believed that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remained no Bread, but the very Body of our Saviour, Jesus Christ God and Man, and no other substance under the form of Bread.

When Allerton demanded scripture proof for this doctrine of transubstantiation, the bishop asked him if Christ did not say, *This is my Body*, adding wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ, or was he a dissembler? "No, my lord, replied our martyr, Christ is true and all men are liars: yet I must refuse to understand the words of our Saviour so fantastically as you teach or take them, for then we should agree with the heretics called Nestorians, who denied that Christ had a true, natural body.

This methinks you do my lord, if you affirm his body to be there, because you then affirm his body to be fantastical, not natural, and therefore look well to it for God's sake. Observe likewise the words that go before, *Take ye and eat ye*, without which words, the rest art not sufficient.

But when the worthy receivers take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour to those who in that manner receive.

Upon the 15th of May 1557, Ralph Allerton was brought to the Bishop's palace at London, where the following articles were administered to him.

1. *That he was of the parish of Much-Bentley in Essex, and of the diocese of London.*

2. *That on the 10th of January last past, Mr. John Mordant preaching at St. Paul's, London, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself to the Church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.*

3. *That he did consent and subscribe as well unto the submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an heretic.*

4. *That he had subscribed to a bill wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believed that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he received it, he received the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.*

5. *That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth article last before specified.*

6. *That he had spoken against the b*

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ſhop of Rome, with the See and Church of the ſame, and alſo againſt the ſeven ſacraments, and other ceremonies and ordinances of the ſame church, uſed then within this realm.

7. *That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Mr. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others, of late, burnt within this realm, and believed their opinions to be good and godly.*

8. *That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion uſed within this realm, at the time of his apprehenſion, was neither good nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himſelf thereunto.*

9. *That he had affirmed that the book of Common Prayer, ſet forth in the reign of King Edward VI, was in all parts good and godly: and that the ſaid Ralph and his company, being priſoners, did daily uſe among themſelves, in priſon, ſome part of the ſame book.*

10. *That he had affirmed, That if he were out of priſon he would not come to maſs, mattens, nor even-ſong, nor bear taper, candle, nor palm, nor go in proceſſion, nor would receive holy water, holy bread, aſhes, or pix, nor any other ceremony then uſed within this realm.*

11. *That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confeſs his ſins to any prieſt, to receive abſolution of him, nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as it was then uſed.*

12. *That he had affirmed, that praying to ſaints, and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own will and pleaſure; neither that it is lawful to reſerve the ſacrament nor to worſhip it.*

13. *That the ſaid Ralph Allerton hath according to theſe affirmations, abſtained and refuſed to come unto his pariſh-church ever ſince the 10th of January laſt, or to uſe, receive, or allow, any ceremonies, ſacraments, or other rites then uſed in the church.*

To theſe articles our martyr in general anſwered in the affirmative, objecting only to that clauſe in the 12th, that a man is not bound to faſt and pray, but at his own will and pleaſure, and confeſſed at the ſame time that he had neither faſted nor prayed ſo frequently as it has been his duty to have done.

To theſe articles he ſubſcribed his name, affirming them to be true, till they could be confuted by holy writ.

Various efforts were made afterwards by Dr. Darbyſhire the Biſhop's chancellor and others to bring him to a recantation, but all proving ineffectual, he was ſent back again to priſon, from whence Biſhop Bonner ſent for him and the others abovementioned, to his palace at Fulham, where in his private chapel he judicially propounded to them divers articles, the particulars of which were addreſſed to Ralph Allerton in the following form:

Thou Ralph Allerton canſt not deny but that the information given againſt thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary Edmund Bonner Biſhop of London, was, and is a true information.

The ſubſtance of the information was this:

That one Laurence Edwards had a child

child unchriſtened, and Mr. Tye the curate aſked him, Why his child was not baptiſed? Edwards replied, it ſhould be baptized when he could find one of his own religion.

When the curate told him, that he had imbibed thoſe notions from ſome buſy people, who go about to ſpread hereſy. Edwards acknowledged that he had, telling him at the ſame time, if his doctrine was better he would receive it; he then produced Allerton, whom the curate aſked if he had inſtructed Edwards, that it was againſt God's commandments to enter into the church: Allerton then thus addreſſed the people who were preſent: *O good people, now is fulfilled the ſaying of the prieſt and prophet Eſdras, viz. The fire of a multitude is kindled againſt a few, they have taken away their houſes and ſpoiled their goods. Which of you have not ſeen this day? who is here among you that ſeeth not all theſe things done upon us this day. The church unto which they call us, is the church of Antichriſt, a perſecuting church, and the church malignant.*

This was the cauſe of his being apprehended and ſent up to the biſhop of London.

He was alſo charged with writing ſeveral letters and other things which were found with him in priſon: he confeſſed, when they were produced, that he had written them, and that they were intended to be ſent to ſome that were in priſon for the ſake of the goſpel, at Colcheſter, where they were afterwards burnt.

Allerton was then diſmiſſed, and the examination, deferred to the afternoon, when ſeveral other articles were objected to him, but theſe being moſtly falſe, he refuſed to anſwer, he granted indeed that he diſappointed the maſs and other ceremonies, that were contrary to the expreſs word of God.

When the decree of Pope Innocent III. concerning the Sacrament of the altar, was read to him by the biſhop, he declared he regarded it not, nor was it neceſſary that any man ſhould believe it.

When Bonner aſked him what he had to alledge why ſentence of condemnation ſhould not be paſſed upon him, he briefly anſwered, *My Lord, you ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good Chriſtian: but do as you have determined, for I perceive that right and truth are ſuppreſſed and cannot now appear upon earth.*

Then the biſhop pronounced ſentence againſt him, and delivered him over to the Secular Power.

James Aſtoo and Margery his wife, were alſo examined before biſhop Bonner, who among other things aſked the former, If he had been confeſſed in Lent, and where he had received the ſacrament at Eaſter?

He replied, he had been confeſſed of the curate of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower of London; but that he had not received the ſacrament of the altar, becauſe he deteſted it as an abominable idol.

His Lordſhip then enquired of Margery his wife, if ſhe approved of the religion then uſed in the church of England? She replied in the negative, affirming it to be corrupt and antiſcriptural, and that thoſe who conformed

The Martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo Margery Austoo, & Richard Roth at Islington.

formed to it, were influenced rather by fear than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God.

Being required to go to Church, hear maſs, and pray for the proſperity of the king then abroad on ſpecial affairs; ſhe declared her defiance of the maſs, and that ſhe would not come into any church where there were idols.

After this they had each of them divers articles objected to them, unto all which they made ſuch anſwers as were agreeable to the truth of the goſpel of Chriſt.

They were examined ſeveral times afterwards, and on perſiſting in their faith and profeſſion, and renouncing all Popiſh doctrines and practices, the biſhop having perſuaded them to recant without any effect, pronounced againſt them ſeverally ſentence of condemnation, and delivered them into the hands of the ſheriff then preſent, who kept them in cuſtody, in order to be executed with the reſt that received ſentence.

RICHARD ROTH, was examined before the ſame perſecuting prelate, who endeavoured to gain his belief in the ſeven ſacraments, and alſo bring him to acknowledge the corporal preſence in the euchariſt.

Roth briefly told him, that if thoſe doctrines were taught in the holy ſcriptures, he would believe them, if otherwiſe, he muſt reject them.

Being examined more particularly concerning the ſacrament of the altar, and other points, he plainly declared, that in that ceremony, there was not the very body and blood of Chriſt, but that it was a dead god, and the maſs was abominable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from which faith and opinion he was determined thro' the ſtrength of divine grace never to depart.

It was afterwards objected to him, that he was a comforter and encourager of heretics, and had written divers letters to that effect to certain perſons that were burnt at Colcheſter, which letters he confeſſed to have written.

Being aſked his opinion of Ralph Allerton, he anſwered, that he eſteemed him as a ſincere ſervant of God, and that if hereafter at any time he ſhould be put to death for his faith and religion, he believed he would die a martyr to the cauſe of Chriſt and the truth of his goſpel.

When it was demanded of him, If he approved of the order and rites of the church then uſed in England? he declared his utter abhorrence of them, and was thereupon condemned and delivered to the cuſtody of the ſheriff.

On the 17th of September, 1557, Ralph Allerton, James and Margery Awſtoo, and Richard Roth, were conveyed by the ſheriff to Iſlington, where they were faſtened to two ſtakes, and conſumed together in one fire, giving up their lives for the teſtimony of the truth as it is in Jeſus.

WILL-

WILLIAM FLOWER, *who for ſtriking a Prieſt had his hand cut off, and was afterwards martyred for his ſtedfaſt adherence to the Truth.*

WIlliam Flower was born at Snowhill in the county of Cambridge, educated in the Roman Catholic Church admitted into holy orders, and became a profeſſed monk in the Abbey of Ely.

Having reſided ſome time in the monaſtery, he threw off the monkiſh habit, became a ſecular prieſt, returned to the place of his nativity, and officiated a conſiderable time in a clerical capacity.

In proceſs of time, on a ſerious review of the ſacred ſcriptures, and candid compariſons of them with the doctrines and practices of the Romiſh Church; he began to doubt of the authenticity of the latter, and on a further inſpection finding them wholly repugnant to the word of God, and founded on the meer inventions of men, rejected and abjured them moſt cordially, embracing the doctrines of the reformation.

Having thus departed from the Romiſh Church, he removed from Eſſex the laſt place of his reſidence to Lambeth, where he married, and taught ſchool for his livelihood.

Croſſing the water from Lambeth, he went into St. Margaret's Church, Weſtminſter, where they were celebrating maſs.

As he refuſed to kneel when the Hoſt was lifted up, he was ſeverely reprimanded by the prieſt, whereupon Flower ſtruck him upon the head, while he had at the ſame time in his hand a chalice containing certain conſecrated wafers.

As his behaviour on this occaſion was rather frantic than juſtifiable, proceeding rather from raſh zeal than well grounded knowledge, he ſubmitted himſelf to the award of Biſhop Bonner, willing to endure whatever puniſhment he ſhould be pleaſed to inflict.

The biſhop would have mitigated his puniſhment if he would have ſubſcribed to the Popiſh faith, but that he would not conſent to do on any terms, therefore he was committed to the Gatehouſe.

Having remained in priſon a conſiderable time, he was again brought before the biſhop his ordinary, who adminiſtered to him on oath certain articles.

As he did not anſwer ſatisfactorily thereto, he was committed to the Fleet Priſon, where he was brought before the warden and found guilty of abuſing a prieſt in the duty of his office, and alſo of maintaining damnable hereſies.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced, and he was delivered over to the ſecular power, and purſuant to ſentence burnt in St. Margaret's Church yard, having his hand firſt cut off, which was held guſhing with blood to the general view of numerous ſpectators.

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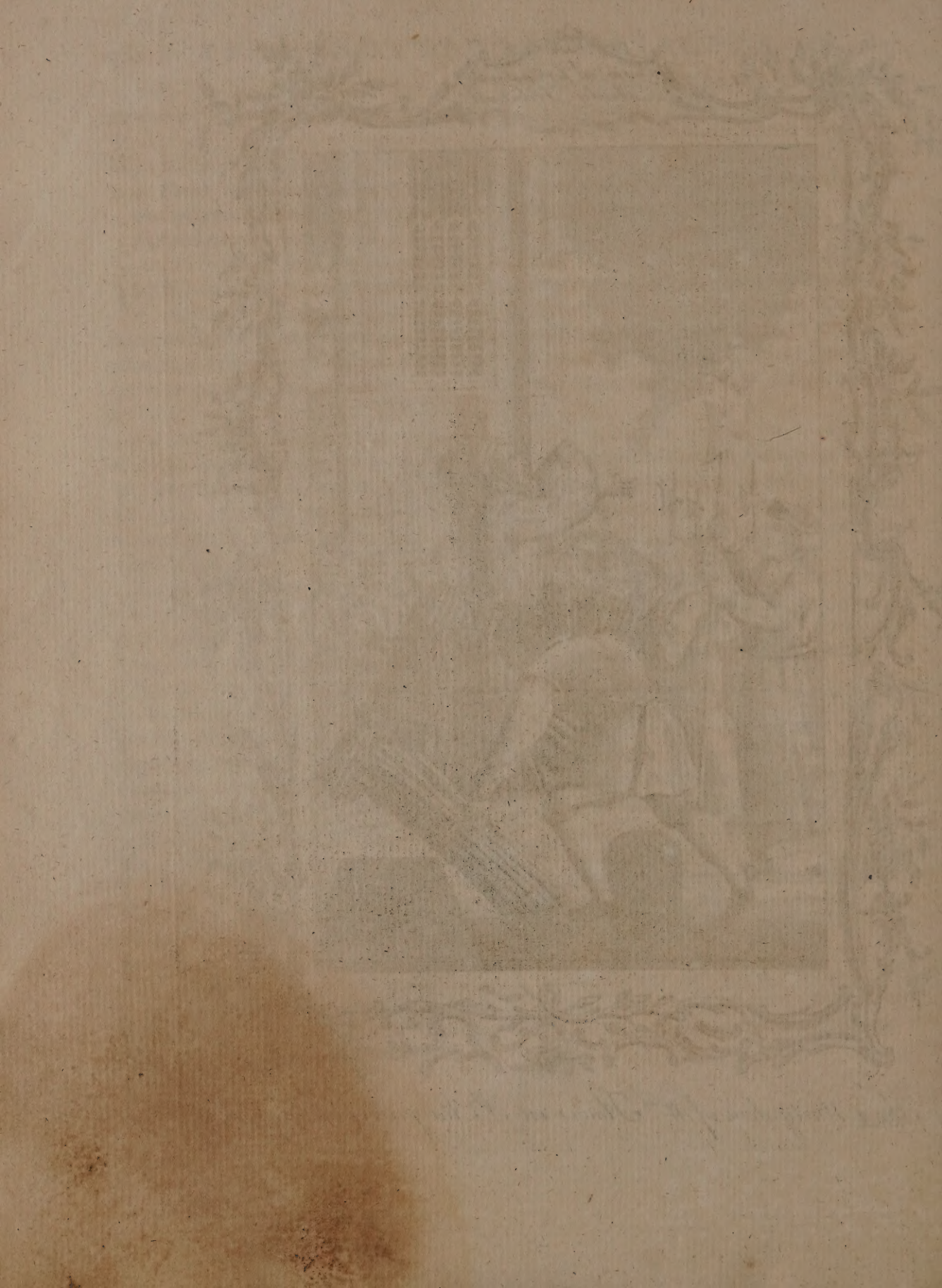
Engraved for Englands
Bloody Tribunal.

The Martyrdom of Wm. Flower in St. Margarets Church Yard.



LAURENCE SAUNDERS, *who was burnt at Coventry.*

ON Saturday, October 14, as Mr. Saunders was coming nigh to the City of London, Sir John Mordant, a counſellor to Queen Mary, overtook him, and aſked him whither he went. I have, ſaid Saunders, a cure in London, and now I am going to inſtruct my people according to my duty. If you will follow my counſel, ſaid Mordant, let them alone, and come not to them. Saunders anſwered, how ſhall I then be diſcharged before God, if any be ſick, and deſire conſolation, if any want good counſel and need inſtruction? Or if any ſhould ſlip into errors, and receive falſe doctrine? Did you not, ſaid Mordant, preach ſuch a day in Breadſtreet in London? Yes, verily, ſaid Saunders, and to-morrow you may hear me again in that ſame place, where I will confirm by the authoriry of God's word, all that I ſaid then, and whatſoever before that time I taught them. I would counſel you, replied the other, not to preach there. If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then muſt I obey, ſaid Saunders; and thus entered they both the city, and departed from each other. Mordant, a man of an uncharitable mind went to give warning to Bonner biſhop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day; which he accordingly did in the forenoon, from 2 Cor. xi. and in the afternoon he purpoſed to do the like, but the biſhop of London interrupted him by ſending an officer for him. The biſhop on his appearance before him charged him with hereſy and ſedition, and much talk concerning this matter, deſired him to write what he believed of tranſubſtantiation, which Mr. Saunders having done, the biſhop ſent him to the Lord Chancellor, by whom he was examined as to his preaching. Saunders owned that he did preach; and affirmed to his lordſhip that it was his indiſpenſible duty to exhort his flock and pariſhioners to perſevere and ſtand ſtedfaſtly in the doctrine which they learned.

After this he continued in priſon a whole year and three months; at the end of which he was brought again before the chancellor, and being examined, the officers took him again to priſon; ſome time after which he was burnt at Coventry, where amidſt the flames he was often heard to ſay, *O welcome life.*

ROBERT MILLS, STEPHEN COTTON, ROBERT DINES, STEPHEN WIGHT, JOHN SLADE, *and* WILLIAM PIKES, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Brentford in Middleſex, in the Dioceſe of London.*

THESE ſix men were apprehended in a cloſe near Iſlington (with ſeveral others before mentioned) ſent to priſon: and, at ſundry times, brought before Dr. Thomas Darbyſhire,

byſhire, the biſhop of London's Chancellor, to be examined.

ROBERT MILLS on the 20th of June, 1558, Stephen Wight the 21ſt of the ſame month, Stephen Cotton and John Slade the 22d day, Robert Dines and William Pikes the day following; unto whom were miniſtered, by the chancellor and officer, the ſame articles which were before miniſtered to others.

The firſt article they all granted, and added thereto for going to church, that Robert Mills and Stephen Wight came not to church for three quarters of a year before, John Slade and William Pikes not ſince the Queen's reign, Stephen Cotton not for a twelve month before, and Robert Dines for two years before.

To the ſecond, third, fourth, fifth, and ſixth articles they all anſwered in effect as other Proteſtants had done, ſaving they added, that as their rites, ceremonies, and cuſtoms, are againſt the word of God, ſo will they obſerve and keep no part of the ſame. Stephen Wight added farther that he had not received their Sacrament of the Altar for two years before, nor John Slade nor William Pikes ſince Queen Mary's reign, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelve-month before, nor Robert Dines for three years before.

The ſeventh article they all granted in every part, ſaving Robert Dines added that it was no part of his belief.

The eighth article they all granted in every part; but Robert Mills added that he would not come to the church, nor allow their religion, ſo long as the croſs is crept to and worſhipped, and images are in the church.

John Slade affirmed, in effect, as Robert Mills did, adding farther, that there are not ſeven ſacraments, but two ſacraments, which are Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord.

Stephen Cotton would no farther allow the Popiſh religon than it agreed with God's word, and Robert Dines affirmed, in effect, the ſame with Stephen Cotton.

To the ninth and tenth articles Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton, anſwered, that they do not allow the Popiſh ſervice then ſet forth, becauſe it is againſt the truth, and in a ſtrange language which the common people underſtand not.

Robert Dines and William Pikes will neither allow nor diſallow the Latin ſervice, becauſe they underſtand it not.

And Stephen Wight would make no anſwer to theſe articles at all, neither to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, nor are any of Stephen Wight's anſwers recorded; but the reſt of his fellow priſoners anſwered to them as follows.

To the eleventh article Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton anſwered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion, ſpecified in this article, they do allow them ſo far forth as they agree with God's word.

Robert Dines would make no anſwer thereto, becauſe he thought himſelf unable to judge thereof; and William Pikes did not remember that he had miſliked the ſervice, faith and religion, ſet forth in King Edward the VIth's time.

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The twelfth article they granted, that if they might receive the ſacrament as they did in King Edward the VIth's days, they would, with all their hearts.

The thirteenth and fourteenth articles they granted to be true in every part.

After theſe their anſwers to the articles aforeſaid, the priſoners were returned back to priſon, and commanded to appear the 11th of July, at the Conſiſtory in St. Paul's, which acordingly they did; and then it was demanded of them, by the Chancellor and the Court, whether they would turn from their opinions to the Holy Mother Church, and if not, whether there were any cauſe to the contrary, but that they might proceed with the ſentence of condemnation? whereunto they all anſwered, that they would not go from the truth, nor any part of the ſame while they lived.

The Chancellor charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, to hear the definitive ſentence read againſt them according to the eccleſiaſtical law then in force; and at the time appointed the ſix priſoners above-mentioned were brought into Court, the Chancellor ſitting in judgment, with whom were Sir Edward Haſtings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis.

The Chancellor talked with the priſoners, but could by no means move them from their faith and opinions, and therefore read the ſentence of condemnation againſt them all, and committed them into the hands of the Secular Power, who ſent them to priſon till the time of their execution.

Having condemned theſe ſix innocent perſons, he ſent a certificate of their condemnation into the Lord Chancellor's office, from whence there was iſſued out, the next day, a writ for their burning in the town of Brentford in Middleſex, ſeven miles from London; and upon the 14th of July, 1558, they were all conveyed, by the Sheriffs officers, to the town of Brentford; and when they came to the place of execution, humbly made their prayers to God, and then undreſſing themſelves went joyfully to the ſtakes; where being bound, and the fire flaming about them, they yielded both their bodies and ſouls in the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whoſe cauſe they ſuffered.

JOHN CLARK, DUNSTAN CLUTTENDEN, WILLIAM FOSTER, ALICE POTKINS *and* JOHN ARCHER, *who were famiſhed in Canterbnry Caſtle.*

NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD Archdeacon of Canterbury was a moſt bigotted Papiſt and cruel perſecutor of the faithful ſervants of Chriſt.

Many pious perſons were at his inſtigation moſt inhumanly treated in the dioceſe of Canterbury, particularly the five perſons above written, two of whom were not then condemned, and the others were ſentenced to be burned, had not its execution been prevented by their pining away with famine.

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They were apprehended and committed to priſon for denying the ſeven ſacraments, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, the ſupremacy of the Holy See of Rome, images and all the ſuperſtitious ceremonies of Popery.

William Foſter being firſt called upon and examined concerning his general faith, ſaid, that he believed in all the articles of the creed; but that to believe there were more ſacraments than two, to pray to ſaints to profit us, to pray for ſouls in purgatory to profit them, and in fine to allow the Popiſh ceremonies then uſed in the church of England, was contrary to the expreſs word of God, and poſitive command and example of Chriſt himſelf.

Moreover he ſaid, that he might as well carry a dung-fork as Candle on Candlemas-day, and that it would be as expedient to carry the gallows about if his father was hanged, as the croſs: for theſe declarations he was ſentenced to be burned, and to that purpoſe delivered up to the ſecular power.

Alice Potkins received the ſame ſentence, becauſe ſhe was not, nor would be confeſſed to a prieſt, receive the ſacrament, pray to ſaints nor creep to the croſs, &c.

Being asked her age, ſhe anſwered, that with reſpect to her natural birth, ſhe was forty nine, but with regard to the new birth which was of God in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhe was only one year old, ſince which ſhe had been commited to priſon.

The anſwer of John Archer was to the ſame purport, and although ſome of them differed in points leſs eſſential, they all agreed in the main and important doctrines of the Goſpel, and in rejecting the abſurd tenets of the Romiſh Church.

The cruel manner in which their Popiſh enemies uſed them, will beſt appear from their own accounts handed down in the following extraordinary letter, which we have tranſcribed from the original copy.

A letter written and caſt out of the Caſtle of Canterbury by the Priſoners there in Bonds for God's word, declaring how the Papiſts went about to famiſh them to death; of which company five were already moſt cruelly famiſhed among them.

BE it known unto all men that ſhall read or hear read theſe our letters, that we the poor priſoners of the caſtle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not ſuffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheeſe, or any other food, the ſaid keeper will charge them that ſo bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it them again; or elſe if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himſelf, and he and his ſervants do ſpend it, ſo that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: inſomuch that there are four of us priſoners here, for God's truth, famiſhed already, and thus is it his mind to famiſh us all: and we think he is appointed thereunto by the biſhops

ſhops and prieſts, and alſo of the juſtices, ſo to famiſh us, and not only us of the ſaid caſtle, but alſo all other priſoners in other priſons for the like cauſe to be alſo famiſhed; notwithſtanding we write not theſe our letters, to that intent we might not afford to be famiſhed for the Lord Jeſus' ſake, but for this cauſe and intent, that they having no law to famiſh us in priſon, ſhould not do it privily, but that the murderers hearts ſhould be openly known to all the world that all men may learn of what church they are, and who is their father.

CICELY ORMES, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Norwich.*

THIS perſon was apprehended at the burning of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper beforementioned, for ſaying ſhe would pledge them of the cup of which they drank, viz. ſucceſs to the true cauſe of Chriſt, and deſtruction to the uſurpation of Papiſts.

When ſhe was brought before a juſtice of the peace, and enquired concerning the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt, ſhe denied the ſame for want of authority in the Book of God, which ſhe received as her infallible guide in all matters relative to her eternal ſalvation.

Being afterwards brought before Chancellor Dunning, he told her, that he had ſhewn more favour to her than he had done to any, and that he was unwilling to condemn her as ſhe was a poor illiterate woman, but ſhe honeſtly told him, that he could not be ſo deſirous of taking her life as ſhe was of ſurrendering it in ſo good a cauſe; upon which the chancellor being greatly enraged, roſe up, read the bloody ſentence of condemnation, and delivered her up to the ſheriffs of the county.

Cicely Ormes had formerly been apprehended and had recanted, but ſhe enjoyed not a moment's peace of conſcience till ſhe abjured the abominable errors ſhe profeſſed.

When ſhe came to the ſtake on the twenty-third of September, ſhe kneeled down, and having made her fervent prayers to God, thus addreſſed the ſpectators.

Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt: this I do not nor will recant; but I renounce from the bottom of my heart the principles and practices ſet forth by the Church of Rome, and never will have to do with them, by the grace of God, to my life's end.

I would not have you think, good people, that I believe to be ſaved, becauſe I offer myſelf here unto death for the truth's ſake; no, I truſt for acceptance with God, juſtification in his ſight, and eternal redemption on the merits and paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt alone.

She afterwards laid her hand upon the ſtake, and ſaid, *Welcome the croſs of Chriſt.*

When the fire was kindled ſhe ſaid, *My ſoul doth magnify the Lord, and my Spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour,* and having thus ſaid, yielded up her life as quietly as if ſhe had been in a ſlumber, or as one feeling no pain, ſo wonderfully

derfully did the Lord support her under her fiery trial.

William Seaman, Thomas Carman, *and* Thomas Hudson.

WILLIAM Seaman was an husbandman, and betrayed into the hands of his Popish emissaries by the perfidy of a neighbour, and carried before Sir John Tyrrel of Norfolk, who demanded of him why he would not go to mass, receive the Sacrament, and conform himself to other ceremonies of the church: Seaman replied, that the Sacrament then used was an idol, that the mass was abominable, and that the ceremonies of the Romish church was superstitious and full of absurdities, and that therefore he would not conform to the same.

He was sent to Dr. Hopton, Bishop of the diocese, and after some examination, sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him, and he was kept in prison till the day of his martyrdom.

Thomas Carman being prisoner in Norwich, was also brought before the Bishop, and asserted the cause of Christ, with no less warmth than the former, and was therefore consigned to the same merciless punishment.

Thomas Hudson was a poor, labouring man, and though destitute of any education in his younger years, by his diligence and love to the gospel, as preached in the days of King Edward, he had learned to read, became well versed in the sacred book of God, and founded in the faith once delivered unto the saints.

Disapproving the doctrines and practices set forth under the reign of Queen Mary, he absented himself from his native place, went into Suffolk, and there continued travelling from one part to another as occasion offered.

At length desirous of seeing his wife and children, he returned home, but finding his continuance there would be dangerous, he devised a scheme with his wife, to make him a hiding-place among his faggots, whither he resorted for a long space of time, praying continually, his wife at the same time, carefully ministering to all his necessities.

During his retirement, the vicar of the town, who was one of the Bishop's Commissaries, enquired of his wife concerning her husband, and on her denying that she knew any thing of him, threatened to burn her because she would not discover the retreat of a heretic.

When Hudson found their great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honour of the Redeemer, increased daily, and he continued reading and singing psalms, while the people resorted to him, to hear his exhortations, and join with him in prayer, to their common God and Father.

At length he walked about the town, exclaiming against the mass and all its superstitions and follies, and when he arrived at his own house, he read and sung psalms incessantly for the space of three days and nights, to the astonishment of many.

In-

Information having been given of the ſame, by one of his neighbours, two conſtables were ſent to take him at break of day, and when he ſaw them enter, he ſaid without diſmay: *Now mine hour is come; welcome friend's, welcome, you be they that ſhall lead me to life in Chriſt. I thank God for it, and beg that the Lord would prepare me for the glorious work for his mercies ſake.*

The conſtables then led him to Berry the commiſſary, who being vicar of the town, aſked him various queſtions concerning his religious tenets; but finding that all he could ſay or do, could not ſtagger his faith in a ſingle point, he ſent him bound like a thief to the biſhop then in Norwich, whither he went with the utmoſt chearfulneſs.

He was committed to priſon, where he ſpent his time in reading and calling upon the name of the Lord.

Theſe three ſervants of God, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudſon, having been condemned, were carried from the priſon to the place appointed for their execution; where being arrived, they ſeverally offered up their prayers at the throne of grace.

They then aroſe and went to the ſtake, and ſtanding with their chains about them: Thomas Hudſon came from under the chain, to the great ſurprize of all the ſpectators; ſome fearing leſt he ſhould recant, others imagining he wanted a reprieve for further conference, and ſome that it were to crave the bleſſing of his parents.

In the midſt of this confuſion, his two companions at the ſtake did their utmoſt to comfort and encourage him, exhorting him in the bowels of Chriſt to be of good cheer, &c.

But alas! he felt more in his conſcience than they could conceive; for he was encompaſſed with great grief of mind, not for fear of death, but for want of inward experience of the love of his Saviour; and therefore being very anxious, he fell on his knees, and earneſtly prayed to God, who at length according to his tender mercies, ſent him comfort; and then he aroſe in an extaſy of joy, as a man changed from death to life, ſaying, "Now I thank God I am ſtrong, and care not what man can do unto me."

Returning to his companions at the ſtake, they all ſuffered death together moſt joyfully, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the faithful, and the glory of God.

WILLIAM FETTY, *a lad of eight years old, who was ſcourged to death in biſhop Bonner's palace in London.*

IF dying innocently in the cauſe of Chriſt and his religion conſtitutes the character of a martyr, no one can be more entitled to a place in our catalogue than this youth, who was unmercifully ſcourged to death, at the inſtigation of the relentleſs biſhop Bonner.

Among thoſe that were perſecuted and

and impriſoned for the profeſſion of Chriſt's goſpel, and yet delivered by the providence of God, was the father of the lad now under conſideration.

He had been accuſed by his own wife to the miniſter of the pariſh, with abſenting himſelf from church, the ſacrament of the altar, confeſſion and other ceremonies, for neglect of which, he was apprehended by one of the officers employed for that purpoſe.

Immediately on his apprehenſion, his wife was ſtriken mad; inſomuch, that though they were regardleſs of him, pity towards that ungrateful woman, wrought upon them ſo ſenſibly, that for the ſake of the preſervation and ſupport of her and her children, for that time, they would not trouble him, but ſuffered him to continue in his own houſe.

Notwithſtanding the ingratitude of his wife, he cheriſhed and provided for her in ſuch a manner, that within the ſpace of three weeks, by the bleſſing of God, ſhe had in ſome meaſure recovered her ſenſes.

But ſuch was the influence of Satan over the mind of this wicked woman, that notwithſtanding this inſtance of his conjugal affections, ſhe laid a ſecond information againſt him; upon which he was apprehended, and carried before Sir John Mordaunt, one of the Queen's commiſſioners, by whom, after examination, he was ſent unto Lollard's Tower, where he was put into the painful ſtocks, and had a diſh of water ſet by him with a ſtone in it, to point out to him, that he ſhould expect very little other ſuſtenance.

After John Fetty had lain in priſon for the ſpace of fifteen days, hanging in the ſtocks, ſome times by one leg and one arm, and ſometimes by both; it happened that one of his children, (a boy about eight years old) came to the biſhop's palace, in order to obtain leave to ſpeak with his father.

On his approach, one of the biſhop's chaplains met him, and aſked his buſineſs. When the child told him, the chaplain aſked, Who was his father? On which he pointed towards Lollard's Tower, intimating thereby, that his father was confined therein.

When the chaplain upbraided him with the appellation of heretic; the boy, who was of a bold and forward ſpirit, and had been inſtructed by the father in the reformed religion, anſwered, "My father is no heretic; but you have Balaam's mark."

The incenſed prieſt upon this, took the child by the hand, and carried him into the biſhop's palace, and there cruelly ſcourged him till he lay in a gore of blood, and then cauſed one of his ſervants to carry him in his ſhirt to his father, the blood running down to his heels.

When he approached his parent, he fell on his knees and craved his bleſſing. The poor man beholding his child in ſo dreadful a plight, ſorrowfully exclaimed, Alas, ſon, who hath thus cruelly treated you? The boy replied, that ſeeking to find you out, a prieſt with Balaam's mark took me into the biſhop's houſe, where I was thus treated.

The ſervant then violently plucked the

the child out of his father's hands, and carried him back to the biſhop's palace, where they kept him three days; at the expiration of which, Bonner, to attone for ſuch vile abuſe and appeaſe the poor man, determined to releaſe him, and therefore ordered him early in the morning to be brought out of Lollard's Tower into his bed-chamber.

On his approach to the biſhop's chamber, Fetty ſaid, *God be here and peace* — "God be here and peace, replied the biſhop, *That is neither God ſpeed, nor good-morrow.*

One of the biſhop's chaplains ſtanding by reviled him for what he had ſaid; while Fetty looking about, and ſpying firſt a bundle of black beads, and afterwards a little crucifix, he ſaid, As Chriſt is here handled, ſo you deal with Chriſt's choſen people.

The biſhop then in great rage ſaid, Thou art a vile heretic, and I will burn thee, or I will ſpend all that I poſſeſs. However, his paſſion cooled in time, and thinking of the conſequences that might ariſe from ſcourging the child, he ordered him to be diſcharged.

Accordingly he returned home with the boy, who was a ſpectacle of horror, and died in fourteen days after he had been ſcourged, thro' an extraordinary effuſion of blood, and a mortification, which unhappily enſued.

ALEXANDER GOUCH *and* ALICE DRIVER, *who ſuffered Martyrdom at Ipſwich in the County of Suffolk and Dioceſe of Norwich.*

THESE two perſons ſuſpected of hereſy, were apprehended by Mr. Neon, a juſtice of peace for the county, and ſent to Melton Goal; afterwards brought before Dr. Spence, Chancellor of the dioceſe of Norwich, to be examined.

The chancellor aſked Driver, what ſhe ſaid to the Sacrament of the Altar, whether ſhe believed it to be very fleſh and blood, after the words of conſecration be ſpoken?

She anſwered, ſhe found no ſuch ſacrament in the word of God, but granted ſhe read there of the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, and deſired them to tell her what a ſacrament was.

The chancellor, and another doctor, told her, it was a ſign of an holy thing.

She granted it ſo to be, but replied, that if it be a ſign, then it could not be the thing ſignified alſo.

They ſaid, the Almighty Power of God was able to make it his body.

She denied not the Almighty Power of God to perform whatever he promiſed; but he hath made no promiſe to make bread his body. But *he took Bread and brake it, and gave it to his Diſciples, ſaying, take, eat, this is my Body. Do this in remembrance of me.* And if the diſciples had eaten up Chriſt's body over-night, he muſt have

had two bodies, for his body was crucified the next day.

There was much ſaid about this matter, both at her firſt and ſecond examination; but ſhe utterly denied the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, and for ſo doing was at length condemned as an heretick, and delivered to the ſecular power, in order to be executed.

ALEXANDER GOUCH, of Woodbridge in Suffolk, was examined at the ſame time and by the ſame perſons, about the Sacrament of the Altar and other ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

He ſaid, that his belief was, that Chriſt was aſcended into Heaven, and there remained; and that the Sacrament was the remembrance of his death and paſſion.

He alſo rejected the maſs, and denied the Pope to be the ſupream head of Chriſt's Church on earth; and for his ſtedfaſt continuance in this his faith and opinion, he had ſentence of condemnation given againſt him as an heretick, and was alſo delivered to the Secular Power to be put to death.

Upon the 4th of November 1558, Alexander Gouch and Alice Driver, were brought from Melton jail to Ipſwich, which is about ſix miles, by ſeven o'clock in the morning. (Sir Henry Dodwell being High Sheriff.)

When they came to the ſtake, they ſung pſalms together, and then prayed, at which the ſheriff was diſpleaſed, and bid the bailiffs of Ipſwich ſpeak to them to make an end.

Gouch then roſe from his knees, and ſaid, pray, Mr. Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here. But the bailiffs were bidden to have them to the fire.

Without farther delay, they were faſtened to the ſtake; many took them by the hands, notwithſtanding the ſheriff's threatning, and fire being put to them, they joyfully reſigned their ſouls to God in the midſt of the flames.

There were alſo about the ſame time, and for the ſame cauſe, three men burned in the town of St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, viz. Philip Humphry, John David, Henry David, his brother; but the particular account of their examination is not recorded.

There was a poor woman, the wife of one Preſt, who dwelt near the town of Launceſton, in the county of Cornwall, in the dioceſe of Exeter: ſhe was about fifty-four years of age: her huſband, and three children, were very zealous Papiſts, and ſhe was wont to rebuke them for their ſuperſtition; yet they forced her ſometimes to go to church, to follow in proceſſion, and conform to their ceremonies, ſorely againſt her will. Being troubled by her huſband to act againſt her mind, ſhe prayed to God for his aſſiſtance, took courage and left her huſband for a time, and went about from place to place, getting her living by labour, and ſpinning: in a little time ſhe returned back to her huſband, and then was accuſed by ſome of her neighbours of hereſy, and ſent to Exeter to the biſhop, whoſe name was Dr. Troublevile. The chief thing that was laid to her charge, was her ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Altar

Altar, and againſt images in churches, calling them idols.

When ſhe came before the biſhop, he reproved her for ſpeaking againſt the ſacrament of the Altar, which was a matter too high for her to meddle with, and that ſhe had called it an idol.

She anſwered, there was never ſuch an idol as your Sacrament is made of by your prieſts, and commanded to be worſhipped by all men; whereas Chriſt commanded it to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of his moſt bleſſed paſſion, for our redemption.

Then the biſhop ſaid, haſt thou not heard that Chriſt did ſay over the bread, *This is my body*, and over the cup, *This is my blood?*

The woman anſwered, Yes, he ſaid ſo; but he meant that it is his body and blood not carnally, but ſacramentally.

On the Biſhop's telling her that ſhe had heard this from ſome new preacher, or learned it from ſome ill book, and that ſhe was deceived; the poor woman replied, no, my lord, what I have learned was from godly preachers, and godly books, and if you will give me leave, I will declare the reaſon why I will not worſhip the Sacrament; but you muſt bear with me, a poor woman.

Having obtained leave, ſhe ſaid, I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which ſaith, that Chriſt ſitteth at the right hand of his father, both body and ſoul, untill he come again to judgment? or, whether he be not there in Heaven, and makes interceſſion for us to God the Father?

If it be ſo, Chriſt is not here on Earth in a piece of bread. If he be not here and if he doth not dwell in temples made with hands, but in Heaven, why then do we ſeek him? if he did offer his body once for all, why make you a new offering? if Chriſt, with once offering himſelf, made all perfect, why do we with a falſe offering, make all imperfect? if he be to be worſhipped in ſpirit and in truth, why do ye worſhip a piece of bread? if he be eaten and drunk in faith and truth, if his fleſh be not profitable to be among us, why do ye ſay you make his body and fleſh, and ſay it is profitable for body and ſoul? Alas! I am but a poor woman, but rather than I would do as ye do, I would live no longer.

Then ſhe was delivered to the ſheriff, and was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Sothenkey: and a great company of people went along with her. She was bound to the ſtake, and, with the flames of fire, in a little time conſumed.

The agents and emiſſaries of the Church of Rome having thus filled the realm of England with blood and maſſacre, and ſpread the contagion of their pernicious doctrines and practices, at the expence of the lives of the true ſervants of the living God; who dared not to bow down to idols, nor would acknowledge any ſupremacy in matters of religion, but that of Chriſt Jeſus the Lord, as we have ſhewn at large in the courſe of this work: we preſume it will neither be unentertaining, nor unprofitable to our Chriſtian readers, to ſhew them the manner in which they thought to extirpate Proteſtants, viz. by a Viſitation to the Univerſities and ejectment of all who profeſſed or favoured the reformed religion.—This reſolution was formed by Cardinal Poole, in conſequence of a remonſtrance from the See of Rome, of his too great lenity and remiſſneſs towards heretics, as they termed them, in this realm, where he was the Pope's Legate, and repreſented his Holineſs: the parade of the ceremony will afford a very ſtriking diſplay of Popiſh pride and uſurpation, and ſhew how far the genius of that religion differs from the known character of the meek, humble, and benevolent Jeſus, whom we profeſs to be the author of our faith and captain of our ſalvation.

The order and manner of Cardinal Pool's Viſitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning the bones and books of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, January 7, 1559.

CARDINAL POOL, three years after his return into England, having ſomewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and in all points eſtabliſhed the Romiſh religion, began to have an eye to the Univerſity of Cambridge, which place, among others, ſeemed to need a ſpeedy reformation.

To perform this charge were choſen Cutbert Scot, not long before conſecrated biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, arch-prieſt of the people of Bodolon, in the dioceſe of Vernon, profeſſed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the Pope's datary, Thomas Watſon elected biſhop of Lincoln, Chriſtopherſon elected biſhop of Chicheſter, and Henry Cole provoſt of the college of Eton.

There was good cauſe why the matter was committed to theſe perſons: for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much eſtimation with Julius the third, at that time biſhop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal Poole, becauſe without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief truſt and confidence) the biſhop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

Theſe perſons thus appointed (in the mean while as the viſitors were addreſſing

dreſſing themſelves to their journey) ſent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Perne then vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other commiſſioners aſſociate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the univerſity, in their name to be in readineſs againſt the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin; willing him eſpecially to be there himſelf in preſence, and alſo to ſet forward all the reſidue, to whoſe charge it belonged, that they ſhould ſearch out all ſtatutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the univerſity, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themſelves, and to preſent the ſame before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there perſonally; for they would not fail being there at the ſame time, to lay before them ſuch things as ſhould ſeem moſt for the profit of the ſame, together with ſuch things as were to be done on their part, acccording as ſhould ſeem moſt agreeable to the degrees of the canon law.

This citation of the cardinal being brought to Cambridge by Mr. Bullock, was firſt exhibited in the convocation-houſe of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the univerſity the 11th of December.

After this, upon the 24th of December, which was Chriſtmas Eve, the vice-chancellor with the heads of the houſes, meeting together in the ſchools, it was there concluded, that the viſitors charges ſhould be born by the univerſity and colleges (which then coſt the univerſity an hundred pounds) and alſo that no maſter of any college ſhould ſuffer any of the fellows, ſcholars, or miniſters, to go out of the town, but, on promiſe, to return before the viſitation.

On Friday the eighth of January, the queen's commiſſioners, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Sedgewicke, Dr. Harvey, Mr. Frank, Kuſt, and alſo Sir James Dyer the recorder, Mr. Chapman, and Evered ſitting together in the hall, ſome were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what ſhould be done.

Firſt the commiſſion was read, then were all the high conſtables called to bring in their precepts, and ſworn.

Alſo two of every pariſh of ten or twelve hundreds, were ſworn to enquire of hereſy, lollardy, conſpiracy, ſeditious words, tales, and rumours againſt the king and queen.

Alſo heretical and ſeditious books, for negligences and miſdemeanors in the church, for obſervation of ceremonies, for ornaments, and ſtock of the church.

We ſaid at the firſt, that the cardinal thought the univerſity needed reformation. The reaſon was either becauſe the ſame of long continuance had caſt off the Biſhop of Rome, and cleaved to the whole-ſome doctrine of the goſpel; or elſe, by reaſon that both for the late ſchiſm, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the ſaid univerſity interpreted holy ſcripture, they ſaw many corrupted with this infection, that (even as when fire is ſpread in a town) unleſs a ſpeedy remedy were applied, it were not

poſſible, in their opinion, to quench it may years after.

They alſo feared (if it were not looked to in time) leſt this miſchief ſhould take root, and by little and little infect all the members which yet were ſound in the Catholic faith.

This was in the year 1556. To remedy therefore this evil, the inquiſitors came to Cambridge the ninth day of January.

As they were on their journey, and far from the town, divers of the maſters and preſidents of the colleges met them, and waited on them, firſt into the town, and afterwards to their lodgings.

They were entertained in Trinity college by Mr. John Chriſtopherſon, maſter of the ſaid houſe, and a little before elected biſhop of Chicheſter.

Notwithſtanding they were invited, ſome to one place, and ſome to another: Dr. Cole to the King's college, and Dr. Watſon to St. John's; but whether it were for the acquaintance of Chriſtopherſon, or for the largeneſs of the houſe, which ſeemed moſt convenient for their purpoſe, they all took up their lodgings in the ſaid college with him.

At their coming thither an oration was made by a fellow of the houſe, who in the name of all the reſt, declared that they were moſt heartily welcome thither, and that he and his fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleaſed their lordſhips to have ſo good opinion of them, as to chooſe their houſe eſpecially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to ſtand in hope of ſome further benevolence, and alſo done great honour to their college.

To this oration Dr. Watſon made anſwer, that this forward and earneſt good-will of theirs, in doing them ſuch courteſy, was thankfully received, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſtly in the ſame, and to proceed alſo when need ſhould require: for it was ſo far from any of their thoughts, to ſtop them in this their race, that they would rather haſte them forward, being not without good cauſe perſuaded of their benevolence towards them, in as much as they would do for them, whatſoever might turn to their profit and advantage.

This day, nothing elſe was done; the next, being the tenth of January, they beſtowed in refreſhing themſelves after their journey, and in ſetting other things in order.

Nevertheleſs, to the intent the ſame ſhould not eſcape altogether without doing ſomewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius lay buried.

Theſe men were dead a good while before, Paulus Phagius had ſcarce yet ſhewed proof of his learning, when he departed to God 1549.

Bucer lived but a little after; during which time ſomewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never ſpared himſelf nor regarded his health) he brought all men into ſuch admiration of him, that neither his friends could ſufficiently praiſe him, nor his enemies in any

any point find fault with his ſingular life and ſincere doctrine. A moſt certain token whereof may be his ſumptuous burial, ſolemnized by the degrees of the univerſity.

The whole manner and order of which, being written by Mr. Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatiſe to Sir John Cheeke knight, with an epiſtle full of conſolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was ſent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then reſiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of theſe viſitors, three or four years were paſſed.

And from the deceaſe of king Edward the ſixth unto that day, the prieſts celebrated their maſſes, and other kind of ceremonies in thoſe places, and that without ſcruple of conſcience, as far as men could perceive.

But after the time that theſe commiſſioners came hither, thoſe things that before were accounted for ſacred and holy, began to be denounced for prophane and unholy. For they commanded that all thoſe aſſemblies that ſhould hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, ſhould be removed to the King's Chapel, which is a place far more ſtately than all the other.

Now arrived the 11th day, in which the vice-chancellor of the univerſity, with the maſters and preſidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every houſe, were commanded to appear before the ſaid commiſſioners in their habits. It was commanded, that the ſcholars alſo ſhould come in their ſurplices, but that was not done.

They aſſembled in great numbers to Trinity college, having the univerſity croſs born before them, and in the Gatehouſe a form was ſet and covered, with cuſhions and carpet on the ground for the viſitors.

Where the vice-chancellor, having on a tiſſue cope, ſprinkled holy-water on them, and purpoſed to incenſe them, but they refuſed it there, which notwithſtanding afterward in the Queen's college, and elſewhere, they refuſed not.

Here Mr. John Stokes, common orator of the univerſity, made a Latin oration in the name of all the reſt: a copy whereof, now rendered into Engliſh here follows:

Mr. Stokes's *Oration to Queen* Mary's *Viſitors at Cambridge, January.* 11, 1557.

THIS univerſity, moſt reverend fathers, has been a long time ſollicitous about your coming, now greatly pleaſed freely beholds your honours; and as a teſtimony of her willingneſs, pours out herſelf and all her treaſures. Aſſembled here ſee all the Cambridge ſcholars, all orders preſent, who I aſſure your lordſhips upon my own knowledge, one and all congratulate your much wiſhed arrival. For we are all perſuaded, that the buſineſs of this day, through God's aſſiſtance, and your excellencies, will prove auſpicious to the common benefit of this univerſity; nor, in a matter ſo neceſſary to the common good, will your help be wanting.

And

And by many things I am confirmed in this opinion, but I ſhall mention only thoſe that ſo nearly relate to the buſineſs in hand, that they cannot poſſibly be omitted; and theſe truly in number are certain and finite, but in their virtue and power ſo immenſe, that no faculty of ſpeech is able to expreſs; becauſe, as I ſaid before, the joy this univerſity received from your coming was very great, I beſeech you, while briefly I relate the manner, to grant a favourable ear.

The moſt reverend father in Chriſt, Cardinal Poole, Legate, who had reſtored oppreſſed religion, ſupported the ruins of his country, brought back from exile our laws, he, I ſay, that Engliſh Poole, and our true Moſes, was the author of your viſitation, from whoſe execellent virtue many bleſſings have redounded to all parts of his country.

Yet there was a ſtricter and nearer cauſe than the bond of neceſſity, ſeeing we were part of that republick, which he had ſeparately taken the government on himſelf. For the year before he moſt kindly took on himſelf the government of this univerſity, which he managed with ſo much prudence, that he not only removed what might impede our ſtudies, but alſo added ſuch ornaments, as greatly increaſed the glory of our univerſity: theſe things confirmed our former hopes, and now brings ſo freſh to our minds, that we cannot chuſe but think all his kindneſs to be collected in this viſitation, from which we expect all thoſe things which the remarkable love of our great chancellor, who looked on our univerſity as his proper pupil, promiſed.

And I wiſh truly that he himſelf, was it not detrimental to the publick, could have been here at this time; that he with his rays might have illuminated his univerſity, involved in darkneſs and a profound night, with the glory of the true religion. But this our deſire is repugnant to the public good, and the intereſt of the moſt holy apoſtolic ſee: the legate therefore has appointed you his ſubſtitutes, whoſe perſons for worth, and whoſe minds for knowledge, he judged moſt fit for this employment: I can therefore aſſure you truly, we all eſteem you, as men whoſe religion we love, virtue we honour, and on whoſe good will, belief and counſel for the public good we depend on.

For after by the ſingular and extraordinary virtue of the legate, Cardinal Pool, from the darkneſs and night of former times, we began to review the light in public, together with a clearer ſight of our former unhappineſs, to the greatneſs of which our ignorance of it contributed not a little; for, in my opinion, we ought to be accounted ſomuch the more miſerable, who labouring under ſo damnable an hereſy, yet ſaw not the danger we were in.

This was the diſeaſe of our univerſity which however ſharp-ſighted other ways, in this caſe of religion, the head of the church being hurt, (whence ſprings all the power of judging) became ſtupid, lethargick, and as it were without any ſenſe; till about three years ago, the divine compaſſion of

of the most holy father Julius, to us English almost dead, again incorporated us in his most holy church, again restored health to our bodies, and peace to our minds.

How easy was it then for Britannia to see how near she had approached the jaws of Hell, this university especially plainly discerned, how one nation was miserably afflicted with this desolation and schism of religion.

There is no need here to repeat the dissolution of the monasteries, the robbing the church, the staying the priests, the murdering the nobles, the riots and tumults of the people, the impoverishing the whole kingdom, these things might possibly happened and we blameless, but here the judgment was so remarkable, that we must needs look on it as a punishment for our sins and wickednesses.

But granting these things only the sport of chance, we suffered worse in our religion and conscience. Piety towards God was vanished, the chastity of the priests was turned into open prostitution, the soul lay as it were asleep, no religious ceremonies to awaken it; the mind by the variety of opinions so distracted, so differing from itself, that it embraced an infinity of errors, among which there were two principal fountains, of the streams of which this university drinking a little too much, we confess became intoxicated.

The first owed its birth from the unnatural separation from the unity of the Catholic church, not unlike what of old Menenius Agrippa mentions of the members and the belly.

The second arose from Wickliffe's mud and mire, which made the celebration of the sacrament of the altar an abomination.

For the truth of which let any man consult himself: for we imitating philosophers, and those none of the best, have borrowed a light to the scriptures from the school of the Epicureans. For whereas Christ (in the truth of whose words is placed the foundation of our faith) affirms every where, distinctly, and without exception, the true and perpetual presence of his body, yet we are truly to interpret these expressions as if they were imperfect, or had another meaning, unless we had recourse to the atomes of Epicurus, and that the true body and blood of Christ was only as it were the body and blood.

But this is not a time to make particular mention of all the things that have past, no, I rather wish they could be eternally forgot, that no remembrance of them might be handed down to our posterity. Yet I thought myself obliged to say something in the general, as a confession of our past errors: still remembering, that as this university received her wounds from her former visitors, so from you here present she may be restored to her former health. And here she promises both for herself and hers, by her unwearied preaching of repentance, to bring back to the true religion all her erring children, and make them so diligent in the present, as to redeem the time past. For they that are first in this race, contend so earnestly, as makes it plainly appear they voluntarily entered

it; and they that came in laſt, and as it were at the eleventh hour, ſhew ſuch zeal for their religion, as well witneſſes they left it raſhly, and not on mature judgment and deliberation; our univerſity thus reſtored, the deſired religion ſeems more to pleaſe, than had her precepts been conſtantly obeyed, and her glory never obſcured.

Wherefore this univerſity ſuppliant and proſtrate, firſt begs pardon and peace of the eternal God, and that he will preſerve the right faith of her and hers, and cauſe this univerſity once more to flouriſh and abound. Then for her and hers, all and ſingular ſhe offers this petition to your highneſſes, that the induſtry of her preſent ſons may make amends for the errors and offences of her former. For the reſt ſhe ſubmits wholly to the ſentence your great wiſdom and ſingular love ſhall pronounce, hoping your juſtice will find her cauſe good, or your mercy make it ſo: Either will be an equal benefit, whether you judge this univerſity innocent from the juſtice of her cauſe, or whether you make her ſo by the abundance of your love.

Now to return you thanks, we again promiſe you, the greateſt regard to things ſacred, unwearied deligence in ſearching the ſcriptures and fathers, a perpetual love of the true religion, and an eternal remembrance of your favours.

When he made an end of ſpeaking, the biſhop of Cheſter anſwered thereunto:

That they took in right good part, that the mother univerſity had made ſo open a declaration of her good will towards them; for which he gave moſt hearty thanks, deſiring her to perform in deed, the things that ſhe had ſo largely promiſed of herſelf in words.

As concerning their good wills, there was no cauſe to miſtruſt, for their coming thither was not to deal roughly with ſuch as were willing to amend, but both the cardinal himſelf, and they alſo, were fully minded to ſhew favour, deviſing how to bring all things to peace and tranquility, deſiring nothing more earneſtly, than that they which have erred and gone aſtray, ſhould return into the right path.

The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wiſhed to have been preſent, wiſhed the ſame thing alſo, deſiring nothing ſo much as with his own hands to ſuſtain and hold up, now ready to fall, or rather to raiſe up already fallen to the ground, the univerſity of his ward; for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian, whom it greatly grieved, that the infections of the time paſt had ſpread abroad ſo grievous diſeaſes, that even the univerſity itſelf was touched with the contagious air thereof.

He would more gladly have come hither to viſit and ſalute it, than to correct it, if the weighty affairs of the realm would have permitted: but now ſeeing he could not ſo do, he had appointed this commiſſion, in which he had aſſigned them to be his deputies, which (becauſe they knew him to regard the univerſity) ſhould extend the more favour to it, and (becauſe they themſelves had been there brought up) would the more earneſtly embrace it.

The chief matter that they came for,

for, tended to this end, that ſuch as had erred ſhould confeſs their faults, and return into the right way. For they were in good forwardneſs of returning, that acknowledged themſelves to have offended; and therefore it was wiſely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuſe the faults of the univerſity, nor of other men, but confeſs and acknowledge the crime, as that there were many things had need to be corrected.

The cauſe why they were ſent thither, was to raiſe up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour ſuch as were ſorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they ſhould not be able to do ſo much with ſome men as they would, yet notwithſtanding, according to their duty, they would ſhew themſelves ſo diligent for their part, as that no defect might be found in them: for it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a forward wilfulneſs, wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved, ſo they coveted to remedy the miſchief; againſt ſuch, if any thing ſhould ſeem hereafter to be ſtreightly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deſerts, and not to their deſire.

Neither ought ſuch as are whole and ſound, to be moved at the chaſtiſement of others, forſomuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now branded the univerſity, but alſo to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts they more inclined unto mercy than rigour.

Howbeit, conſidering that ſo great diſeaſes could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of neceſſity to uſe ſtronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted (for they wiſhed that all ſhould amend and be led by wholeſome counſel) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and inſtead of them frequent again the ancient cuſtoms of themſelves, and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleneſs at their hands, in all this their buſineſs of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requeſting no more of the univerſity but to do as became them; which being performed, he promiſed that their benevolence, neither in any publick nor private perſon's caſe, ſhould in any wiſe be wanting.

Theſe things being finiſhed, they were brought in proceſſion to the King's college, by all the graduates of the univerſity, where was ſung a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt with great ſolemnity, nothing being wanting in that behalf that might make to the ſetting forth of the ſame.

In this place it was marked, that Nicholas Ormanent, commonly ſirnamed Datary (who albeit he was inferior in eſtate unto Cheſter being a biſhop, yet was ſuperior to them all in authority) while the maſs was celebrating, ſometimes ſtanding, anon ſitting, and afterwards kneeling on his knees,

knees, obſerved certain ceremonies, which afterwards were required to be obſerved of all others, as in proceſs hereof was to be ſeen.

From thence they all attended upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted. In which place, foraſmuch as it was ſuſpended, although no maſs might be ſung, yet there was a ſermon publickly preached by Mr. Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching againſt hereſies and hereticks, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they immediately proceeded to the viſitation: where firſt Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the miſſion to the biſhop of Cheſter with a few words in Latin; which being accepted, and by Maſter Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his ſeal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the univerſity and colleges, with the officers and all the maſters of houſes; among whom was alſo Robert Braſſey, maſter of the King's college, a worthy old man, both for his wiſdom and his hoary hairs: Who hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, ſaid, He was there preſent as all the others were; nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as the reformation of his houſe was wholly reſerved to the diſcretion of the biſhop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but alſo by grant of confirmation from the biſhop of Rome himſelf, under a penalty if he ſhould ſuffer any ſtrangers to intermeddle, he openly proteſted, in diſcharge of his duty, that unleſs their commiſſion gave them authority and juriſdiction over the college, either by expreſs words, or manifeſt ſenſe, he utterly exempted himſelf from being preſent.

This his exception they all took in great diſpleaſure; alledging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whoſe juriſdiction no place nor perſons was exempted; wherefore he had done evil to call into queſtion their authority, ſo well known to all men.

The biſhop of Cheſter ſeemed to be more moved with the matter than all the others; and that was becauſe Braſſey had a little before obtained the reſpect of that room, even utterly againſt his will, he doing the worſt he could againſt him.

After this formal ſolemnity, the commiſſion being read, and the citation exhibited, all the maſters of houſes being openly cited, every man for a while departed home to his own houſe, with command to be at the common ſchools of the ſaid univerſity, at one of the clock the ſame day.

When the degrees of the univerſity, commonly called regents and non-regents, were aſſembled thither, they ſpent the reſt of the day in reading over the charters granted to the univerſity by kings and princes, in ſearching out of bulls and pardons from the Pope, and in peruſing of other monuments pertaining to the univerſity.

The next day, being the 12th of January, they reſorted to the King's-college to make inquiſition, either becauſe the ſame was chief, or elſe becauſe

cauſe that houſe eſpecially before all others, had been accounted, time out of mind, never to be without an heretick (as they termed them) or more; and at that preſent time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themſelves from thence, yet they judged there were ſome ſtill remaining.

The order and manner in which they would be received by every college, when they ſhould come to make inquiſition, they themſelves appointed to be as follows.

They commanded the maſter of every houſe, together with the reſidue, as well fellows as ſcholars, apparelled in prieſt-like garments (which they call habits) to meet them at the farthermoſt gate of their houſe towards the town. The maſter himſelf to be dreſſed in like apparel as the prieſt when he dreſſeth himſelf to celebrate maſs, ſaying that he ſhould put on uppermoſt his habit, as the reſt did.

The order of their proceſſion they appointed to be in this manner: The maſter of the houſe to go foremoſt; next unto him every man in his order, as he was of degree, ſeniority, or of years. Before the maſter ſhould be carried a croſs and holy water to ſprinkle the commiſſioners withal, and then after that the ſaid commiſſioners to be cenſed. And ſo after this meeting, and mumbling a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and ſolemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the ſtate of man. Others (foraſmuch as at that time they not only pretended the juriſdiction of the cardinal, but alſo repreſented the power and authority of the biſhop of Rome himſelf, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) ſaid: It was far leſs than of duty appertained to his holineſs, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them, but to his holineſs.

Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet: and being entered the King's-college gate, where they looked for the maſter and fellows of the houſe, ſeeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded to the church door, where they ſtayed. There perceiving how the maſter and the reſt of the houſe were dreſſing themſelves as faſt as they could, in ſuch order as was appointed before, they came in ſuddenly upon them, before they had ſet a foot out of their places.

The maſter firſt excuſed himſelf, that he was ready no ſooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readineſs. He ſaid he was very glad of their coming, promiſing firſt in his own name, and after in the name of all the reſt, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, which he doubted not but ſhould be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But, like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the ſame exception he made to them now: which he beſought them not to be offended withal. For ſeeing he did it only for the diſcharge of his duty, he had juſter cauſe to be excuſed.

He had ſcarcely yet finiſhed his apology, when the biſhop of Cheſter with a frowning look, and angry counte-

nance, interrupted him; and said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared, that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such vain pretences; for so were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when for the pain and grief they are not able to abide a strong medicine: as though any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the Pope's authority. As for the Pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alledged against him: therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself, and his, to such things as then were doing.

After this they went to mass, which finished, with great solemnity; first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their God, and searched whether all were well about them, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out to them.

When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book, to answer to all such interrogatories as should be propounded unto them (as far as they knew) they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it again all right and reason to swear against themselves: For it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is, that a man should be constrained perforce to accuse himself.

Nevertheless these persons also, after such altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three days lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Martin Bucer and Phagius, was delayed longer than needed; for they expected to have had much wrangling and dissention about the matter.

Now forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advice, the vice-chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer: after much debate, they agreed all together in this determination.

That forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among

mong them, but alſo had himſelf been a ſectary and famous heretick, erring from the Catholic church, and giving others occaſion to fall from the ſame likewiſe; a ſupplication ſhould be made to the lords commiſſioners, in the name of the whole univerſity, that his dead carcaſe might forthwith be digged up (for it was needful to be done) to the intent that inquiſition might be made as touching his doctrine, which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholſome, the law might proceed againſt him: For it was againſt the rule of the holy canons, that his body ſhould be buried in Chriſtian burial. Yea, and beſides that it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of mens ſouls, and the offence of the faithful, eſpecially in ſo difficult and contagious a time as that was.

Wherefore it was not to be ſuffered, that they which utterly diſſented from all other men in the manner of their living, laws, and cuſtoms, ſhould have any part with them in the honour of burial: and therefore the glory of God, firſt and before all things, ought to be defended, the infamy (which through this thing riſeth on them) with all ſpeed put away, no room at all left unto thoſe perſons to reſt in, who even in the ſame places where they lay, were injurious and noiſome to the very element; but the place ought to be purged, and all things ſo ordered as might be to the ſatisfying the conſciences of the weak. In executing whereof ſo notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter ſhould be ſo bold to attempt the like.

They gave the ſame verdict by common conſent againſt Phagius alſo.

Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne the vice-chancellor, to be the common cenſor for the univerſity.

He was a man fitteſt for the purpoſe, both for the office that he bare, and alſo becauſe that by the teſtimony of Mr. Chriſtopherſon, he was judged to be the moſt Catholic of all others.

This ſupplication, confirmed by the conſent of all the degrees of the univerſity, and ſigned with their common ſeal, the next day, which was the 13th day of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commiſſioners.

Here may be obſerved, what a ſeat of conveyance this was, to ſuborn the univerſity under a colourable pretence, to deſire this thing of them by way of petition.

But this gloſs was ſoon found out; for the commiſſioners had given the vice-chancellor inſtructions in writing before; but now they thought by this to remove the envy of this act from themſelves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came to the commiſſioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about ſeven of the clock in the morning.

He had ſcarce declared the cauſe of his coming, before he informed them that he had not only obtained his ſuit, but alſo at the very ſame time received ſentence of condemnation, for taking

up

up Bucer and Phagius, fairly copied out by Ormanet himself.

This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university; whereupon a solemn convocation, called Congregatio Regentium & non Regentium, for the same purpose was appointed to be held at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this:

Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be taken up again, &c.

Immediately after this grace was granted the sentence of condemnation being drawn, was openly read, and another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal; which request was very easily obtained.

After the death of king Edward, when the realm was governed by Queen Mary, all such persons were driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, and such a sort of men were put in their room, that all places now filled with unlearned chaplains; whom nothing afforded greater pleasure, than to cause all men to speak reproachfully of Bucer.

There were divers yet left among them to speak against their demands. But they (because as it commonly comes to pass, that they might overcome right) could nothing avail. For this is a common custom in all such matters and ordinances, that what the greater number decreeth, is published in the name of all: and that which the better part disalloweth, seem as though no man at all disallowed it.

The next day being the 14th of January, all the visitors (Mr. Christopherson only excepted) came to the King's-college: where first going into the church, and there making their prayers, they proceeded into the stalls, there sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their order, and singing a solemn respond in honour of the visitors.

The respond done, the provost made them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester answered in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it.

Then went they to mass, which ended, the Catholic visitors approached to the altar, took down the sacrament, and searched the Pyx, but first the two bishops censed the sacrament.

Then they went to the vestry, and opened the chalices, viewed all the utensils: and so returning into the provost's chamber, divided themselves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company.

The same day Dr. Bacon master of Gonvil-hall, invited the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvey, Swineborn, Maptide, with others, home to dinner.

These immediately after dinner caused the common seal of the university to be put to the aforesaid instrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the univer-

univerſity; and afterwards they carried the ſame to the commiſſioners to their lodging.

When they had received and carefully peruſed the ſame it pleaſed them not in all points, and therefore they raiſed out ſome things, ſome they interlined, others they changed; ſo that in fine, they were fain to take the pains to ingroſs it again.

To the ſigning whereof a congregation was immediately called of the graduates of the univerſity againſt the next day, which being read over, a new grace again was aſked and granted for ſetting the ſeal. The graduates were then diſmiſſed, with command to reſort forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commiſſioners repaired.

When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvey preſented to them before all the company, a new commiſſion to make inqueſt upon hereſy then newly ſent from the cardinal, which was immediately read by Ormanet's clerk. This done, Dr. Perne, who was Cenſor for the univerſity, exhibited to the commiſſioners in the name of the univerſity, the ſentence of the aforeſaid condemnation.

This condemnation being openly read, Dr. Perne deſired to ſend out proceſs to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or any other that would take upon them to plead their cauſe, and to ſtand to the order of the court againſt the next Monday: to the intent that when they had appeared, the court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commiſſioners condeſcended to his requeſt, and the next day proceſs was iſſued to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally their common notary, having firſt read it over before certain witneſſes appointed for the ſame purpoſe, cauſed it to be fixed up in convenient places, viz. upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common ſchools, and the croſs in the market-place of the ſame town. In this was ſpecified, that whoſoever would maintain, ſhould at the eighteenth day of the month ſtand forth before the lords commiſſioners in St. Mary's church, which was the appointed place of judgment, and there every man ſhould be ſufficiently heard.

Shortly after the matter drew toward judgment; therefore the day before the limited time, which was the 17th of January, the vice chancellor called to Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgwick, and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. Theſe men laid their heads together how they might bear witneſs againſt Bucer and Phagius, to convince them of hereſy; for ſeeing the matter was brought into open court, and becauſe it might ſo come to paſs that ſome patrons of their cauſe would come out, they thought it needful to have witneſſes to depoſe of their doctrine.

The eighteenth day the vice chancellor going to the inquiſitors ſitting at the King's college, put them in remembrance, that that was the day in which by their proceſs ſent forth the 16th, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, ſuch as would take upon them to defend Bucer and

Phagius by the law. They ſoon conſented, and when the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited to them the proceſs of the citation which he had received of them to publiſh a little before, ſaying, that he had diligently executed whatſoever the contents of the ſame required. After that they had taken their places, and no man offering to anſwer for the offenders, the judges called aſide Dr. Young, Sedgwick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above-mentioned. Alſo Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnſon, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a ſingular commendation of him, and ſent it to Sir John Cheek, knight. Theſe men taking firſt their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witneſs againſt the hereſies and doctrines of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-ſecond day of the ſame month was limitted to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watſon abode at home to take the depoſition. The biſhop of Cheſter, and Dr. Cole, this day viſited Katherine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of notice.

As Ormanet was ſitting at Trinity-college, John Dale, one of the Queen's college, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the biſhop of Rome's God of bread is wont to be incloſed. Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the ſame was a linen clout that the Pope had conſecrated with his own hands, which he promiſed to beſtow upon them for a gift; but Dale miſunderſtanding Ormanet, inſtead of the pix brought a chalice and a ſinging cake, called the hoſt, which he had wrapped up and put in his boſom.

When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he ſent him for; he anſwered, he had. Then give it me, ſaid he. Dale pulled out the chalice, and the ſinging-cake; when Ormanet ſaw that he ſtepped ſomewhat back, as it had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by thoſe things? ſaying, he deſired him to bring none of that trumpery, and that he was unworthy to enjoy ſo high a benefit: yet notwithſtanding as he had promiſed before to give it them, he would perform his promiſe; whereupon with great reverence and ceremony he pulled out the linen cloth and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them both for the holineſs of the thing, and alſo for the author of it, to keep it among them with ſuch due reverence as belonged to ſo holy a relick.

About the ſame time the commiſſioners had commanded the maſters of the colleges, that every man ſhould ſet down in writing what books he had, with the authors names. And to the intent that every man ſhould execute it without deceit, they took an oath. This command ſome executed exactly and diligently; others, as they deemed it unjuſt, executed it negligently.

When

When the day of judgment came, neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, yet the courteous commiſſioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheleſs for their contumacy in abſenting themſelves, they might have done, conſidering how that day was peremptorily fixed upon. But theſe men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather ſhew ſome favour, than to do the uttermoſt they might by law. Whereupon Vincent publiſhed the ſecond proceſs, and ſet it up in the ſame places: the meaning thereof varied not much from the firſt, but that it put off the judgment day unto the 26th of the ſame month; upon which day the vice-chancellor was ſent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publiſhing the ſentence. But becauſe there ſhould want no ſolemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgeſſes, which the vice-chancellor did ſpeed with all readineſs.

This was the 26th of January, which being now arrived, firſt all degrees of the mother univerſity were aſſembled; and to fill up this pageant, thither came alſo the mayor and his townſmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there ſhould be determined upon theſe men. After long attendance, the commiſſioner came forth, and went up to a ſcaffold that was ſomewhat higher than the reſidue prepared for the ſame purpoſe. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne the vice-chancellor, with great gravity, reached to them the proceſs that was lately publiſhed to cite them in theſe words; I bring forth again to you, right reverend father, and commiſſioners of the moſt reverend my lord cardinal Poole, this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the ſame; omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter.

When he had thus finiſhed his tale, the biſhop of Cheſter, after he had viewed the people a little, began in the following manner.

The Oration of Dr. Scot Biſhop of Cheſter, before the Condemnation of Bucer and Phagius.

YE ſee how ſore the univerſity preſſeth upon us, how earneſt interceſſion it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which theſe certain years paſt have ſpread moſt pernicious doctrine among you, to be hereticks, as they be indeed; but alſo that we will command their dead carcaſſes, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up; and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be caſt into the fire, or whatſoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the univerſity deal not ſlightly nor ſlackly with us in this caſe, but do ſo preſs upon us, and follow the ſuit ſo earneſtly, that they ſcarce give us any reſpite of delay. And I aſſure you, albeit this caſe of itſelf be ſuch, as that even the unworthineſs of thoſe perſons, though they were

were no further cauſe, ought to induce us to the doing thereof, much the rather moved with theſe ſo wholeſome petitions, it is meet and convenient we ſhould grant it. For howſoever we of ourſelves are inclined to mercy in our hearts (than which we proteſt there is nothing under the ſun to us more dear and acceptable) yet notwithſtanding the very law riſeth up to revenge: ſo that the common ſalvation of you all, which the law provideth for, muſt be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any ſuch negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being ſcarce yet eſcaped out of the ſhipwreck of our former calamity, ſhould now ſuffer this unexpiable miſchief to diſquiet any longer the conſciences of the weak.

Moreover, it is but reaſon that we ſhould do ſomewhat at ſo earneſt intreaty and ſuit of the univerſity. I need not to ſpeak much of ourſelves. For if we had been deſirous to enterprize this matter, it had been lawful after the firſt citation, to have proceeded to judgment: but becauſe we were willing that their defenders ſhould be heard, and that the matter ſhould be denounced and tried by law, we ſent out the ſecond proceſs.

If we had deſired revenge, we might have ſhewed cruelty upon them that are alive; of which (alas the more the pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirſted for blood, it was not ſo to be ſought in withered carcaſſes and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the intreaty of the univerſity, partly moved with the unworthineſs of the caſe itſelf, but eſpecially for the care and regard we have of your health and ſalvation, which we covet by all means to preſerve.

For you yourſelves are the cauſe of this buſineſs; you gave occaſion of this confeſſion, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain as a memorial to them that ſhall come after, as in that which we may learn not only to ſhake off the filth which we have taken of thoſe perſons, but alſo to beware hereafter that ye fall no more ſo ſhameful as ye have done. But I truſt, God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourſelves from it.

As concerning the parties themſelves whoſe cauſe now hangeth in law, they bear about the name of the goſpel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing elſe than thievery and deceit. And ſo much the more wicked were they, in that they ſought to cover ſo ſhameful acts, with the cloak of ſo fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that God will puniſh this deſpite, of itſelf wicked, to you pernicious, but the authors thereof ſhameful and abominable.

But if God, as he is ſlow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithſtanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, ſhould permit ſo execrable crimes to eſcape unpuniſhed, we ſhould not live in quiet one hour.

When he had thus ſpoken, he recited the ſentence out of a ſcroll, and condemned

condemned Bucer and Phagius of hereſy; the form and tenor of which ſentence, now rendered into Engliſh, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation againſt Martin Bucer and Phagius.

WE *Cutbert, by the grace of God and the apoſtolic ſee, biſhop of Cheſter, Nicholas Ormanet archbiſhop of Verona, within the dioceſe underwritten, auditor of the reverend lord cardinal and legate; Thomas Watſon dean of Durham; and Henry Cole, provoſt of Eton college; viſitors to the univerſity and town of Cambridge, within the dioceſe of Ely, alſo to all perſons dwelling in the ſaid town and places adjacent, for certain motions, cauſes and reaſons thereunto moving, we are to enquire, and in what manner we think fit to proceed againſt thoſe, who have run into vile hereſies, and condemn their memory; we are impowered by letter from the moſt illuſtrious and reverend father in Chriſt, Riginald Pool, cardinal and prieſt of the moſt holy Roman church, legate de Latere from our moſt holy lord the Pope, and the apoſtolic ſee, to the moſt ſerene Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, and to the whole kingdom, to depute commiſſioners of delegates, ſufficiently inſtructed in the knowledge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and having the fear of God before their eyes, to conſtitute a court, and by this our definitive ſentence, which we give according to the opinion of the moſt learned divines and lawyers, herein contained, to condemn thoſe ſons of iniquity, Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, by nation Germans, but both of old living and dying in this own, whom we here declare, pronounce, judge and condemn as notorious hereticks, whilſt they lived; for truly Martin Bucer contrary to the rules and precepts of the holy fathers, as alſo to the traditions of the apoſtolick Roman church and holy councils, and of the Chriſtian religion, thoſe rites and proceſſions (which are every year on the day of the ſupper of our Lord celebrated and read by the Roman prieſts, in which among others the Wickliffians and Lutherans, and all other hereticks are condemned and anathematized) of the ſacraments having continued in the church hitherto, he eſpecially taught and preached about the number of them, contrary to what our holy mother the church had preached and obſerved: and he denied and openly condemned the authority of the holy apoſtolic ſee, and the ſupremacy of our great high-prieſt, and he eſpecially held this article.*

"*That the church may err in faith and worſhip.*"

This he particularly defended in the public aſſemblies, and there maintained and determined it to be true, and many others as well by John Wickliffe, Martin Luther, and other chief heretics invented and condemned by the church, eſpecially that,

"*That all things were governed by fate and an abſolute neceſſity.*"

As by himſelf firſt broached, believing and following falſe and heretical principles, and moreover alſo writing

books, and causing them to be printed, and publishing them being printed, and in reading these writings publickly, and defending them in publick disputations, as also by an obstinate living and dying in this manner, not only as a notorous heretick, but as a founder of heresy.

Also Paul Phagius, who among other things which savour of heresy, scattered up and down in his writings, printed and commonly read, not only approves, but gives the highest encomiums to the impious memory of John Oecolampade, the aforesaid Martin Bucer, Philip Melancthon, John Brent and their doctrines; which manifestly shews, he not only favoured hereticks, but assented, believed and approved their false principles, and endeavoured to induce others to believe and approve the same: thus he lived a common, notorious heretick, and died impenitent. We therefore pronounce the said Martin Bucer and Paul Phagius excommunicated and anathematized, as well by the common law, as by letters process, and that their memory be condemned; we also condemn their bodies and bones (which in that most wicked time of schism, and other heresies flourishing in this kingdom, were rashly buried in holy ground) to be dug up, and cast far from the church, that they may be known from the bodies and bones of the faithful according to the holy canons, and we command that they and their writings, if any be there found, be publickly burnt; and we interdict all persons whatsoever of this university, town or places adjacent, who shall read or conceal their heretical books, as well by the common law, as by our letters of process.

The sentence thus read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged our of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death.

The Effect of Dr. Perne's *Sermon against* Martin Bucer.

Besides this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon tending to the same effect, to the disgrace of Mr. Bucer, taking for his text the place of the 133d psalm, *Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, &c.*

Beginning with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual consent of minds, he alledged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived from the head, which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

After he had made a long protestation hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he shamefully railed, saying, that his doctrine gave occasion of division in the common-wealth, and that there was not so grievous a mischief, which by his means had not been brought into the realm.

Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; notwithstanding

ng ſaid he, he knew it more perfectly himſelf than any, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himſelf:

For at ſuch time as they had communication ſecretly among themſelves, Bucer (ſaid he) would oftentimes wiſh he might be called by ſome other name, than by the name he had; for this purpoſe, as though knowing himſelf guilty of ſo grievous a crime, he might by this means eſcape unknown unto the world.

Among other things, he told how Bucer believed (which thing he ſhould confeſs to himſelf) that God was the author, not only of good, but alſo of evil; which doctrine he held to be ſincere; howbeit, for offending divers mens conſciences, he durſt not put it forth.

Many other things he patched together of like purport, as of the ſupremacy of the biſhop of Rome, of the marriage of prieſts, of divorcements and ſhameful uſury, as tho' he had deemed the ſame lawful to be uſed among Chriſtian people, with divers others of the like ſort.

In all his allegations, conſidering how ſcandalouſly, without all ſhame, he belied Bucer (as his writings evidently declare) he did not ſo much hurt his name, as gain himſelf diſgrace, by forging ſhameful lies upon ſo worthy a man.

But what needeth witneſs to prove him a liar? his own conſcience ſhall make as much againſt him, as a number of men.

It was reported for a truth, and teſtified by his own familiar friends, that the ſaid Dr. Perne himſelf, either immediately after his ſermon or elſe ſomewhat before, ſtriking himſelf on the breaſt, wiſhed in his own houſe, with all his heart, that God would grant his ſoul might even then preſently depart and remain with Bucer's. For he knew well enough that his life was ſuch, that if any man's ſoul was worthy of heaven, he thought his eſpecially to be moſt worthy.

While he was thus talking to the people, the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verſes, in which the young men blazed Bucer's name moſt reproachfully.

Theſe things being diſpatched, Dr. Perne (as tho' he had ſucceeded marvelouſly well) was invited to dinner to Trinity-college by the commiſſioners.

After table was taken up, they cauſed the ſentence of condemnation to be copied out with all ſpeed: which being ſigned with the biſhop of Cheſter's ſeal, the next day was ſent to London, with divers of thoſe verſes and ſlanderous libels.

Beſides this, they ſent their own letters, wherein they both acquainted the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and alſo deſired his grace, that he would cauſe to be ſent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town, the commandment called a writ, for the burning of heretics: for unleſs he had the queen's warrant to ſave him harmleſs, he would not have to do in the matter; and that which remained to be done in that caſe, could not be diſpatched till that warrant came.

While

While this purſuivant went on his journey, they ordered to be brought to them the books that they commanded before to be ſearched out; for they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the ſame time Dr. Watſon taking occaſion upon the day, becauſe it was a high feaſt, in which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the bleſſed virgin, made a ſermon to the people upon that pſalm, *We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midſt of thy temple, &c.* In which ſermon he ſpake reproachfully of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

He ſaid, that theſe men, and all hereticks of the ſame opinion (which for the moſt part budded out of Germany) among other things which they had perniciouſly put in mens heads, taught to caſt away all ceremonies; whereas notwithſtanding the apoſtle himſelf commanded all things to be done in due order.

And upon that deed of the bleſſed Virgin and Joſeph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifeſtly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, obſerved theſe rites and ceremonies for catholick men to teach; for he ſaid, that they came to the temple the ſame time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of proceſſion (as they term it) in good order with much reverence and devotion, and yet we are not aſhamed to laugh and mock at theſe things with the hereticks and ſchiſmaticks.

As he was ſpeaking of Chriſt, Mary and Joſeph, one of them that heard him, turning himſelf to him that ſtood next him, and if it be true, ſaid he, that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might aſk him a queſtion) bare the croſs before them? for that might not be miſſing in ſuch ſolemn ceremonies. Not only this man jeſted at the preacher's folly, but divers others alſo laughed at his manifeſt unſhamefacedneſs, in preaching theſe ſo vain and fooliſh ſuperſtitions.

While he was thus addreſſing his audience, John Chriſtopherſon elected biſhop of Chicheſter, being ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſs, fell down in a ſudden ſwoon among the preſs.

Some thought it came upon this occaſion, becauſe he had been greatly accuſed before the commiſſioners for miſpending the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him, by reaſon Ormanet had cancelled before his face a leaſe of his, by which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, becauſe the covenants ſeemed unreaſonable.

By this time the purſuivant was returned again, who (as we ſaid before) was ſent to London with the commiſſioners letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of theſe men.

Upon receipt whereof, they appointed the ſixth day of February for the accompliſhment of the matter; for it had been in hand a great while already.

When the day was come, the commiſſioners

miſſioners ſent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what caſe things ſtood, whether all things were in a readineſs for the accompliſhment of this buſineſs. Underſtanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand

The vice-chancellor therefore taking with him Marſhal the common notary, went firſt to St. Michael's church were Phagius was buried. Then he called Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, of the ſame pariſh, and bound them with an oath to dig up the bones of Phagius, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marſhal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Haſell the two ſerjeants, and of John Caper, warden of the ſame church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith the mayor of the town, who ſhould be their executioner (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in caſes of blood) commanded certain of his towns-men to wait upon him, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon mens ſhoulders (for they were incloſed in cheſts, Bucer in the ſame that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one) they were carried into the midſt of the market-place, with a great train of people following them.

When they came thither, the cheſts were ſet up on end with the dead bodies in them, faſtened on both ſides with ſtakes, and bound to the poſt with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to them, as ſoon as it began to flame a great many books that were condemned with them were caſt into the ſame.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks (for it was market-day) who ſeeing men borne to execution, and learning by enquiry that they were dead before, partly deteſted and abhorred the extream cruelty of the commiſſioners, towards the rotten carcaſes, and partly laughed at their folly in making ſuch preparatives, For what needeth any weapon, ſaid they? As though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them ſome harm. Or to what purpoſe ſerveth that chain wherewith they are tied, ſince they might be burnt looſe without peril; for it was not to be feared that they would run away?

While they were roaſting in the fire, Dr. Watſon went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there railed againſt their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, ſaying, that it was the ground of all miſchief that had happened of a long time in the commonwealth. For behold (ſaid he) as well the proſperity as the adverſity of theſe years that enſued, and ye ſhall find that all things have happened unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily, all things have happened fortunately to them that have eſchewed it. What robbing (ſaid he) have we ſeen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with ſects; the common treaſure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole publick weal) and the goods of the realm

ſhamefully ſpent in waſte for the maintenance of a few peoples luſts, all good order broken, all diſcipline caſt aſide, holydays appointed to the ſolemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and what is more, the places themſelves beaten down, fleſh and other kind of prohibited ſuſtenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorſe of conſcience, the maſs railed upon, the prieſts had in deriſion, no honour done to the ſacraments of the church; all eſtates and degrees given to ſuch a licentious liberty, without check, that all things may ſeem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

And yet in the mean time the name of the goſpel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more different or more to the ſlander of God's word than the ſame. For what other thing taught they to remain in that moſt bleſſed and myſtical ſacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? and what elſe do the reſt of them teach unto this day? whereas Chriſt by expreſs words doth aſſure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and abſolute neceſſity of predeſtination? and yet they ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who ſhould ſay, it ſignified not what a man purpoſed of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe than the matter ſhould come to paſs. Which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil, bringing men through this perſuaſion into ſuch a careleſs ſecurity of the everlaſting ſtate, that, it made no matter either toward ſalvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. Theſe errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great obſtinacy.

Theſe and many other ſuch things are ſlanderouſly and falſly alledged againſt Bucer, whoſe doctrine (in ſuch ſort as he himſelf taught it) either he would not underſtand, or elſe he was determined to ſlander. Yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught no other things than the very ſame whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of king Edward the VIth. had willingly aſſented, by ſubſcribing thereto with their own hands: While he talked in this wiſe before the people, many of them that had written verſes before, now ſet up others, in which they vended their venemous malice againſt Bucer and Phagius. This was the laſt act of this farce, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among which was the reconciling two churches, of our Lady, and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

This was done the day following by the biſhop of Cheſter, with as much ceremonial ſolemnity as the law required. But that deified Cardinal, whom Bucer's carcaſe had chaſed from thence, was not yet turned thither again: neither was it lawful for him to come there any more, unleſs he was brought thither with great ſolemnity: during the time of his abſence, he was entertained

tained by the commiſſioners at Trinity college, and there continued as a ſojourner. For thither repaired all the graduates of the univerſity, the eighth of February, with gentleneſs and courteſy, to bring him again. Amongſt this number, the biſhop of Cheſter (worthy for his eſtate to come neareſt to him, becauſe he was a biſhop) took and carried him, clad in a long rocket, and a large tippet of ſarcanet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol alſo. Ormanet had given the ſame a little before to the univerſity, for that and ſuch like purpoſes.

When this idol returned home, he went not out the ſtraiteſt and neareſt way as other folks are wont to go, but fetched a compaſs about moſt part of the town, and roamed through ſo many of the ſtreets, that it was an hour or more ere he could find the way into the church again. I believe the ancient Romans obſerved a cuſtom not much unlike this in their proceſſions, when they made ſupplications at the ſhrines of all their gods. The order of which proceſſion was this: the maſters regents went before, ſinging with a loud voice, *Salve feſta dies*, &c. Next them followed the biſhop of Cheſter, about him when Ormanet and his fellow-commiſſioners, with the maſters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper lighted in his hand. After whom, a little ſpace off, followed other degrees of the univerſity. Laſtly came the mayor and his townſmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to ſuch as they met, that they ſhould bow themſelves humbly before the hoſt, if any refuſed ſo to do, they threatened to ſend them forthwith to the Tolbooth. Their God being led with this pomp, and pacified with the great ſacrificed hoſts of Bucer and Phagius, at length ſettled himſelf again in his accuſtomed room.

Dr. Scot biſhop of Cheſter prayed earneſtly, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himſelf, and to all that were preſent, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeaſed, and all other things ſet in good order) all men ſhould make themſelves conformable to peace and quietneſs, in matters pertaining to religion.

After this they beſtowed a few days in puniſhing and fining ſuch as they thought had deſerved it. Some they ſuſpended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other.

Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, leſt they ſhould infect the tender youth (being pliable to take what opinions ſoever ſhould be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and hereſy; others, they chaſtiſed wrongfully without any deſert, and many they puniſhed, contrary to all right and reaſon.

Laſt of all they ſet forth certain ſtatutes, by which they would have the univerſity hereafter ordered: wherein they enacted many things, as concerning the election of the univerſity, of keeping and adminiſtring the goods of the univerſity, and of many other things. But eſpecially they handled the matter very circumſpectly for religion; concerning which they were ſo ſcrupulous, that they repleniſhed all things

things either with open blaſphemy or with ridiculous ſuperſtition; for they preſcribed at how many maſſes every man ſhould be day by day, and how many Pater Noſters and Ave's every man ſhould ſay when he ſhould enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what ſort he ſhould bow himſelf to the altar, and how to the maſter of the houſe, what he ſhould do there, and how long he ſhould tarry, how many, and what prayers he ſhould ſay, what, and how he ſhould ſing, what meditations others ſhould uſe while the prieſt is in his Memento, mumbling ſecretly to himſelf, what time of the maſs a man ſhould ſtand, and when he ſhould ſit down, when he ſhould make courteſy, when excluſively, when incluſively, and many other ſuperſtitious fopperies they decreed, as were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover theſe maſters of good order, for faſhion ſake, ordained that every man ſhould put on a ſurplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wiſe to wipe their noſes thereon.

Theſe things thus regulated, when the commiſſioners were ready to go their ways, the univerſity for ſo great benefits (which ſhe ſhould not ſuffer to fall out of remembrance many years after) coveting to ſhew ſome token of courteſy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorſhip; for all the reſt, ſaving Chriſtopherſon, who now, by reaſon he was elected biſhop, preventing that degree, had received that order before. Thus at length were ſent away theſe peace-makers, that came to pacify ſtrifes and quarrels, who through provoking every man to accuſe one another, left ſuch animoſities in mens hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be united together again.

The commiſſioners, before they departed from the univerſity, commanded, that the maſters of every houſe ſhould copy their ſtatutes, which beſides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every houſe particularly.

Swinborn maſter of Clare-hall being demanded whether he would have thoſe things ingroſſed in parchment or in paper, anſwered, that it was no matter in what they were written; for the paper, or ſlighter thing that were of leſs continuance than paper, would ſerve the turn well enough: becauſe, a ſlenderer thing than that would laſt a great deal longer than thoſe decrees ſhould ſtand in force. Nor was he deceived in his conjecture: for within two years after, God beholding us with mercy, called queen Mary out of this life the 17th of November 1558, after whom her ſiſter Elizabeth ſucceding to the throne of this kingdom, revived the true religion. Whereupon, as the church of Chriſt began by little and little to flouriſh, ſo the memory of Bucer and Phagius (although their bones were burnt by cardinal Poole) was reſtored again by this godly queen, who gave then in commiſſion to Matthew Parker then archbiſhop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindal then biſhop of London, Mr. Walter Haddon and others; for the performance of which commiſſion, the

the ſaid reverend biſhops addreſſed their letters to the vice-chancellor, &c.

Having thus laid before our readers, the parade and ceremony of Popiſh bigots, in attempting to diſhonour and vilify, even after death, two eminent ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, it conſequently behoves us to ſhew the form and manner, in which honour was done to their memory on the acceſſion of good queen Elizabeth; not from any ſuperſtitious or bigotted principle, but to give her ſubjects a ſtrikeing diſplay of the high eſteem in which ſhe held the reformed religion, as founded on the word of God.

The Oration of Mr. Ackworth, *Orator of the Univerſity, at the Reſtitution of* Martin Bucer, *and* Paulus Phagius: *In the ſtile and manner in which it was then delivered.*

I Am in doubt, whether I may treat of the praiſe and commendation of ſo great a clerk (for the celebrating whereof, this aſſembly and concourſe of yours is made this day) or of the vices and calamities, out of which we be newly delivered, or of them both, conſidering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In which times ye felt ſo much anguiſh and ſorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I ſhould repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear, I ſhould not ſo much work a juſt hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old ſorrow and heavineſs.

Again, men muſt needs account me unadviſed and fooliſh in my doing, if I ſhould think myſelf able to make him who hath lived before our eyes in praiſe and eſtimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he by his living and converſation hath oftentimes poliſhed.

But the wickedneſs of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men, the name that was ſo famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him. Inſomuch, that both in his lifetime all things redounded to his continual renown, and eſpecially after his deceaſe, nothing could be deviſed more honourable, than with ſo ſolemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to hurt the memory of ſuch a worthy man, and yet could not bring to paſs the thing that was ſo ſore coveted; but rather brought that thing to paſs, which was chiefly ſought to be avoided. For the deſire that men have of the dead, hath purchaſed to many men everlaſting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increaſed the fame.

By means whereof it cometh to paſs, that he that will intreat of thoſe things that pertain to the praiſe of Bucer after his death, cannot chuſe but ſpeak of the crabbedneſs of the times paſt, upon which riſeth a great increaſe and augmentation of his praiſe. But his life is ſo excellently ſet forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheeke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body ſhould be laid into his grave to

be burial, by the godly and moſt holy preachings of the right reverend father in Chriſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury that now is, and of Dr. Redman, which for the worthineſs and excellency of them, ought to ſtick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are pened and put in print; but alſo by the great aſſembly of all the degrees of the univerſity the ſame day, in bringing him to his grave, and the next day after by the induſtry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of which there was no man but ſet up ſome verſes, as witneſs of his juſt and unfeigned ſorrow, upon the walls of the church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then over-ſlipped, or now remaineth undone, that may ſeem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of ſo holy or famous a perſon, or to the conſecrating of him to everlaſting memory.

We at that time ſaw with our eyes this univerſity flouriſhing by his inſtitutions, the love of ſincere religion not only ingendred, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Inſomuch, that at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man that for ſorrow could find in his heart to bear with the preſent of this life, but that either he wiſhed with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality; or elſe endeavoured himſelf with weeping and ſighing to call him again, diſpatched of all troubles, into the priſon of this body, of which he is eſcaped, leſt he ſhould leave out us as it were ſtanding in battle without a captain, and he himſelf caſhiered, depart with his wages, as one diſcharged out of the camp, withdraw himſelf to the everlaſting quietneſs and tranquility of his ſoul.

Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how ſore they took his death to heart, and alſo how hardly they could away with the loſs of ſuch a man.

As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flouriſhed, it wrought in our hearts an incredible deſire of his preſence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceaſed to be any more in our ſight, and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion, by little and little, waxed cold in our minds; and according to the times that came after (which were both miſerable, and to our utter undoing) it began not by little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vaniſhed away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troubleſomeneſs of the Popiſh doctrine; the old rites and cuſtoms of the Romiſh church were reſtored again, not to the adorning and beautifying of the chriſtian religion (as they ſurmiſed) but to the utter defacing, and violating of the ſame.

Death was ſet before the eyes of ſuch as perſevered in the chriſtian doctrine that they had learned before. They were baniſhed the realm that would not apply themſelves to the times, and do as other men did: ſuch

as

as remained, were forced either to diſſemble, or to hide themſelves, and creep into corners, or elſe as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beaſts, but (that far worſe and much more monſtrous is) from the likeneſs of God and his angels, into the likeneſs of devils. And all England was infected with this malady.

But I would to God the corruption of thoſe times, which overwhealmed all the whole realm, had not at leaſt wiſe yet pierced every part and member thereof. Of which there was not one, but that (beſides the grief that it felt, with the reſidue of the body, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and contagion ſpread into the whole) had ſome ſorrow and calamity peculiarly by itſelf. And to omit the reſt (of which to intreat, this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth ought to be ſpoken) this dwelling place of the muſes (which we call the univerſity) may be a ſufficient witneſs what we may judge of all the reſt of the body. For certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be diſſembled, that cannot be hidden.

We, applying onrſelves to thoſe moſt filthy times, have moſt ſhamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards, who had not the ſtomachs to ſuſtain the adverſities of poverty, baniſhment and death. Which in our living and converſation kept neither the conſtancy taught us by philoſophy, nor yet the patience taught us by holy ſcripture, which have done all things by the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet, altho' in another ſenſe, hath aptly ſpoken, may well be thought to have been truly propheſied upon us:

The times and ſeaſons changed be:
And changed in the ſame are we.

Divers of them that were of a pure and ſincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and troubled, the reſt that remained taſted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whoſe hands the authority of doing things here conſiſted: although to ſay the truth, I have uſed a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beaſtly cruelty: who when they had ſpent all kinds of torments and puniſhments upon the quick; when they had cruelly taken from ſuch as conſtantly perſevered, life; from others riches, honours, and all hope of promotion; yet they could not be ſo ſatisfied, but that incenſed and ſtirred with a greater fury, it began to outrage even againſt the dead. Therefore whereas in every ſingular place was executed a ſingular kind of cruelty, inſomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be deviſed, but it was put in practice in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exerciſe the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick.

Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the goſpel.

Moreover,

Moreover, at London periſhed theſe two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſs of life and converſation. Many others, both here and in other places, were conſumed to aſhes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I ſay not with burning houſes and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? but Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might ſpue out their bitter poiſon, played the mad Bedlam againſt the dead.

The dead men, whoſe living no man was able to find fault with, whoſe doctrine no man was able to reprove, where by falſe ſlanderous accuſers indicted, contrary to the laws of God and man, ſued in the law, condemned, their ſepulchres violated and broken up, their carcaſſes pulled out and burnt with fire. A thing ſurely incredible, if we had not ſeen it with our eyes, and a thing that had not lightly been heard of. But the heinouſneſs of this wicked act was ſpread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and diſperſed through all Chriſtendom.

Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the intent he might inſtruct our Cambridge-men in the ſincere doctrine of the Chriſtian religion, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength utterly decayed, forſook his own country, refuſed not the tedioufneſs of that long journey, was not afraid to adventure himſelf upon the ſea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Chriſt, than of all other things.

So in concluſion he came, every man received and welcomed him: afterward he lived in ſuch wiſe, as it might appear he came not hither for his own ſake, but for ours. For he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſs that he had taken by troubleſome travel of his long journey: and albeit his ſtrength were weakened, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and inſtruct us.

And yet toward this ſo noble and worthy a perſon, while he lived were ſhewed all the tokens of humanity and gentleneſs, reverence and courteſy that could be; and when he was dead the moſt horrible cruelty and ſpite that might be imagined. For what can be ſo commendable, as to grant unto the living, houſe and abiding place, and to the dead burial? or what is he that will find in his heart to give entertainment, and to cheriſh that perſon in his houſe with all kind of gentleneſs that he can deviſe, upon whom he could not beſtow burial when he is dead? again, what an inconſtancy is it, with much advancement and commendation of his virtues to bury a man honourably, and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out ſpitefully, and wrongfully to ſlander him being dead, who during his life-time always deſerved praiſe? all theſe things have happened

pened unto Bucer, who whilſt he lived had free acceſs into the moſt gorgeous buildings and ſtately palaces of the greateſt princes; and when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poor grave. Who being laid in the ground nobly to his eternal fame, was afterwards ſpitefully taken up and burned. Which things, albeit they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcaſſes feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly perſons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful cenſure and juſt judgment of God) yet it reproveth the extream cruelty and inſatiable deſire of revenge in them which offer ſuch utter wrong unto the dead.

Theſe perſons therefore whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have caſt out of houſe and home, they would have driven out of all mens company, and in the end with moſt cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being nevertheleſs aliens, being ſtrangers, and being alſo fetched hither by us out of ſuch a country, where they needed not to fear any puniſhment, but contrarywiſe were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as alſo among the vulgar and common people. But yet how much more gentle than theſe men was biſhop Gardiner, otherwiſe an earneſt defender of the Popiſh doctrine? who againſt his own countrymen, let paſs no cruelty whereby he might extinguiſh with fire and ſword the light of the goſpel: and yet ſpared foreigners, becauſe the right of them is ſo holy, that there was never nation ſo barbarous, that would violate the ſame.

For when he had in his power the renowned clerk Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to puniſh him, but (as I have heard reported) when he ſhould go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to ſtrangers.

And whom the law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of ſtrangers, which hath ever appeaſed all barbarous beaſtlineſs, and mitigated all cruelty.

For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never ſo far ſeperated and ſet aſunder, both by ſea and by land, without which acceſs there can be no intercouſe of merchandiſe, there can be no conference of wits, which firſt of all ingendered learning, nor any commodity of ſociety long to continue. To repulſe them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entertain them evil, that by our ſufferance dwell among us, and have increaſe of houſhold and houſhold-ſtuff, it is a point of wickedneſs.

Wherefore this cruelty hath far ſurmounted the cruelty of all others, which, to ſatisfy the unſatiable greedineſs thereof, drew to execution not only ſtrangers, brought hither at our in-

intreaty and ſending for, but even the withered and rotten carcaſſes digged out of their graves; to the intent that the unmeaſurable thirſt which could not be quenched with ſhedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the leaſt be ſatisfied in burning of dead mens bones.

Theſe, my brethren, theſe, I ſay, are the juſt cauſes which have ſo provoked the wrath of God againſt us; becauſe that in doing extream injury to the dead we have been prone and ready; but in putting the ſame away we have been ſlow and ſlack. For verily I believe (if I may have liberty to ſay freely what I think ye ſhall bear with me, if I chance to caſt forth any thing unadviſedly in the heat and haſty diſcourſe of my oration) that even this place, in which we have ſo oftentimes aſſembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedneſs, ſuch as man never heard of before, is a lett and hinderance unto us, when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appeaſe the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

The blood of Abel ſhed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that ſucked it up: likewiſe, the un-deſerved burning of theſe bodies, calleth upon Almighty God to puniſh us, and crieth, that not only the authors of ſo great a wickedneſs, but alſo the miniſters thereof are unpure, the places defiled, in which theſe things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by ſundry diſeaſes and ſickneſſes we may receive puniſhment for ſo execrable wickedneſs. Look well about ye (my dear brethren) and conſider with yourſelves the evils that are paſt; and ye ſhall ſee how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one on the neck of another even to this day.

Firſt and foremoſt, when we were even in the chiefeſt of our mourning, and ſcarcely yet comforted of our ſorrow for his death, the ſweating ſickneſs lighted upon us, which paſſed ſwiftly thorough all England, and as it were in haſte diſpatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our moſt noble ſovereign king Edward VI. (whoſe life in virtue ſurmounted the opinion of all men, and ſeemed worthy of immortality) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age, in which unleſs violence be uſed, few do die.

The converſion of religion, or rather the everſion and turning thereof into Popery: the incurſion and domination of ſtrangers, under whoſe yoke our necks were almoſt ſubdued: the importunate cruelty of the biſhops againſt the Chriſtians, which executed that wickedneſs, for making ſatisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day. Theſe are the things that enſued after his death; but after his burning enſued yet more grievous things; namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diſeaſes unknown to the very phyſicians, whereby either man's health was impared, or elſe they were brought to their graves, or elſe very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit

profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the ſlaughter with great loſs.

Which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and ſighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and aſſembly ſhould be to this end, that foraſmuch as we have violated their corps, we ſhould do them right again; ſo that the memorial of theſe moſt holy men may be commended unto poſterity unhurt and defamed.

Wherefore amend yet at length (my brethren) which hitherto, by reaſon of the variableneſs and unconſtancy of the times, have been wavering and unſteadfaſt in your hearts: ſhew yourſelves chearful and forward in making ſatisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with ſo great wickedneſs of late ye indamaged and defiled; not cenſing them with the perfumes of thoſe odours and ſpices now worn out of uſe, and put to flight, but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble ſubmiſſion be intreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requeſts.

When Mr. Ackworth had made an end of his oration, Mr. James Pilkington the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit made a ſermon upon the 112th Pſalm, the beginning whereof, "*Bleſſed is the Man feareth the Lord*"

Intending to prove, that the remembrance of the juſt man ſhall not periſh, that Bucer is bleſſed, and that the ungodly ſhall fret at the ſight thereof, but yet that all their attempts ſhall be to no purpoſe, (to the intent this ſaying may be verified, I will curſe your bleſſings, and bleſs your curſings) he took his firſt remark from his own experience; that albeit he was both ready and willing to take the matter in hand, partly for the worthineſs of the cauſe itſelf, and eſpecially for certain ſingular virtues of thoſe perſons, for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithſtanding, he was not fit to take that charge upon him.

For it were more reaſonable that he who before had done Bucer wrong, ſhould now make him amends for the injury. As for his own part, he was ſo far from working any evil againſt Bucer, either by word or deed; that or their ſingular knowledge almoſt in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart: But yet he ſomewhat more favoured Bucer, as with him he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In conſideration whereof, although that it was ſcarce convenient that he at that time ſhould ſpeak, yet notwithſtanding he was contented for friendſhip and courteſy ſake not to fail them in their buſineſs.

Having made this introduction, he entered into the deſign of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, ſo fiercely extended againſt the dead. He ſaid it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have ſhewed ſuch extream cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to miſbehave

misbbehave himself in such wise towards the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: saying that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead bodies to have come first from Rome: for Evagrius reported in his writings, that Eutychius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Josias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars. Whereas before the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was well near unknown, neither afterward usurped by any man (that ever he heard of) till nine hundred years after Christ.

In the latter times (which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, so much the more they were corrupted) this kind of cruelty began to creep further. For it is manifestly known, that Stephen the sixth, Pope of Rome digged up Formosus, his last predecessor in that see, and depriving him of his apparel, buried him again in a layman's apparel (as they call it) having first cut off and thrown into the Tyber his two fingers, with which according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate.

Within six years after Sergius the third increased this tyranical behaviour against the same Formosus: For taking up his dead body, and setting it in a Pope's chair, he caused his head to be smitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the river of Tyber, abrogating and disannulling all his decrees, which thing was never done by any man before. The cause why so great cruelty was exercised (by the report of Nauclerus) was this; because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius when they sued to be made bishops.

This kind of cruelty, unheard of before, the Popes awhile exercised one against another. But now, before they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon their necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example; for about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliff was in like manner digg'd up, burnt to ashes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried.

In like manner they treated William Tracy of Glocester, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ, and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in Heaven or in Earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, he said it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living: whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own people, these few years past.

And

And if we would take the pains to peruſe things done ſomewhat longer ago, we might find dreadful inſtances in our own chronicles.

Howbeit, it was ſufficient for the manifeſt demonſtration of that matter, to declare the butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenſes at Cabrier, and the places near thereabout, by his captain Miner, about the year of our Lord 1545, than which a more cruel act was never done, no not even by the barbarous Pagans.

And yet, when divers had ſhewed their uttermoſt cruelty both againſt theſe and many others, they were ſo far from their purpoſe, in extinguiſhing the light of the goſpel, which they endeavoured to ſuppreſs, that it increaſed daily more and more. Which thing Charles the fifth (than whom all Chriſtendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Chriſt almoſt a ſore enemy) eaſily perceived; and therefore when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthorn and Pomeran with certain other preachers of the goſpel alive, he not only determined nothing extreme againſt them, nor violated their graves, but alſo intreating them gently, ſent them away, not ſo much as once forbidding them to publiſh openly the doctrine that they profeſſed. For it is the nature of Chriſt's church, that the more that tyrants ſpurn againſt it, the more it increaſeth and flouriſheth; a notable proof of the providence and pleaſure of God in ſowing the goſpel, was the coming of the Bohemians when perſecution was raiſed againſt us.

But much more remarkable was it, that we have ſeen come to paſs in theſe our days; that the Spaniards, ſent for into the realm on purpoſe to ſuppreſs the goſpel, as ſoon as they were returned home repleniſhed many parts of their country with the ſame truth of religion, to which before they were utter enemies.

By theſe examples it might evidently be perceived, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, conſidering how the mercy of God hath ſown it abroad, not only in thoſe countries that we ſpake of, but alſo in France, Poland, Scotland, and almoſt all the reſt of Europe. For it is ſaid, that ſome parts of Italy (although it be under the Pope's juriſdiction) do of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth: wherefore ſufficient argument and proof might be taken by the good ſucceſs and increaſe thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is ſent us from Heaven, unleſs we will wilfully be blinded; and if there were any that deſired to be perſuaded more at large in the matter, he might adviſedly conſider the voyage that the Emperor and the Pope with both their powers together, made jointly againſt the Bohemians; in which the emperor took ſuch an unworthy repulſe of ſo ſmall a handful of his enemies, that he never almoſt in all his life took the like diſhonour in any place.

Of this alſo might be an eſpecial example the death of Henry king of France, who the ſame day that he had purpoſed to perſecute the church of Chriſt, and to have burned certain of his guard whom he had impriſoned

for religion, at whoſe execution he had promiſed to have been himſelf in perſon, in the midſt of his triumph at a tournement, was wounded ſo ſore in the head with a ſpear by one of his own ſubjects, that he ſoon after died.

In which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no leſs approved in our own countrymen. For one that was a notable ſlaughterman of Chriſt's ſaints rotted alive, [biſhop Gardiner] and before he died, ſuch a rank ſavour ſteamed from all his body, that none of his friends were able to come to him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter deſpair well nigh of all health, howled out miſerably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers others that were enemies to the church periſhed miſerably in the end. All which things were moſt certain tokens of the favour and defence of the Divine Majeſty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants.

As he had made mention of the Bohemians, he ſaid a moſt apt example was reported of their captain Ziſca, who, when he ſhould die, ordered his body to be flayed, and of his ſkin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum: for it ſhould come to paſs, that when his enemies heard the ſound of it, they ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them.

The like counſel (he ſaid) he himſelf now gave them as concerning Bucer: that like as the Bohemians did with the ſkin of Ziſca, the ſame ſhould they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer: for as ſoon as the papiſts ſhould hear the noiſe of him, their ſupperſtitions would forthwith decay. For ſaving that they uſed violence to ſuch as withſtood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might ſeem to any man (having but mean underſtanding in holy ſcripture) to be grounded upon reaſon.

As for thoſe things that were done by them, againſt ſuch as could not play the madmen as well as they, ſome of them were cruel, and ſome ridiculous. Was it not frivolous, that for the ſpace of three years together, maſs ſhould be ſung in thoſe places where Bucer and Phagius reſted in the Lord, without any offence at all? And as ſoon as they took it to be an offence, it ſhould not be as good then as it was before; as if deemed upon the ſudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was paſt ſhould be counted the more grievous, becauſe it was practiſed a longer time.

Moreover this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius only ſhould be dug up, as who could ſay, that they only had embraced the religion which they call hereſy. It was well known how one of the burgeſſes of the town had been minded toward the popiſh religion; who when he ſhould die, neither ringing of bells, dirges, nor any other ſuch kind of ceremonies, but rather that they ſhould go with inſtruments of muſick before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial; and alſo that yearly a ſermon ſhould be delivered to the people, bequeathing a ſum of money

money to the preacher for his labour. Neither were divers others to be paſſed over in ſilence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the ſame ſect, and to reſt in other church-yards in Cambridge, and rather thro' the whoſe realm, and yet defiled not their maſs at all.

All which perſons (foraſmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or elſe all have been to let lie with the ſame religion; unleſs a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they liſt lawful at their own pleaſure.

In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to ſay the truth, they uſed too much cruelty, and too much violence. For whatever cauſe they might have to object to the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuſe Phagius, inaſmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, except a few things that he had tranſlated out of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues in Latin.

After his coming into the realm, he never read, diſputed, preached, nor taught; for he died ſoon after, ſo that he could in that time give no occaſion for his adverſaries to take hold on, whereby to accuſe him whom they never heard ſpeak.

Thus turning his diſcourſe from this matter to the univerſity, he reproved in a few words their unfaithfulneſs towards theſe men. For if the Lord ſuffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without tokens of his reſentment (as ſaith Amos) let us aſſure ourſelves he will not ſuffer ſo notable a wrong done to his godly preachers to paſs unrevenged.

When he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Dr. Perne the vice-chancellor, in the name of them all) being ſomewhat more moved at the matter, he reminded them how much it behoved them to uſe great circumſpection, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the univerſity; for that he which ſhould take his authority from them, ſhould be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgment and knowledge) did think well of them. For it would come to paſs, that if they would beſtow their promotions upon none but fit perſons, and let the unfit go as they come, both the common-wealth ſhould receive much advantage and profit by them, and beſides that, they ſhould highly pleaſe God. But if they perſiſted to be negligent in doing thereof, they ſhould grievouſly injure the common-wealth, and work their own ſhame and reproach: beſides they would greatly offend the majeſty of God, whoſe commandment (Not to bear falſe witneſs) they ſhould in ſo doing break and violate.

While he was ſpeaking theſe and many other things before his audience, ſeveral of the univerſity, to defend the character of Bucer, beſet the walls of the church and church-porch on both ſides with verſes; ſome in Latin, ſome in Greek, and ſome in Engliſh, in which they made a manifeſt declaration how

how they were diſpoſed both toward Bucer and Phagius. When his ſermon was ended, after thanks rendered to God for many other things, but eſpecially for reſtoring of the true and ſincere religion, every man departed his way.

As mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous clerk, Martin Bucer, and of the burning of his bones after his death, it will not be improper here to inſert the funeral verſe of Dr. Redman upon Bucer's death, now tranſlated into Engliſh.

The EPITAPH or Funeral VERSE of Dr. REDMAN *upon the Death of* BUCER.

HENCE, O far hence envy fly,
Nor be revenge nor mock'ry nigh:
The lying lips and faithleſs mind,
Let here no reſt or refuge find.
Theſe from the man God's image take,
And him more like the devils make.
But holy truth be preſent here,
Thou virgin everlaſting fair,
And to the inquiring many ſhow,
From whence proceeds the ſcene of woe.
BUCER, who led the church before,
BUCER, that light of learning is no more:
As the ſun gilds the world around,
So he in learning's orb was found.
The mourning ſchools his loſs confeſs,
But who can *Cambridge*'s grief expreſs?
High as the ſtars her ſigns aſcend,
Lamenting thus her wonted friend.
No more ſhall we a maſter find,
Like him ſo juſt, like him ſo kind:
Whoſe exemplary life was fraught,
With all the virtues which he taught:
His reſt ſo ſmall, labour ſo great,
Nature ſunk down beneath the weight,
And yielded to death's fatal power,
Before his ſhort appointed hour.
But ſtop my muſe, thy labour's vain,
Thy lines can't half his praiſe contain:
Then farewell BUCER, thy remains
An humble ſepulchre retains,
'Till the Great Judge of all ſhall come,
And paſs his univerſal doom:
Then he thy body will reſtore,
More glorious than it was before.
'Till when thy ſoul amongſt the bleſt remains,
There happily thou lives, there happily thou reigns.

The abſurd Treatment of PETER MARTYR's *Wife at* Oxford, *taken up from her Grave at the Command of Cardinal* Poole, *and afterwards buried in a Dunghill.*

LEST one univerſity ſhould exceed the other, the like cruelty was exerciſed upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honeſt, grave and ſober matron, and a great friend to the poor.

In the year of our Lord, 1552, ſhe departed this life, to the great ſorrow of all thoſe needy perſons, whoſe neceſſities ſhe had liberally relieved. When Brooks biſhop of Glouceſter, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morwen preſident of Corpus Chriſti col-

college, Cole and Wright doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they among other things had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcass with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before, when he read the king's lecture there. To make a shew that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them, that had any acquaintance with her or her husband and administred an oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language.

After the visitors had finished their business, they went to the cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the Cardinal did not leave the matter so, but sent letters a good while after to Marshal, then dean Frideswide's that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto of St. Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's relicks, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal therefore, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good queen Elizabeth to give rest to his church, long persecuted with prison and death; Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion (nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman) ordered certain of that college, in which this uncourteous act was done, to take her out of the dunghill where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole town to bury her again in a more decent monument; for though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used towards her for her sexes sake.

Besides, to say the truth, it was shameful that he which had travelled so far at kind Edward's request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken earnest pains, being an old man, in reading and setting forth the truth had, with learning to teach and instruct, and had so well deserved of that university; should be so ungratefully rewarded again, as to have his wife that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and beside their own law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully lain in a stinking dunghill.

To well disposed minds the fact seemed odious, and to such as were induced with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Mr. Calfield, then

then ſub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marſhal's dunghill ſhe was reſtored and tranſlated to her proper place again; yea, and withal mixed her with Frideſwide's bones, that in caſe any cardinal would be ſo mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it ſhall be hard for them to diſcern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the ſame might impreſs the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Mr. Rogerſon preached to the people and in his ſermon declared the rough dealing of the adverſaries, not contented to practiſe their cruelty on the living, but muſt alſo rage againſt one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to ſee their own wickedneſs. Amen.

Thus much touching the noble acts of this worthy cardinal in both the univerſities; whereunto it may not be impertinent, to adjoin and ſet forth to the eyes of the world the blind and bloody articles ſet out by cardinal Poole, to be inquired upon, within his dioceſe of Canterbury, whereby it may the better appear what yokes and ſnares of fruitleſs traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Chriſt, to intangle and oppreſs them with loſs of life and liberty. By which wiſe men may ſee what godly fruits proceeded from that Catholic church and ſee of Rome.

The ARTICLES *ſet forth by Cardinal* Poole, *to be inquired in his ordinary viſitation, within his Dioceſe of* Canterbury.

Touching the Clergy.

WHETHER the divine ſervice in the church, at times, days, hours, be obſerved and kept duly, or no?

2. Whether the parſons, vicars and curates, do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themſelves, or no?

3. Whether they do reverently and duly adminiſter the ſacraments or ſacramentals, or no?

4. Whether any of their pariſhioners do die without miniſtration of the ſacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no?

5. Whether the ſaid parſons, vicars or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouſes, increaſing thereby infamy and ſlander, or no?

6. Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwifes how to chriſten children in time of neceſſity, according to the canons of the church, or no?

7. Whether they ſee that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be chriſtened?

8. If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the church?

9. Whether there be any prieſts that late unlawfully had women under pretended

pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places ?

10. Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments ?

11. Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good christian life, according to the canons of the church ?

12. Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties?

13. Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholick faith and unity of the church ?

15. Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do administer the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church ?

16. Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion ?

17. Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them ?

18. Whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven ?

19. Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report ?

20. Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions according to all the laws ecclesiastical ?

21. Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, burials and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers ?

Touching the Lay people.

1. WHETHER any manner of person, of what estate, degree or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholick church ?

2. Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed Sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto ?

3. Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the Sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession ?

4. Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holy-days ?

5. Whether

5. Whether being in the church, they do not apply themſelves to hear the divine ſervice, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of divine ſervice?

6. Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit inceſt, or be bawds, and receivers of evil perſons, or be vehemently ſuſpected of any of them?

7. Whether any do blaſpheme and take the Name of God in vain, or be common ſwearers?

8. Whether any be perjured, for have committed ſimony or uſury, or do ſtill remain in the ſame?

9. Whether the churches and church yards be well and honeſtly repaired and incloſed?

10. Whether the churches be ſufficiently garniſhed and adorned with all ornaments and books neceſſary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent ſtature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the ſame church?

11. Whether any do with-hold, or draw from the church any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accuſtomed tithes from their parſons and vicars?

12. Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exerciſe any lewd paſtimes, eſpecially in the time of divine ſervice?

13. If there be any who do practiſe or exercife any arts of magick or necromancy, or do uſe or practiſe any incarnations, ſorceries or witchcraft, or be vehemently ſuſpected thereof?

14. Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or conſanguinity, prohibited by the laws of the holy church, or that do marry, the banns not aſked, or do make any private contracts?

15. Whether in the time of Eaſter laſt, any were not confeſſed, or did not receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themſelves in the receiving thereof?

16. Whether any do keep any ſecret conventicles, preachings, lectures or readings, in matters of religion contrary to the laws?

17. Whether any do now not duly keep the faſting and ember-days?

18. Whether the altars in the churches be conſecrated or no?

19. Whether the Sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall ſick, with light, and with a little ſacring bell?

20. Whether the common ſchools be well kept, and that the ſchoolmaſters be diligent in teaching, and be all catholick, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary?

21. Whether any do take upon them to adminiſter the goods of thoſe that be dead, without authority from the ordinary?

22. Whether the poor people in every pariſh be charitably provided for?

23. Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the ſacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition?

24. Whether

24. Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

25. Whether any do keep, or have in their cuſtody any erroneous or unlawful books?

26. Whether any do with-hold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed?

27. Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themſelves from their huſbands, being not lawfully divorced?

28. Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exerciſes upon the ſame?

29. Whether the taverns or alehouſes, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in time of maſs, mattins and even-ſong, do keep open their doors, and do receive people into their houſes to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church?

30. Whether any have or do deprave or contemn the authority or juriſdiction of the Pope's holineſs, or the ſee of Rome?

31. Whether any minſtrels, or any other perſons do uſe to ſing any ſongs againſt the holy Sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church?

32. Whether there be any hoſpitals within your pariſhes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly obſerved and kept: and whether the charitable contributions of the ſame be done accordingly?

33. Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or poſſeſſions be taken away, or with-held from the ſaid hoſpitals, and by whom?

OF THE ROMISH PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND.

AT the time of the reformation in Scotland, the clergy were in poſſeſſion of a great many lands and revenues, which had been given to them: and being almoſt the only men of letters, in that age, they were of courſe advanced to the higheſt places of honour in the kingdom. Hence they grew idle and voluptuous; and became the objects of hatred to the great, and of contempt to the little: they had likewiſe fallen into an error, in omitting to recommend to the people, the weightier duties of religion

religion; and, instead thereof, making it to consist chiefly in the practice of certain human institutions, which had little to do with it's internal nature. Of this sort were pilgrimages, indulgences, donations to the church, invocation of saints, confessions, penances, &c.

The evil tendency arising from these indulgences will appear by the following abstract of the form of absolution granted in that age, which must necessarily shock every honest and sensible reader. "I absolve thee from all "ecclesiastical censures, and from all "thy sins, how enormous soever. "And, by this plenary indulgence, "I remit thee all manner of punish-"ment, which thou oughtest to suffer "in purgatory. And I restore thee "to the sacraments of the church, and "to that innocence and purity which "thou hadst at thy baptism; so as, "at thy death, the gates of hell shall "be shut against thee, and the gates "of paradise shall be laid open to "receive thee. *In the name of the "Father, and of the Son, and of the "Holy Ghost.* AMEN."

How blasphemous was such an indulgence with respect to the Almighty! How injurious with regard to mankind! This was throwing society into the utmost confusion, and consequently called aloud for a reformation: and therefore latest posterity may justly bless the memory of Martin Luther, who so vigorously opposed those destructive indulgences.

These were not the only circumstances which contributed to make way for a reformation: for as the clergy had not hitherto been accustomed to hear of any opposition to the received doctrines of the church, they had not taken care to instruct the people how to maintain or defend their religious principles, if ever they should be attacked on that head.

It is no wonder therefore, if the clergy were so negligent of their duty, that the people should go over to men, who not only put those divine oracles into their hands, but publickly taught and instructed them in the true principles of christianity; and who, by a greater art of disputation, than they had been accustomed to hear, suggested to them the weakness and insufficiency of such doctrines and practices, as they had formerly been most conversant in. Such were the disadvantages in the government of the church in Scotland, at the time proceding the reformation.

The kings of Scotland was, by grants of the Pope, invested with a privilege of nominating to all the considerable vacant bishopricks, abbies, and priories in the kingdom, the consequence of which was, that they, at the solicitation of their favourites and courtiers, usually nominated to vacant bishopricks, persons unworthy of that sacred character; and, to abbies and priories, persons of no education, nor in any orders of the church; but often children and boys, under the name of abbots and priors commendators; by which fraudulent and sacrilegious kind of dealing, the rents and benefices of the church became the patrimony of private families.

It

It is even certain, that persons in no ecclesiastical orders, and meer boys, were, by the presentation of the Scottish kings, and the provision of the popes, set over episcopal sees. Such being the bad use made, by the kings in question, of these privileges; the natural consequence was, that, as far too many of these prelates, were neither bred up to letters, nor endued with a virtuous disposition, they themselves not only live irregularly, but introduced by degrees, through a neglect of their charge, such a deluge of ignorance and vice, among the clergy and all ranks of men; that the state of the church seemed to call loudly for a reformation.

During the reign of bloody queen Mary, many protestant preachers and others had fled out of England, among whom was William Harlow, a Scotchman, who after having preached there some time; returned to his native country, where he performed the same duty to such as favoured the reformed opinions and principles.

After him came into Scotland, John Willocks, who had formerly been a Franciscan in the town of Air, and had resided in England; but upon queen Mary's persecution, had fled into Friesland, where he professed physick; and was sent, in 1554, by the countess of Friesland, with some commission to Mary of Lorrain, queen regent of Scotland. He returned again next year, with another commission from the same lady; after which he lived in Scotland, and there preached to as many as would resort to him; who (it is said) were neither few in number, nor of the meaner sort.

Before this, *viz.* in 1550, was seized one Adam Wallace, a simple man, but very zealous for the new doctrines: This man was in all probability taken more notice of than he otherwise would have been, on account of his wife, who being employed as tutoress to the children of lady Ormiston, catechised them in the new forms of religion. He was seized at Winton, in East-Lothian, by the lord-primate's direction, and brought to his trial, in the church of the Black-friars, in Edinburgh, in presence of the governor, divers of the nobility and prelates, &c. when being accused of many articles, and pronounced guilty, he was burnt, next day, on the castle-hill, at Edinburgh.

It is related that he was ordered not to speak to the people at his execution: but that he nevertheless entreated them not to be offended at the truth, because of his sufferings; saying, *the disciple is not above his master*; after which, recommending his soul to God, he died with the greatest patience and resignation.

How bloody-minded must the judges of this unhappy man be, especially such of them as were ecclesiastick, to sentence him to be burnt, for instructing young persons in the articles of religion!

John Knox arriving in Scotland about the year 1555, gave great life to the reformation. He had been carried into France, at the time that the castle of St. Andrew's was taken; and after his

his eſcape from that kingdom, had remained in England till the death of king Edward. From thence he went to Geneva; then to Frankfort, again to Geneva, and from thence to Scotland. This was at the cloſe of the harveſt 1555.

Many perſons of reputation flocked to him to hear his diſcourſes; wherein he expatiated chiefly on the unlawfulneſs of being preſent at the maſs, which he declared to be an idolatrous worſhip.

So conſiderable was his ſucceſs, in theſe exhortations, that a great number of perſons withdrew from the churches, and began to ſeparate openly: which being obſerved by the clergy, Mr. Knox was ſummoned to appear before the eccleſiaſtical judicatory, on the 15th of May, 1556, in the church of the Black-friars at Edinburgh.

But when the day came, the cauſe was dropt upon ſome informality in the ſummons, as was pretended: though it is more likely that the arrival of a great number of Knox's friends in town, might cauſe ſome uproar to be dreaded. It is certain that Mr. Knox preached to a greater auditory, the very day that he was ordered to make his appearance, than ever he had done before; and continued doing ſo many days afterwards.

The earl of Glencairn, at that time, took with him the earl Mariſchal, to hear one of Mr. Knox's diſcourſes; which pleaſed the latter ſo much, that it was thought adviſeable Mr. Knox ſhould write a letter to the queen-regent, intreating a reformation in the church.

Mr. Knox did this accordingly, and the letter was delivered to her by the earl of Glencairn. But the queen calling it a paſquil, put it into the hands of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow. This gave occaſion to Mr. Knox, to make ſome additions to his letter two years after; both which he then printed in Geneva.

Not long after this, letters were brought to Mr. Knox, from an Engliſh congregation in Geneva, beſeeching him to go and be their paſtor; and accordingly he ſet out for that city in July, 1556. But he was ſcarce gone, when the Scottiſh clergy cited him anew to appear; and upon his not doing this, he was condemned as an heretick, and burnt in effigy at the croſs in Edinburgh.

A copy of his ſentence being ſent him to Geneva, he anſwered it, under the title of *The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence, pronounced againſt him, by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of Scotland, &c.*

In 1557, the new doctrines were greatly ſupported, by the preachings of ſundry perſons in different parts of the country; as William Harlow, and John Willocks, (above mentioned) in Edinburgh and Leith; Paul Methven, a baxter in Dundee; other perſons in Angus and Merns; and eſpecially John Douglas, a Carmelite-friar, who was appointed chaplain to the earl of Argyle; and ſpoke openly at court, where the earl then reſided, againſt the prevailing ſuperſtition of the times.

And

And it was obſervable, that, from this period, the clergy grew in leſs eſteem: and that even many of that order, both ſecular and regular, (but eſpecially of the latter,) began publickly to eſpouſe the reformation, and to declare againſt the corruptions of the church of Rome.

And now the biſhops, perceiving that their opponents increaſed daily, and were forming ſtated meetings and conventicles among themſelves; moved the queen-regent to call the preachers before her council, and arraign them for exciting mutinies. But the day appointed for their appearance being come, ſuch numbers flocked together, and the queen was ſo menaced, that ſhe was forced to declare, ſhe meant no harm to their preachers, and that the preſent diet ſhould be diſcharged.

This gave new ſpirits to the reformers, who thereupon ſent a moſt affectionate letter, dated March 10, 1556, to Mr. Knox, inviting him back from Geneva to Scotland.

Accordingly he by the advice of Calvin, ſet out, and was got as far as Dieppe, when he received advice from Scotland, not to proceed any farther; as all things were ſaid to be at a ſtand there.

Mr. Knox, being grieved at this, wrote a very pathetic anſwer to his friends, obſerving to them, how greatly he was confounded, to find them ſo unſtable in their conſultations: and that if any one perſuaded them, thro' fear of the danger which might follow, to faint in their intended purpoſe, and to prefer their worldly quiet to God's praiſe and glory; ſuch an one was to be accounted their mortal enemy. That they ought to hazard their lives, though againſt kings and emperors, for the deliverance of the people from ſpiritual bondage,

And finally, having laid before them many ſtrong inducements, to quicken them to the work; he concluded with telling them, that the reformation of religion, and of public enormities, belonged to more perſons, than either the clergy, or the chief rulers called kings.

This had ſo happy an effect, that they were reſolved to purſue the reformation with vigour; when a bond for that purpoſe, dated Edinburgh, December 3, 1557, was drawn up, and ſigned. This bond is called by ſome, THE FIRST COVENANT.

John Knox, may juſtly be conſidered as one of the chief inſtruments and promoters of the reformation in Scotland. He had been the diſciple of John Major, one of the moſt acute men of thoſe times. But afterwards, he not only exploded ſchool divinity, but freely cenſured many of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions, for which he was forced to fly from Edinburgh: and he afterwards would have been murdered by aſſaſſins, had not a gentleman protected him.

Returning to England, he was in ſuch high eſteem with king Edward, that he offered him a biſhoprick; which Knox refuſed with indignation, he being a great enemy to the hierarchy.

Being recalled to Edinburgh, with others who had been baniſhed, he reſumed his eccleſiaſtical labours. About November 9, 1572, he fell ſick; and languiſhed from that time, till the 24th of November following, when he died.

During his ſickneſs, he principally diſcourſed on religion, with his wife, his friends, and his ſervant. And like other celebrated reformers, was expoſed to the blackeſt calumny.

Among others that ſuffered in the year, 1558, was one Walter Mill, who, in his younger years, had travelled into Germany; and, upon his return, had been inſtalled prieſt of the church of Lunan, in Angus; but upon an information of hereſy, in the time of cardinal Beton, he was forced to abandon his charge, and had abſconded ever ſince. Being now ſeized in the town of Dyſert in Fife, he was carried to St. Andrews, in order for his examination, before the archbiſhop, and ſeveral of his ſuffragans there convened, and was condemned by them to be burnt.

Walter Mill was eighty-two years of age, and decrepid; but it is reported that though it was ſcarce thought his voice could be heard, he yet delivered his mind with ſo much courage and compoſure as amazed his enemies; and that, when brought to the ſtake, he ſpoke to the ſpectators as follows.

The cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime, (though I acknowledge myſelf a miſerable ſinner;) but only for the defence of the truth of Jeſus Chriſt; and I praiſe God who hath called me, by his mercy, to ſeal the truth with my life; which, as I received it from him, ſo I willingly offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you would eſcape eternal death, be no longer ſeduced by the lies of the ſeat of antichriſt; but depend ſolely on Jeſus Chriſt, and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation. And added, That he truſted he ſhould be the laſt who would ſuffer death in Scotland, upon a religious account.

The ſpectators were greatly moved at his words; and took his death ſo grievouſly, that, as a monument of it to future ages, they raiſed a pile of ſtones, in the place where his body was burnt. This they renewed ſeveral times, after it had been thrown down, by order of the clergy; till, at laſt, a watch was ſet for apprehending any perſon who ſhould be found carrying ſtones to that place.

This plain, good man was put to death, as is recorded, with this remarkable circumſtance; that the baillie of the regality, having refuſed to pronounce ſentence upon him, no other perſon could be found to ſupply his place as a judge; nor in the whole city could they purchaſe a cord to tie him with, after his condemnation; and that, on this account, his execution was ſuſpended for a day, 'till the next morning, one of the archbiſhop's domeſticks took upon himſelf to officiate as a temporal judge, and condemned Walter Mill to the flames; upon which, the ropes of the archbiſhop's pavilion, for want of others, were taken from thence to bind him.

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It is not known whether this be ſtrictly true; but a certain circumſtance is, the ſacrafice of this man proved the death of popery in Scotland. And, to ſay the truth, the clergy were ſo ſenſible that their affairs were falling to decay; that they, from that time, never dared to proceed to a capital puniſhment, upon account of religion. Inſomuch, that in the ſynod held in Edinburgh, in July this year; ſome perſons who had been impeached of hereſy, were only condemned upon their non-appearance, to make a public recantation at the market-croſs of that city, on the 1ſt of September following, being St. Giles's-Day, the tutelar ſaint of the city.

It was uſual, at the feaſt of this ſaint, which now nearly approached, to carry his image in proceſſion through the town; and the queen-regent was to honour the ſolemnity with her preſence. But when the time was come, the image was miſſing: it having been ſtole from it's ſtation, by ſome who were too wiſe to pray to it.

This cauſed a halt to be made, till another image was borrowed from the Grey-friars, with which they ſet forward: and, after the queen had accompanied them a conſiderable way, ſhe withdrew into the lodging where ſhe was to dine. But no ſooner was ſhe gone, than ſome perſons, who had been purpoſely appointed, tore the picture from off the ſhoulders of thoſe who carried it; threw it into the dirt; broke it to pieces, and ſpoiled the glory of the whole pageantry. Upon this the people fell a ſhouting; the prieſts took to their heels; and there was a great tumult, in the ſtreet, during ſome hours after: till at laſt, the magiſtrates having quelled the mob; and the prieſts being told that there was more fear than danger, crept again out of their lurking holes; when reaſſembling, they judged it would be beſt to aſſume a face of confidence, hoping thereby to ſtrike a terror into their enemies.

The following circumſtances aroſe from a ſermon preached by Mr. Knox, againſt idolatry and the Romiſh ſuperſtitutions, at Perth, in the year 1559. After ſermon was over, and the better ſort of people were gone to dinner, ſome godly men remained in the church, when a prieſt was ſo imprudent as to open a tabernacle, or caſe, in which was curiouſly engraved the hiſtory of a great many ſaints; and he was preparing to ſay maſs. A young boy obſerving this, cried aloud;—This is intolerable!—As God plainly condemns in ſcripture, idolatry; ſhall we ſtand and ſee it in our own deſpite? This offending the prieſt, he gave the child a blow; which however, afterwards helped to daſh him, and all his brethren, with their ſaints and wealth to the ground.

For this child firſt threw a ſtone, which broke one of the pictures, when immediately the whole multitude, being fired with rage, ſome fell upon the prieſt and his tabernacle, and others upon the altars: ſo that in an inſtant, every thing in the church which favoured ever ſo little of idolatry, was demoliſhed by them. This being noiſed abroad, the reſt of the people aſſembled in great numbers, and flew

to

the monaſtries of the Grey and Black-friars, both of which they ſtripped. They next pulled down the houſe of the Carthuſians, a noble edifice; ſo that, in three days time, nothing remained of thoſe houſes but the bare walls. The like outrages were committed in other towns.

About this time many perſons travelled all over Scotland, ſoliciting ſubſcriptions, in order to carry on the work of the reformation, under the name of the congregation, in which they had great ſucceſs. But theſe congregations were afterwards called covenanters; from their congregating, covenanting, or agreeing to unite, in order to overthrow popery, and introduce a reformation. Among theſe were many of the nobility, ſuch as the earl of Argyle, the lord James Stewart, the earl of Glencairn, &c. Their great preacher was Mr. John Knox abovementioned, whoſe ſermons and diſcourſes had great influence on the minds of his hearers.

Theſe congregationers or covenanters waged war againſt the queen-regent, who, though of an excellent diſpoſition, yet being a French woman of the family of the Guiſes, and guided by French counſels, many irregularities enſued, and many outrages were committed. It is ſaid, the lords among the congregations, and Mr. Knox, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to reſtrain the violence of the vulgar, among their followers, who were reſolved to demoliſh every thing popiſh in Scotland.

On this occaſion the fine abbey of Scoon, where the kings of Scotland were uſually crowned, near Perth, was burnt down. While the flames were aſcending, an old woman perceiving that many were offended thereat, cried aloud:—"Now I ſee and underſtand, that God's judgments are juſt: and that no man is able to ſave, where he will puniſh. Since my remembrance, this place (the abbey) has been nothing elſe but a den of whoremongers. It is incredible to believe, how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins defloured, by the filthy beaſts who have been foſtered in this den; but eſpecially by that wicked man who is called the biſhop. If all men knew as much as I do, they would praiſe God, and no one would be offended.—At theſe words many were pacified; affirming with her, that this was God's juſt judgment."

In the year 1564-5, a diſturbance of a very whimſical nature aroſe in the chapel of Mary Queen of Scots; the particulars of which were as follow: One Moffet, who uſed to attend the court, was commonly ſeized with a frenzy once in three years. In one of theſe fits he fancied himſelf to be queen Mary's huſband. He was ſaid to be a ſtrong proteſtant, and very godly when in his ſenſes.

This man coming one day into the queen's chapel, and finding the queen at maſs, drew his ſword; drove the prieſt from the altar into the veſtry; broke the chalice; pulled to pieces the robes, relicks, croſs, and candleſticks; and, in ſhort, cut or broke every thing that fell in his way.

The

The prieſt who officiated was a doctor of the Sorbonne; and the queen's phyſician was then preſent, who was ſeized with ſo great a panick, that he hid himſelf behind the tapeſtry till the madman's rage was ſubſided. The queen was greatly offended at this diſturbance, but thoſe who diſapproved of the Romiſh ſuperſtitions, received the higheſt ſatisfaction.

Among the many who ſuffered in Scotland on a religious account, before thoſe already mentioned, was one Reſby, an Engliſhman, who was burnt for preaching certain doctrines contrary to the papal authority. Some years after, Paul Craw, an Huſſite and Bohemian, was burnt, for inſtilling the principles of that party, into ſome perſons as St. Andrews. And towards the cloſe of the 15th century, Lollardy, (as it was then termed,) had ſpread into many parts of the dioceſe of Glaſgow.

Upon this account ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were impeached; but they anſwered the archbiſhop of that ſee ſo reſolutely, that he diſmiſſed them, after admoniſhing them to reſt ſatisfied with the faith of the church, and to guard againſt new doctrines.

The like ſpirit of ignorance, immorality, and ſuperſtition, having poſſeſſed the clergy of Scotland, which was ſo much inveighed againſt in other parts of Europe; we may conclude that it was proportionably greater, in nations leſs enlightned and polite than in others.

The paſtoral care was ſo totally neglected, and the ſcandal given by the clergy ſo groſs, that the common people, being juſtly prejudiced againſt them, were thence more inclined to liſten to the new preachers.

Among theſe was one Patrick Hamilton, a gentleman of noble deſcent, who had been educated with a deſign that he ſhould one day be highly preferred; and had an abbey beſtowed upon him, to enable him to purſue his ſtudies. Travelling into Germany, he there got acquainted with Luther and Melancthon; and having embibed their doctrines, came back to Scotland, where he laid open the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome.

He was invited to St. Andrews, to confer concerning theſe points; doing which, he was ſentenced and impriſoned.

Certain articles were objected to him, and upon his refuſing to abjure them, Beton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three biſhops and five abbots, condemned him as an obſtinate heretick; delivered him over to the ſecular arm, and ordered his execution that very afternoon.

Being tied to the ſtake, he expreſſed great joy in his ſufferings; as (he ſaid) he ſhould thereby gain eternal life. Fire being ſet to a train of powder, it only burnt his face, but did not kindle the fewel: ſo that, a ſtop being put, till more powder was brought, the friars called frequently upon him, during this cruel interval, to recant; to pray to the Virgin; and to ſay the *Salve regina*. One friar Campbell, who had viſited him often in priſon, was particularly officious. Hamilton ſaid, that he knew he was

not an heretick, and had confeſſed this to him in private: he charging him to anſwer for it to Almighty God. And now the gunpowder being come, the fire was kindled; and Hamilton expired, repeating frequently theſe words. Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul! He ſuffered the laſt day of February, 1527-8. Campbell afterwards ran diſtracted, and died within the year. But theſe two circumſtances, put together, made an impreſſion upon the people; and, as theſe points began to be enquired into, many embraced the new opinions.

This execution is aſcribed, by Drummond, to a revenge of a private quarrel againſt the earl of Arran.—After which ſeveral perſons, in all parts of the kingdom, began to enquire into the articles, for which Mr. Hamilton had been ſo inhumanly treated. Many entertained favourable ſentiments concerning them; inſomuch that, ſeveral of the friars, from that time, declaimed openly againſt the leud behaviour of their brethren the clergy; and particularly in that Lent, one Seton, confeſſor to the king, preſumed to recommend ſome of the new doctrines from the pulpit; and to ſet forth to the people, the virtues which St. Paul requires in a good miniſter.

This freedom was not a little grating to moſt of the clergy; and they found leſs difficulty to bring Seton into diſcredit at court, as he had uſed much freedom in reproving the king. So that Mr. Seton, perceiving his majeſty's countenance was changed; and dreading the power and influence of the clergy, he retired from court, and went to London, after having wrote a letter to the king.

One Henry Foreſt, a young ignorant Benedictine, being charged with ſpeaking reſpectfully of the above Patrick Hamilton, was thrown into priſon: and in confeſſing himſelf to a friar, owned that he thought Hamilton a good man; and that the articles, for which he was ſentenced to die, might be defended. This being revealed by the friar, it was received as evidence; and the poor Benedictine was ſentenced to be burnt.

Whilſt conſultation was held, with regard to the manner of his execution, John Lindſay, one of the archbiſhop's gentlemen, offered his advice, to burn friar Foreſt in ſome cellar; for, (ſaid he,) the ſmoke of Patrick Hamilton, hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew.

Many others were dragged to the biſhop's court, moſt of whom abjured; but two were more reſolute than the reſt, viz. Gourley, who denied purgatory, and the papal authority; and David Smiton, who, being a fiſherman, had refuſed to pay the tithes of his fiſh; for when his vicar came to him for this purpoſe, he ſaid, the tithe was taken where the ſtock grew; and, for this reaſon, he threw the tenth fiſh into the ſea. Smiton, on account of this and other opinions, was condemned, and he and Gourley were burnt at the ſame ſtake.

At a meeting of biſhops held at Edinburgh, the following perſons were accuſed and condemned as hereticks, viz, Killor and Beverage, two Blackfriars; Sir Duncan Simſon of Sterling, a prieſt;

prieſt; Robert Foreſter, a gentleman of the ſaid city; and Thomas Foreſt, a canon regular. Theſe five were burnt on the Caſtle hill of Edinburgh the laſt day of February 1538-9.

In 1545-6, David Beton, cardinal of St. Andrews, made a viſitation into ſome parts of his dioceſe, when ſeveral perſons were informed againſt at Perth, for hereſy.

Three or four were baniſhed, and ſome impriſoned; but the following were condemned to die, viz. William Anderſon, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayſon, and Helen Stark his wife. Great interceſſion was made for a pardon, but without effect. The men were hanged, and the woman drowned. Perhaps the cardinal was more inexorable on this occaſion, in order to ſet an example (a moſt ſhocking one!) to the reſt of the prelates; or, perhaps, he imagined that, by this ſevere puniſhment, he ſhould put an effectual ſtop to the progreſs of hereſy, (as it was falſely termed,) throughout the kingdom; as Perth, and the places adjacent, were more infected with the new opinions than any other part of the country.

Several others were impeached, who all fled to England or Germany. Theſe changes brought about in England, made the people of Scotland deſirous of enquiring into religion; a circumſtance ever fatal to ſuperſtition. Pope Clement VII, in a letter to the king of Scotland, conjured him to adhere ſtedfaſtly to the catholic faith.

Upon this his majeſty ſummoned a parliament; when new laws were made for maintaining the papal authority, and for proceeding againſt hereticks; and yet the Roman pontiff could not prevail with the king to make war upon England.

In 1537, the king of Scotland married Magdalen, daughter to the French king; but ſhe dying, he wedded a ſecond conſort, viz. Mary of Guiſe, (afterwards regent of Scotland) whoſe family was moſt zealouſly addicted to the old ſuperſtition.

This queen, joining her intereſt to that of the Scotch clergy, occaſioned his majeſty to perſecute rigorouſly all who favoured the new opinions.

However, though many were impriſoned, on ſuſpicion of their favouring Luther's opinions, and many baniſhed into foreign countries; it yet was ſoon found, that the kingdom began to be much divided in matters of religion; nor was it in the power of the king and council, to prevent the new opinions from ſpreading daily. But the more the perſecution increaſed the greater number embraced the principles of the ſufferers.

The king, who was nephew to our Henry VIII. and had a numerous offſpring, was adviſed by the nobility to ſeize on the abbey-lands, in imitation of his uncle.

The clergy, on the other hand, adviſed him to proſecute with ſeverity, all who ſhould be ſuſpected of hereſy; aſſuring his majeſty that he (by the liſts they ſhewed him) might raiſe one hundred thouſand crowns a year.

They likewiſe urged him to beſtow abbeys and priories on his children; adding, that if he would adhere ſted-

faſtly

faſtly to the old religion, he would have a great party in England; and be made head of a league, which was then projecting againſt Henry VIII.

The Scottiſh king was ſo far ſwayed by theſe arguments, that he made four of his ſons abbots or priors; and fomented the perſecuting ſpirit of the clergy.

Upon this, many perſons were impeached of hereſy; ſome of whom abjured, and others were baniſhed. Foreſt, a Canon regular, had been cenſured, by the biſhop of Dunkell, his ordinary, for intermeddling too much with the ſcriptures. He told Foreſt, that himſelf, though ſo far advanced in years, was wholly unacquainted both with the Old and New Teſtament; he contenting himſelf with his pontifical; and that he (Foreſt) might have cauſe to repent, if he continued to concern himſelf with ſuch fancies.

The archbiſhop of Glaſgow being of a gentle diſpoſition, was conſequently an enemy to ſuch cruel proceedings.

Ruſſel, a friar; and Kennedy, a youth of eighteen, being brought before the archbiſhop, expreſſed ſurpriſing joy and reſolution, when they found they were to ſuffer. The archbiſhop was quite unwilling to proceed ſentence, ſaying, that ſuch executions did more harm than good to the church. But thoſe about him, declaring that he muſt not act differently from the other biſhops; and threatening him ſeverely, he pronounced ſentence.

Ruſſel and Kennedy were both committed to the flames; on which occaſion they gave ſuch farther demonſtrations of patience and ſatisfaction, as made a ſtrong impreſſion on all who ſaw or heard this ſad cataſtrophe.

Kennedy's tender years inclining him to ſome puſillanimity, he was ſoon fortified by the exhortations of Ruſſel; who, among other expreſſions uſed the following.— "Now I defy "death; do as you pleaſe: I praiſe "God I am ready."—Ruſſel having reaſoned long and learnedly againſt his accuſers, and being anſwered with railings and bitter ſpeeches, replied: "This is your hour, and the power "of darkneſs: now ye ſit as judges, "and we ſtand wrongfully condemn-"ed; but the day cometh which "will ſhew our innocence; and you "ſhall ſee your own blindneſs, to "your everlaſting confuſion.——Go "on, and fill the meaſure of your ini-"quities."

The next martyr who ſuffered was George Wiſhart, (or Wiſchart,) a clergyman, who had been educated in Cambridge, but returned to Scotland in 1544. He preached in many places, againſt idolatry, and the other abuſes in religion. He continued a long time at Dundee, but was drove from that town by means of cardinal Beton; but at his departure, he denounced heavy judgments on them for rejecting the goſpel. He preached in ſeveral other places; and entrance into the churches being refuſed, he gave out his doctrine in the fields. He would not permit the people to force open the church-doors; ſaying, that this did not become the goſpel of peace, in which he inſtructed them.

Hearing

Hearing that the plague had broke out at Dundee, four days after his baniſhment from it, he returned thither; took care of the ſick; and exerciſed the various offices of a good paſtor. He proved his gentleneſs of ſpirit, with regard to his enemies, by reſcuing a prieſt that was come to kill him, from the hands of the populace, who would otherwiſe have torn him to pieces. It is ſaid, that he foretold many things; eſpecially his own ſufferings, and the reformation which would overſpread the land.

He preached laſt in Lothian, where he was ſeized by the earl of Bothwell, who, though he had promiſed upon his honour that no harm ſhould be done Wiſhart, yet delivered him to cardinal Beton, who brought him to St. Andrews, and there aſſembled the biſhops, in order to deſtroy him with the greater ſolemnity. Hamilton, earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, being greatly preſt to it by a worthy man of his name, (Hamilton, of Preſton) ſent and deſired the cardinal not to proceed againſt him, till he (the regent) ſhould have examined the affair. But the cardinal went on; and condemned Wiſhart in a public court, as an heretick, upon ſeveral articles objected to him, all which he confeſſed, and offered to juſtify. He ſpent the ſucceeding night of his execution in prayer; and next morning deſired he might receive the ſacrament, in both kinds, according to Chriſt's inſtitution; but this being refuſed, he himſelf conſecrated the elements; and ſome about him were deſirous of communicating at the ſame time.

Wiſhart was carried to the ſtake, and fixed near the palace of the cardinal; who was ſeated pompouſly in a window, to ſurvey this cruel ſpectacle. Wiſhart proteſted that his ſoul was filled with joy, in thus offering up his life for Chriſt's doctrine; and he beſought the people not to be offended at the word of God, for the ſake of the croſs. As the fire was burning him, he ſaid: *This flame though it ſcorches my body, yet it cannot daunt my ſpirits.*

He declared that the cardinal would, in a few days, be ignominiouſly murdered in that very place, where he then ſet with ſo much ſtate; but, as he was ſpeaking theſe laſt words, the executioner drew the rope, which was faſtened round his neck, ſo tight, that he could ſpeak no more. His death was greatly lamented, the people conſidering him both as a prophet and a martyr. He was executed in the year 1545.

The death of the cardinal, as predicted by Wiſhart, was as follows.

Norman Leſley, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Rothes, being greatly exaſperated againſt the cardinal, conſpired, with ſome other perſons, to take away his life. Accordingly the accomplices went early in the morning of Saturday the 29th of May, 1546, to the caſtle of St. Andrews; whence they drove out all the ſervants and workmen, after having ſeized the porter, and ſecured the gate. This was done with ſo little noiſe, that the cardinal knew nothing of it, till they knocked at the chamber door where he lay. He aſking, who was there? John Leſley replied,

my name is Leſley. Which Leſley? ſaid the cardinal: Is it Norman? It was anſwered, that he muſt open to thoſe who were there. The cardinal now began to fear the worſt, and thereupon began to ſecure the door. Whilſt they were endeavouring to force it, he aſked, will ye ſave my life? John Leſley anſwered, perhaps we will. Nay, replied the cardinal, but ſwear unto me, by God, and I will open, To this John anſwered what was ſaid, is unſaid; and then he called for fire to burn the door. Upon this the cardinal, after a promiſe given him, (as ſome relate) that no violence ſhould be uſed, thought fit to open the door; and then ſet himſelf down on a chair, ſaying:—I am a prieſt, ye will not ſlay me. However John Leſley ſmote him once or twice, as did likewiſe Peter Carmichael: but James Melvil perceiving them both to be in wrath, ſaid:—This work and judgment of God, although it be ſecret, ought to be done with greater gravity.

And now preſenting to the cardinal the point of his ſword, ſaid; repent thee of thy former wicked life; but eſpecially of the ſhedding the blood of that notable inſtrument of God, Mr. George Wiſhart, which although the flame of fire conſumed his body before men, yet it cries for vengeance upon thee; and we are ſent from God to revenge it.

For here, before my God, I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldſt have brought upon me, in particular, moved or moveth me to ſtrike thee: but only becauſe thou haſt been, and remaineſt an obſtinte enemy againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and his holy goſpel.—This ſaid without waiting for an anſwer, or allowing him the ſmalleſt time for performing of that, to which he had fanatically exhorted him, he ſtabbed him twice or thrice through the body, and there left him weltering in his blood.—Mean time a report was ſpread, that the caſtle was taken: whereupon ſuch as favoured the cardinal, poſted thither in all haſte, and called for ladders to ſcale the walls. But when it was told them that the cardinal was dead, whom they ſought to reſcue; their hearts cooled; and they diſperſed at the ſight of his dead body; this being ſhewn to them, from that place where before, he had beheld the execution of Mr. Wiſhart.

In the year 1559, when there was a probability of compleating the treaty of Cambray (by which the reformed were to be perſecuted) the cardinal of Lorrain, of the houſe of Guiſe, wrote to his ſiſter, the queen-regent of Scotland, as alſo to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews; informing them of the reſolution taken to extirpate hereſy; and preſſing them to employ their endeavours for that purpoſe. The queen-regent ſaw plainly, that ſhe would thereby not only forfeit the promiſe made by her to the lords, who had hitherto adhered to her, upon aſſurances given them of her protection; but that the peace of Scotland would likewiſe be endangered. For beſides that their party (the reformed) was ſtrong, it was not to be doubted but that queen Elizabeth would ſupport them:

them: for which reaſons the queen-regent was not inclined to favour her brother's bloody counſels. However, the biſhops reſolved to run every hazard; and to ſtrike an univerſal terror, by ſome ſevere executions. The firſt who ſuffered, at this time, was Walter Mill, of whom we have before treated.

The nobility and gentry had preſented the preceding year, a petition to the queen-regent, praying that the ſervice might be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the communion might be adminiſtred in both kinds; and that ſuch prieſts as led ſcandalous lives might be removed, and worthy men put in their places. The queen-regent being unwilling to exaſperate ſo formidable a party, before the dauphin was declared king of Scotland; promiſed that they ſhould not be puniſhed on account of prayers having been ſaid in the vulgar tongue.

They then moved, in parliament, for a repeal of thoſe laws, by which biſhops were impowered to proſecute hereticks; and intreated that ſuch points only might be judged hereſy, as were condemned by the word of God. Her majeſty anſwered, that theſe things could not paſs, becauſe of the oppoſition made by the ſpiritual eſtate.

Againſt this they entered a proteſt to the following purpoſe; That having moved, in the moſt humble manner, for a redreſs of abuſes, they conſequently were not to be blamed for any evils which might enſue from her majeſty's rejecting their petition. The queen, after ſhe had obtained her ends, with regard to the dauphin, ordered all the proteſtant preachers to be ſerved with citations.

The early of Glencairn was thereupon ſent to remind her majeſty of her former promiſes: but ſhe made him the rough anſwer following: That they ſhould be baniſhed Scotland, in ſpite of all that might be attempted in their favour; adding, that princes were bound to perform their promiſes, no farther than was convenient for them. They replied, that if the queen renounced her promiſes, they would renounce their allegiance to her. This bad conduct of the queen-regent, and what follows, muſt be imputed to the ſanguinary counſels of the Guiſes; ſhe herſelf being an excellent woman, as will farther appear hereafter.

In St. Johnſtoun, the abovementioned party entered the churches, and there heard ſermons publickly. The miniſters were flocking from all parts, to appear on May 20, (the day for which they had been cited;) and vaſt numbers accompanied them.

The queen, fearing the ill effects of ſo vaſt a multitude of people, diſpatched an order, forbidding their coming; whereupon many returned home; notwithſtanding which, they were declared rebels for their non-appearance. This foul play occaſioned many to leave her, and go over to thoſe who were aſſembled at Johnſtoun. And now the people were ſo ſtrongly enflamed, that they broke into the houſes of the monks and friars; when after diſtributing every thing found in them, (except what the monks had conveyed

away

away to the poor;) they razed these convents to the ground.

This enraged the queen so much, that she resolved to punish that town in an exemplary manner. She immediately assembled the French soldiers and others: but the earl of Glencairn getting together 2500 men, marched with incredible speed to that place, where there were now 7000 armed men; which intimidating the queen, a reconciliation was agreed upon.

An oblivion, with regard to every thing past, was now promised; all matters concerning religion were to be referred to a parliament; and her majesty was to be admitted into Johnstoun, upon condition of not taking the Frenchmen with her.

Notwithstanding this, she marched them into the town; when she not only put a garrison therein, but punished them for what was past. Upon their objecting the promise made by her, she replied; *Princes are not to be strictly tied down to promises, especially those made to hereticks*; adding, *that she thought it no sin to destroy them all; and that, when this should be done, she would find good reasons to justify her conduct.* All this (as was observed) must be ascribed to the cruel suggestions of the Guises.

The minds of the people were alienated to such a degree at this conduct of the queen-regent, that they began to pull down images and monasteries in many places. All this the queen regent represented to the French king, as being done with no other view than to shake off the Gallic yoke; and therefore intreated that a greater force might be sent her, in order to reduce the country.

On the other hand, the lords sent over certain persons, to give his Gallic majesty an impartial account of things; and to inform him, that an indemnity for all that was past, and the free exercise of their religion in time to come, would give full satisfaction.

The French king began now to be apprehensive, that the keeping Scotland, in tranquility, would put him to great expence; and he saw the danger that must ensue, should the Scotch throw themselves into the arms of the queen of England. He therefore deputed a person, in whom the constable of France put the utmost confidence, into Scotland; commanding him to bring him a genuine account of the state of an affair, which was so variously represented.

However, before the person deputed could come back, the French king died, and the constable was disgraced; when all affairs being put into the hands of the brothers of the house of Guise, no moderate councils were listened to. And now the people of Scotland rose so universally against the queen-regent, that she was obliged to retire to Dunbar-castle. She once resolved to refer the whole affair to a parliament; but 2000 troops coming over, from France, to her aid; and assurances being given her of a greater force, she threw off all fear; and advancing to Leith, fortified it.

Upon this the lords declared, that, during the minority of their queens, the government was vested principally in the estates; and that the regent, being

being only the chief adminiſtratrix, was therefore accountable to them; and thereupon they reſolved to remove her from the regency.

They accuſed her lighting up a war in the kingdom, and of brining in foreigners to ſubdue it; of debaſing the coin; of governing without the conſent of the nobility; and breaking her faith, and promiſes made to them.—They then pronounced her to be fallen from the regency, and ſuſpended her power till the meeting of the parliament. The lords (now ſtyled lords of the Congregation) withdrew from Edinburgh to Sterling; upon which the French marched to the former, and again ſet up maſs in the churches there.

Immediately new ſuccours, commanded by marquis d'Elbeuf, one of the brothers to the queen-regent, came from France, ſo that they were, by this time, 4000 French in Scotland. But now the whole nation, as the queen had ſuch a number of foreign forces, united againſt, and conſidered her as their common enemy. The Scotch, who had hitherto been ſecretly encouraged and aſſiſted with both money and ammunition from England, were forced to implore more openly queen Elizabeth's aid; and France was ſo much divided with inteſtine broils, that this queen was not much afraid of engaging in a war with France: whence ſhe was the more eaſily inclined to aid the Scotch. A treaty being concluded between the Engliſh and Scotch, 2000 horſe, and 6000 foot marched out of England to ſuccour the Scotch. They beſieged Leith, during which each ſide ſuſtained conſiderable loſs; but that of the Engliſh was ſooneſt made up, as ſupplies were ſo near at hand. At laſt, queen Elizabeth offered to mediate a peace between France and Scotland: but before that could be affected the queen-regent died.

During her ſickneſs, ſhe ſent for ſome of the Scotch lords, and begged pardon for the injuries ſhe had done them. She adviſed them to ſend away both the Engliſh and French out of Scotland; intreating them to perſevere in the allegiance they owed their queen. Diſcourſing with one of their preachers, her majeſty declared, that ſhe expected to be ſaved through the merits of Chriſt only. She had ruled the Scotch nation, till the laſt year of her life, with ſo much juſtice and wiſdom; and ſet ſo ſhining an example to others, both in her own perſon, and in the order of her court; that had ſhe but died before the bloody counſels of her brother led her aſtray, ſhe would have been more lamented than any queen, who had been in that country for many years.

This queen-regent, of the family of Guiſe, is ſometimes called Mary of Lorrain; Guiſe being a branch of that of Lorrain. She was daughter of Claude the firſt duke of Guiſe: was firſt married to Lewis duke of Longueville; and, after his death, to James V. king of Scots. Her body was put into a coffin of lead, and carried to France, in October following; and buried in the Benedictine-monaſtery of St. Peter at Rheims, in Champagne. Not long after, a peace was concluded

between England, France, and Scotland: an oblivion was granted for whatever had paſt; the French and Engliſh were to be ſent out of Scotland; and all other affairs referred to a parliament, which met accordingly in Auguſt.

At this meeting of parliament, all acts, in favour of the Romiſh religion, were repealed; and a confeſſion of faith, drawn up by John Knox, and afterwards inſerted among the acts of parliament Anno 1567, was confirmed. Theſe acts met with no oppoſition except from three temporal lords, who declared that they would not depart from the faith of their fathers. But they were aſſented to by the ſpiritual lords, as well biſhops as abbots; who dilapidated the lands and revenues of the church in a moſt unheard of manner. The abbots turned their abbies into temporal eſtates; and the biſhops, though they ſtill adhered to popery, divided all their lands among their baſtards and kindred; they procuring a confirmation, from Rome, of many of thoſe grants.

By this means that church was ſo greatly impoveriſhed, that had not king James I. and king Charles I. with great zeal, retrieved ſome part of the ancient revenues; and provided a conſiderable maintenance for the inferior clergy; every encouragement to to religion and learning, in Scotland, would have been reduced to ſo very low an ebb, that barbariſm muſt have again overſpread that kingdom. When theſe acts were ſent over to France, they were rejected with the utmoſt ſcorn, which made the Scotch apprehenſive of a freſh war: but Francis II. dying ſoon after, ſuppreſſed all their fears; for their queen, being no longer favoured by ſo mighty a crown, was obliged to return home. In this manner queen Elizabeth ſevered Scotland from it's ancient dependance on France; and acquired afterwards ſo great an intereſt in the former, that moſt affairs there were chiefly governed by her influence.

The eſtabliſhment of the reformation, which was compleated in the year 1560, was followed by an order to pull down all the monaſteries, which was immediately put in execution. Mary, queen of Scots, on her return to her kingdom in 1561, was received with great demonſtrations of joy, both by the nobles and the people. However, ſhe had the mortification to ſee the reformation eſtabliſhed by ſuch ſtrict laws; that none but herſelf was allowed to have maſs ſaid in her chapel, and this without any pomp. Nevertheleſs, ſome lords ſtill continued to profeſs the old religion; and being in hopes of reſtoring it, by her authority, they thence made their court to her with great aſſiduity. Their lords were very conſiderable, by their birth, their riches, and their vaſſals: and yet they, perhaps, would never have once thought of reſtoring the old religion, had they not depended on the queen's favour, who only could balance the power of the Proteſtants. Their firſt project was, to alienate her, if poſſible, from ſuch of the proteſtants as had moſt credit with her, and with the nation; and as James Stuart, her natural brother, adhered ſtrongly to the

the proteſtant religion, he thence became the chief object of their hatred. The queen, on her arrival, had made him chief miniſter, whence they exerted their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy him in her good opinion. But all the efforts of the Romaniſts, to reſtore popery, proved ineffectual; and it has never been able to triumph in Scotland, ſince the times of which we have been treating: and we hope never will ſo long as time ſhall be.

OF THE ROMISH PERSECUTIONS IN IRELAND.

THE reformation of the church in Ireland was principally owing to one George Browne, an Engliſhman, conſecrated (in London) archbiſhop of Dublin, the 19th of March 1535, in the 26th year of Henry VIII. He had been an Auguſtin-friar, and provincial of his order, and is ſaid to have acquired this dignity merely from his merit.

Having enjoyed it about five years, he, at the time that Henry VIII. was demoliſhing the religious houſes in England, cauſed all the relicks and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches in his dioceſe; in whoſe place he ſubſtituted the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, all framed and gilt.

This archbiſhop was the firſt of the clergy in Ireland, who quitted the Romiſh religion, and profeſſed the principles of the Engliſh reformers.

Soon after this he received a letter from Thomas Cromwell, lord privy-ſeal, informing him, that Henry VIII. had thrown off the papal ſupremacy, in England; and was determined to do the like in Ireland; and that he thereupon had appointed him (archbiſhop Browne) one of the commiſſioners for ſeeing the ſame put in execution:—The archbiſhop wrote (in December 1535) to the lord privy-ſeal, in anſwer, that he had employed his utmoſt endeavours, at the hazard of his life, to cauſe the Iriſh nobility and gentry to acknowledge king Henry as their ſupreme head, in matters both ſpiritual and temporal; but had met with a moſt violent oppoſition, eſpecially

cially from George, archbiſhop of Armagh: that this prelate had, in a ſpeech to his clergy, laid a curſe on all thoſe who ſhould own his highneſs's (for ſuch was the kings of England ſtyled in thoſe days) ſupremacy: adding, that their iſle, called in the chronicles, Inſula ſacra; or, The Holy Iſland, belonged to none but the biſhops of Rome; and that the king's progenitors had received it from them. He obſerved likewiſe, that the archbiſhop, and the clergy of Armagh, had each diſpatched a courier to Rome; and that it would be neceſſary for a parliament to be called in Ireland, to paſs a ſupremacy act, the people not regarding the king's commiſſion. He concluded with obſerving, that the popes had kept the people in the moſt profound ignorance; and that the clergy themſelves knew little more; they not being able to ſay maſs, or pronounce the words, of the Latin tongue, in which they had no ſkill. He concluded with obſerving, that the common people were more zealous, in their blindneſs, than the ſaints and martyrs had been in the defence of truth, at the beginning of the goſpel: and that it was to be feared O'Neal would oppoſe the king's commiſſion.

The next year a parliament was ſummoned at Dublin; which being met, archbiſhop Browne made a ſpeech wherein he ſet forth; that the biſhops of Rome uſed, antiently, to acknowledge emperors, kings and princes to be ſupreme in their own dominions; and, therefore, that he himſelf would vote king Henry VIII. as ſupreme, in all matters, both eccleſiaſtical and temporal. He concluded with ſaying, that whoſoever ſhould refuſe to vote for this act, was not a true ſubject to the king. This ſpeech greatly ſtartled the other biſhops and lords; ſo that the act paſſed with great difficulty.

A few years after, the archbiſhop wrote a ſecond letter to lord Cromwell, complaining of the clergy; and hinting at the machinations of the pope of Rome, then carrying on againſt the reformation. This letter is dated Dublin, April 1538. He ſays, among other particulars, *That a bird may be taught to ſpeak with as much ſenſe, as many of the clergy do in this country. Theſe, though not ſcholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to diſſuade them from following his highneſs's (the king's) orders.—It is meet I acquaint you firſt, that the Romiſh relicks and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, (of the Holy Trinity and St. Patrick,) take off the common people from the true worſhip, but the prior, and the dean, find them ſo ſweet for their gain, that they heed not my words. Therefore ſend, in your lordſhip's next to me, an order more full; and a chide to them, and their canons, that they (the images) may be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may aſſiſt me in it. The prior and dean have writ, to Rome, to be encouraged, which will greatly embolden the people.*——What follows is remarkable, viz. *The country folk here much hate your lordſhip: and deſpitefully call you, in their Iriſh tongue,* The Blackſmith's Son. *As a friend, I deſire your lordſhip to look to your noble perſon.*

Rome

Rome hath a great kindneſs for the duke of Norfolk, and great favours for this nation, purpoſely to oppoſe his highneſs.

Upon this the Pope ſent over, to Ireland, (directed to the archbiſhop of Armagh, and his clergy) a bull of excommunication, againſt all who had, or ſhould, own the king's ſupremacy within the Iriſh nations; and adding a curſe to all of them, and theirs, who ſhould not, within forty days, confeſs to their confeſſors, (after the publiſhing of it to them,) that they had done amiſs in ſo doing.

Of all which archbiſhop Browne gave notice, in a letter, dated Dublin, May 1538. Part of the form of the confeſſion, or vow, ſent over to theſe Iriſh papiſts, ran as follows. *I do further declare, him or her, father or mother, brother or ſiſter, ſon or daughtar, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinſman or kinſwoman, maſter or miſtreſs, and all others, neareſt or deareſt relations, friends or acquaintance whatſoever,* ACCURSED, "that either "do or ſhall hold for the time to "come, any eccleſiaſtical or civil "power, above the authority of the "mother church; or that do or ſhall "obey, for the time to come, any of "her the mother of churches oppoſers "or enemies, or contrary to the ſame, "of which I have here ſwore unto: "ſo God, the bleſſed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the holy evange-"liſts, help, &c.

The councils of Lateran and Conſtance, expreſly declare, that no favour ſhould be ſhewn to hereticks, nor faith kept with them. That they ought to be excommunicated and condemned, and their eſtates confiſcated; and that princes are obliged, by a ſolemn oath, to root them out of their reſpective dominions.

Very juſtly, therefore, might Dr. Borlaſe obſerve, that "*the martyrology (ſpeaking of the Iriſh maſſacre of* 1641) *exceeded that of former ages; and that it is amazing to reflect, that more arts of cruelty have been invented by the Romiſh clergy, in their perſecutions of the proteſtants, than were ever practiſed by the heathens.*"

How abominable a church muſt that be, which thus dares to trample upon kings! how ſtupid the people who pay a regard to the injunctions of ſuch a church!

In the archbiſhop's laſt mentioned letter, dated May 1538, he ſays, that *His highneſs's vice-roy, of this nation, is of little or no power with the old natives.—This nation is poor in wealth and not ſufficient to oppoſe them.—Now both Engliſh race and Iriſh begin to oppoſe your lordſhip's orders; and do lay aſide their national quarrels, which I fear will, (if any thing will) cauſe a foreigner to invade this nation.*

Not long after this archbiſhop Browne ſeized one Thade O'Brian, a Franciſcan frier; who had got a paper ſent from Rome, dated May 1538, and directed to O'Neal. In this letter were the following words;—*His holineſs Paul, now pope, and the council of the fathers, have lately found, in Rome, a prophecy, of one St. Lacerianus, an Iriſh biſhop of Caſhell, wherein he ſaith: That the mother church of Rome, falleth, when, in Ireland, the catholic faith*

faith is overcome. Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own ſecureneſs, ſuppreſs hereſy, and his holineſs's enemies.

This Thade O'Brian, after farther examination and ſearch made, was pilloryed, and kept cloſe priſoner till the king's farther orders ſhould arrive for his trial. But news coming over from England, that Thade O'Brian was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himſelf, in the caſtle of Dublin. His corps were carried to Gallows-Green, where being hung up, they was afterwards buried.

An order was directed, to Sir Anthony Leger, the lord deputy of Ireland, commanding that the liturgy, in Engliſh, be forthwith ſet up in Ireland, there to be obſerved within the ſeveral biſhopricks, cathedrals, and pariſh churches; and it was firſt read in Chriſt-Church, Dublin, on Eaſter-day 1551, before the ſaid Sir Anthony, archbiſhop Browne, and others. Part of this order, was as follows:—

Whereas our gracious Father, king Henry VIII. *taking into conſideration, the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful ſubjects ſuſtained, under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome; how ſeveral fabulous ſtories, and lying wonders miſled our ſubjects; diſpencing, with the ſins of our nations, by their indulgences and pardons, for gain; purpoſely to cheriſh all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, theſts, whoredoms, blaſphemy, idolatry, &c. our gracious father hereupon diſſolved all priories, monaſtries, abbies, and other pretended religious houſes; as being but nurſeries for vice or luxury, more than for ſacred learning, &c.*

When the common-prayer was firſt received in Chriſt-church, Dublin, the following wicked ſcheme was prejected by the papiſts.

There ſtood, in this cathedral, a marble image of Chriſt, holding a reed in his hand, with a crown of thorns on his head. Whilſt the Engliſh ſervice (the common-prayer) was reading before the lord-lieutenant, the archbiſhop of Dublin, the privy council, the lord-mayor, and a great congregation, blood was ſeen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, and to trickle down the face of the image. Hereupon, ſome of the contrivers of the impoſture cried aloud: *See how our Saviour's image ſweats blood!—But it muſt neceſſarily do this, ſince hereſy, (the common-prayer) is come into the church.* Immediately many of the common people proſtrated themſelves, with beads in their hands before the image, and prayed to it. Vaſt numbers flocked to ſee this ſight; whence ſuch confuſion aroſe, that the congregation broke up; and the lord-lieutenant, and council, haſtened out of the choir, for fear of danger.

But now the archbiſhop, ſuſpecting the cheat, cauſed the image to be ſearched and waſhed, to ſee whether it would bleed afreſh. This was no ſooner done, but a ſponge was found within the hollow of the image's head, which one Leigh, (ſometime a monk of that cathedral) had ſoaked in blood: and watching his oppurtunity, early on Sunday morning, had fixed the ſponge ſo ſwoln with blood, within the crown of the image's head; that the blood fell, drop by drop, upon the face.

Immediately

Immediately the ſponge was brought down, and ſhewed to thoſe worſhippers; who, now greatly aſhamed, curſed father Leigh, and the contrivers of the cheat. Theſe afterwards did public penance in the church; and ſtood on a table before the pulpit with their crimes writ on their breaſts: the archbiſhop preaching that day, before the lord-lieutenant, and council, on the ſeaſonable text following: *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould believe a lye.* 2 Theſſ. ii. 11.

The news of this impoſture being brought to England, at the time that queen Elizabeth was of opinion, that images ought to be kept in churches, might, very poſſibly, induce her, to iſſue an order, for their removal.

That the Romiſh clergy of Ireland were great fomentors of the rebellions in that kingdom is particularly evident from their treacherous and diſloyal behaviour, under queen Elizabeth and king James I. they urging continually, to the people, the lawfulneſs of killing all proteſtant, who ſupported the right of the crown of England, to Ireland: aſſuring, that all papiſts who ſhould die fighting againſt the proteſtants, would go immediately to heaven.

Theſe Iriſh eccleſiaſticks, under Charles I, were greatly increaſed by titular Romiſh archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, vicars general, abbots, prieſts, and friars; for which reaſon in 1629, the public exerciſe of the popiſh rites and ceremonies was forbid.

Nevertheleſs, ſoon after, the Romiſh clergy erected a new popiſh univerſity in the city of Dublin. Not contented with this, they proceeded to build, publickly, monaſteries and nunneries, in many parts of the kingdom; and in thoſe places, theſe very Romiſh clergy, and the chiefs of the Iriſh, held frequent meetings; and, from thence uſed to paſs to and fro, to France and Spain, to Flanders, to Lorrain and Rome; where the deteſtable rebellion of 1641, was then hatching, by O'Neal, and his followers.

When the order came over from England to Ireland, for publiſhing proclamations for reading the Engliſh liturgy, Sir Anthony St. Leger ſummoned an aſſembly of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other clergy of Ireland, and informed them of the king's pleaſure.

Immediately George Dowdall, archbiſhop of Armagh, ſtood up, and oppoſed the order with all his might; ſaying, then every illiterate fellow will be able to read the maſs. To this Sir Anthony anſwered; there are already too many illiterate prieſts, who know not the meaning of the Latin, nor can even pronounce it. George Dowdall then bid Sir Anthony beware of the clergy's curſe; to which the other replied, that he feared it not. Then George Dowdall left the aſſembly, with ſeveral of his ſuffragan biſhops (him of Meath excepted;) whereupon archbiſhop Browne taking the order from Sir Anthony, declared his ſubmiſſion to it, in like manner as Jeſus did to Cæſar, in all things juſt and lawful.

Now ſeveral of the more moderate biſhops and clergy, joined with archbiſhop

biſhop Browne; ſoon after which Sir Anthony St. Leger was recalled to England; and Sir James Croſts placed in his room, in April 1559. George Dowdall ſtill refuſing to obey the order aforeſaid, he was deprived of the title of primate of all Ireland; and the ſame was conferred on George Browne then archbiſhop of Dublin; after which George Dowdall, according to ſome writers, was baniſhed.

On the demiſe of King Edward VI. A council being ſummoned in Dublin, a diviſion ſprung up, ſome declaring for lady Jane Grey, others for lady Mary, who, at laſt, was voted queen; upon the promiſe ſhe made, to confirm every thing enacted in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. She kept it during three or four months, after the coronation; but, then, having accompliſhed her deſign, ſhe, purſuant to the practice of the papiſts, broke her faith with hereticks; after which every thing was undone that had been ſettled by the reformers, who then were perſecuted with fire and faggot in England.

Sir James Croſts being recalled, and Sir Anthony St. Leger put in his place, George Browne was deprived of his archiepiſcopal ſee, which, after continuing vacant two years, was filled by Hugh Corrin or Corwine, an Engliſhman, who was alſo made chancellor of Ireland. For this purpoſe queen Mary ſent a letter, dated Greenwich, September 25, in the ſecond and third year of her reign.—George Browne died not long after.

At Eaſter 1551, he had preached a ſermon in Chriſt-Church, upon the following text, *Open mine eyes, that I may ſee the wonders of thy law.* Pſalm cxix. verſe 18, in which he inveighed againſt the church of Rome; and particularly againſt the Jeſuits, of whom he ſays, "Theſe ſhall ſpread over the whole world; ſhall be admitted into the council of princes, and they never the wiſer; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and the ſecrets therein unto them, and yet they not perceive it.—But, in the end, God, to juſtify his law, ſhall ſuddenly cut off this ſociety, even by the hands of thoſe who have moſt ſuccoured them, and made uſe of them; ſo that, in the end, they ſhall become odious to all nations, and be worſe than Jews."

A very extraordinary accident at this time, prevented the Proteſtants in Ireland from being perſecuted by the papiſts; the particulars of which are as follow: Queen Mary, reſolving to perſecute them, appointed Dr. Cole, (a bloody agent of Bonner) one of the commiſſioners for this purpoſe.

He, being arrived at Cheſter, with his commiſſion; the mayor of that city being a papiſt, waited upon him; when the doctor taking out of his cloak-bag, (before the mayor, a leather-box, ſaid, *Here is a commiſſion that ſhall laſh the hereticks of Ireland.* The good woman of the houſe being a proteſtant; and having a brother in Dublin, named John Edmonds, was greatly troubled at what ſhe heard. But watching her opportunity, whilſt the mayor was taking his leave, and the doctor complimenting him down ſtairs;

ſtairs; ſhe opened the box; took out the commiſſion; and, inſtead thereof, laid in a ſheet of paper, with a pack of cards, and the knave of clubs at top. The doctor not ſuſpecting any thing, put up the box, and arrived with it in Dublin in September 1558. Then waiting upon the lord Fitz Walters, at that time vice-roy, he preſented the box to him, which being opened, nothing was found therein but a pack of cards.

This ſtartling all the perſons preſent, the lord-deputy ſaid, *We muſt procure another commiſſion; and, in the mean time, let us ſhuffle the cards.*

Dr. Cole was returning to England, to get another commiſſion; but waiting for a wind, news came that queen Mary was dead; very happily for the proteſtants, who, by this means eſcaped a cruel perſecution.

The above relation is confirmed by hiſtorians of the greateſt credit; who add, that queen Elizabeth ſettled a penſion of forty pound *per ann.* upon the above-mentioned Elizabeth Edmonds, for having thus ſaved the lives of her proteſtant ſubjects.

At the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth to the throne, Ireland was inhabited by the native Iriſh; and by Engliſh familes who had been tranſplanted thither, ever ſince the reign of Henry II; and was governed by a vice-roy or lord-lieutenant. His authority, however, was not conſiderable enough to awe the Iriſh.

There were, among theſe, many great men, who, though they outwardly recognized the king of England's ſovereignty; yet imagined they had a right to do themſelves juſtice, whenever any ſuppoſed injury was done to them. Hence thoſe lords frequently made war one upon another, regardleſs of the vice-roys, who had not force ſufficient to check them; but were obliged to ſend for troops from England, whenever a rebellion broke out in Ireland; and as this was expenſive, forces were never ſent over but in the laſt extremity. Thus, as few of the lord-lieutenants were able to force obedience, they thence willingly connived at the deſtructive irregularities committed by the Iriſh lords, for fear of hurting the royal authority: but, contenting themſelves with filling their purſes; they left, to their ſucceſſors, the curbing the inſolence of the Iriſh.

This conduct ſwelled the lords of the country with ſo much arrogance; that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than was juſt ſufficient to protect them from their enemies. Add to this, the averſion that the Iriſh naturally had for the Engliſh government; which averſion was increaſed on occaſion of the change projected by queen Elizabeth, in matters of religion.

The Iriſh being extremely ignorant, had thence a ſtrong attachment to the pope, a circumſtance which diſpoſed them to liſten to the Romiſh emiſſaries, who were perpetually exciting them to rebellion. Hence queen Elizabeth was obliged to keep a watchful eye over the tranſactions of that iſland; well knowing the great credit which the pope, her mortal enemy had in it.

Notwithstanding all her precautions in 1567, a rebellion broke out in Ireland, headed by Shan O'Neal, a lord of great interest in the northern part of that island: but it ended with the death of that rebel, who was slain by his own people.

In 1569 fresh commotions broke out in that kingdom, excited by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers to the earl of Ormond; who being sent from England, persuaded them to lay down their arms. This rebellion had been fomented by the king of Spain, who, in conjunction with the pope, also endeavoured to spirit up another in 1577, by the advice of Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive.

In 1594, the famous Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tir-oen, raised a mighty rebellion in Ireland, he having been promised assistance from the king of Spain; which obliged queen Elizabeth to send a strong re-inforcement to the above-mentioned island. This rebellion continued some years.

The earl of Essex was sent, in 1599, to Ireland, at the head of 20,000 foot, and 1300 horse, who yet were not able to put out this flame; so vigorously was it fomented by Tir-oen; and it was not extinguished till after the arrival of the lord Mountjoy in that island, viz. till 1602, when Tir-oen came and submitted himself to him, and was afterwards poisoned by queen Elizabeth.

About the year 1607, the lord Mountjoy brought Tir-oen to London, and presented him to king James I, who received him very graciously; but Tir-oen returning afterwards to Ireland, he again attempted to raise a rebellion, but not succeeding, was forced to fly from that island.

No very remarbable transaction happened from this time till the year 1641, a little before which, the rebels of Ireland had presented to the lords justices of that kingdom, a remonstrance, demanding the free exercise of their religion, and a repeal of all laws to the contrary; to which both houses of parliament, in England, solemnly answered, that they would never grant any toleration to the popish religion in Ireland.

On the 23d of October, 1641, (the feast of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits,) there broke out a desperate and most formidable rebellion. The revolt was general. This was a rebellion, so execrable in itself, so odious to God and to the whole world; that no age, no kingdom, no people, can parallel the horrid cruelties, and the abominable murders, which were then, without number or without mercy, committed upon the protestant British inhabitants, of every age, quality, or condition, throughout the land.

In Multifernan Abbey, a convent of Franciscans in the county of West-meath, the horrid resolution was taken, how, most effectually to extirpate and destroy the whole race of protestants in Ireland; which was then concluded should be perpetrated, either by total banishment, (the punishment inflicted on the Moors in Spain;) or by death, or miseries worse than either. And so very closely, and under such a disguise of friendship, was this hideous

conspiracy

conſpiracy carried on by theſe men; that viſits of ſeeming kindneſs were never ſo frequently made to the proteſtants, as at that very time. This was done, the more compleatly, to effect the inhuman and treacherous deſigns then machinating.

The Romiſh clergy were firſt in the ſecret, and had a great ſhare in this deteſtable conſpiracy, by means of the unbounded influence they had over the minds and conſciences of their people.

That the papiſts were at the bottom of this conſpiracy, was evident from the letter writ by pope Urban, to the rebel O'Neal, October 18, 1642; and to the popiſh clergy and nobles of Ireland the February following. But moſt expreſly was this unheard of ſcene of cruelty, publickly juſtified and approved of in the very words of pope Urban VIII. to the catholicks of Ireland; wherein the rebels, who engaged in this enormous and moſt deteſtable act, were promiſed to be publickly rewarded with a plenary indulgence, and a remiſſion of all their ſins.

This execrable conſpiracy was firſt diſcovered by Owen O'Connelly, an Iriſhman; for which moſt ſignal ſervice, the parliament voted him five hundred pounds, and a penſion of two hundred pounds *per ann.* until better proviſion could be made for him.

And ſo very ſeaſonably was this plot diſcovered, even but a few hours before the city and caſtle of Dublin were to have been ſurprized; that the lords juſtices had but juſt time to put themſelves, and the city, in a poſture of defence; and to ſeize the lord Mac Guire, and his accomplices in their beds; in whoſe lodgings were found ſwords, hatchets, pole-axes, hammers, and ſuch other inſtruments of death as had been prepared, for the utter extirpation of the hereticks; thoſe wretches having come, the night before into Dublin, to execute this treacherous and inhuman deſign.

On the 22d of October, 1641, Sir Phelim O'Neal, upon pretence of paying a friendly viſit, to the lord Charlemont, firſt ſeized him perfidiouſly in the caſtle; killed his ſervants before his eyes; and, a few days after, baſely murdered that noble lord, and others in cold blood; as fully appeared in the trial of lord Mac Guire; who was executed for high-treaſon, at London, in 1644.

And having thus begun to embrue their hands in innocent blood, they continued to hang, drown, burn, bury alive; and, by other methods of torture, to maſſacre great multitudes of the Britiſh proteſtants, who had not time to ſave themſelves by flight.

The Jeſuits, prieſts, and friars, having a great ſhare in this deteſtable plot, they had no time to promote it; and, when the day for the execution of it was agreed upon, they in their prayers recommended the ſucceſs of a great deſign; much tending, (as they ſaid) to the proſperity of the kingdom, and to the advancement of the catholic cauſe. They every where declared to the common people, that the proteſtants were hereticks, and ought not to be ſuffered to live any longer among them; adding, that it was no more ſin to kill an Engliſhman than

to

to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting them was an unpardonble ſin.

As ſoon as the fire began to break out, and the whole country to riſe about the proteſtants; theſe immediately flew to their friends for protection, ſome relying upon their neighbours, others upon their landlords, others upon their tenants and ſervants, for preſervation, or at leaſt preſent ſafety; and, with great confidence, put their perſons, their wives, their children, and all they had, into their power, But theſe, generally, either betrayed them into the hands of other rebels, or moſt perfidiouſly deſtroyed them with their own hands.

The Iriſh papiſts having beſieged the town and caſtle of Longford; and the inhabitants, who were proteſtants, having ſurrendered, upon condition of being allowed quarter; the beſiegers, the inſtant the towns people came out, fell upon them: their prieſt, as a ſignal for the reſt to fall on, firſt ripping open the belly of the Engliſh proteſtant miniſter; after which his followers ſoon hanged up the reſt.

In like manner was the garriſon, at Sligo, treated by O'Connor Slygah; who, upon the proteſtants quitting their holds promiſed them quarter; and to convey them ſafe over the Curlew mountains, to Roſcommon. But he firſt impriſoned them in a moſt loathſome goal; allowing them only grains for their food. Afterwards, when ſome rebels were merry over their cups, who were come to congratulate their wicked brethren for their victory over theſe unhappy creatures: thoſe proteſtants who ſurvived, were brought forth by the White-friars; and were either killed, or precipitated over the bridge into a ſwift water, where they were preſently deſtroyed. It is added, that the above wicked company of White-friars went ſome time after, in ſolemn proceſſion, with holy water, in their hands, to ſprinkle the river; upon pretence of cleanſing and purifying it, from the ſtain and pollution of the blood and dead bodies of the hereticks, as they called the unfortunate proteſtants, who were inhumanly ſlaughtered at this very time.

At this time Dr. Bedell, biſhop of Kilmore, was forcibly taken from his epiſcopal reſidence at that place, where he had charitably ſettled and ſupported a great number of deſpoiled proteſtants, who had fled from their habitations, to eſcape the diabolical cruelties committed by the papiſts. But they did not long enjoy the conſolation of living together; for Dr. Swiney, the popiſh titular biſhop of Kilmore, ſoon took poſſeſſion of biſhop Bedell's houſe; ſaid maſs, in his church, the Sunday following; and then ſeized on all his goods and effects. The rebels ſoon after forced him, his too ſons, and the reſt of his family, with ſome of the chief of the proteſtants in his company, in December, into a ruinous caſtle called Lochwater, ſituated in a lake, near the ſea ſhore. Here himſelf, with his companions, remained ſome weeks, in expectation of death. Moſt of them were ſtript naked; by which means, as the ſeaſon was very cold, and the houſe open, they ſuffered greatly

greatly. There they continued till the 7th of January, uninterrupted in the exercise of their religious worship; and were afterwards released. The bishop was then most courteously received into the house of Dennis O'Sheridan, one of his clergy, whom he had made a convert to the church of England. He did not long survive this kindness.

During his abode in this tabernacle, his whole time was spent in religious exercises; the better to fit and prepare himself, and his sorrowful companions for their great change; as nothing but certain death, and misery, were perpetually before their eyes.

However, though broken with age, being then in his seventy-first year, and afflicted with an ague, catched in his late cold and desolate habitation on the lake; finding his dissolution at hand, he received it with joy; like one of the primitive martyrs; just hastening to his crown of glory. For after having addressed his little flock, and exhorted them to patience, in the most pathetic manner, as they saw their own last day approaching; after having solemnly blessed his people, his family, and his children; and finished the course of his ministry and life together; he expired the 7th of February, 1641.

His friends and relations applied to the new intruding bishop, for leave to bury him, which was obtained with difficulty. He at first, telling them, that the church-yard was holy ground, and should no longer be defiled with hereticks: however, leave was, at last, obtained, and though the church funeral service was not used at the solemnity, (for fear of the Irish papists,) yet some of the better sort of the rebels were pleased to honour the remains of this holy confessor to his grave, for whom they, in his lifetime, had had the greatest veneration.

At his interment, they discharged a volley of shot, crying out, *Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum:* that is, *May the last of the English rest in peace.* Adding, that as he was one of the best, so he should be the last English bishop found among them.

His learning was very extensive; and he would have given the world a greater proof of it, had he printed all he wrote. Scarce any of his writings were saved; the rebels having destroyed most of his papers, and his library. He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of scripture, all which, (with a great trunk of his manuscripts) fell into the hands of the Irish. Happily his great Hebrew MS. was preserved, and is now in the library of Emmanuel-College.

These cruelties were still more considerably extended; for in the barony of Tyrawley, the papists, at the instigation of their friars, compelled above forty English protestants, some of whom were women or children, to the hard fate either of falling by the sword, or of drowning themselves in the sea. These chusing the latter, rather to trust themselves to the mercy of the rebels; they were accordingly forced, by the naked weapons of those inexorable wretches, into the deep; where they, with their children in

their arms, firſt waded up to the chin; and afterwards ſunk down, and periſhed all together. In the county of Tyrone, no leſs than 300 proteſtants were drowned in one day.

Dr. Maxwell at that time, lived near Armagh, being rector of Tynon, in that dioceſe; and, with his family, was a great ſufferer in this rebellion. This biſhop, in his examination, taken upon oath before his majeſty's commiſſioners, declared, that the Iriſh rebels owned, to him, that they, at ſeveral times, had deſtroyed, in one place, twelve thouſand proteſtants, whom they inhumanly ſlaughtered at Glynwood; in the flight of thoſe miſerable people from the county of Armagh.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge broken down, the Iriſh forced, at different times, a great number of unarmed, defenceleſs proteſtants, (forty in a company;) and there, with pikes and ſwords, violently thruſt above a thouſand of them into the river, where they all miſerably periſhed.

Nor did the fair and goodly cathedral of Armagh eſcape their barbarous hands; it being maliciouſly ſet on fire by their leaders, and burnt to the ground. And to extirpate, if poſſible, the very race of thoſe unhappy proteſtants, who lived in or near Armagh; the Iriſh firſt burnt all their houſes; and then gathered together many hundred of thoſe innocent people, young and old, upon pretence of allowing them a guard and ſafe conduct to Colerain; yet fell upon them, moſt treacherouſly, by the way, and cruelly murthered them all.

Theſe deſperate wretches, fluſhed and grown inſolent with this ſucceſs, (though by methods attended with ſuch exceſſive barbarities, as were never practiſed even by the moſt ſavage heathens) ſoon got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Newry, where the king's ſtores and ammunition were lodged; and, with as little difficulty, made themſelves maſters of Dundalk.

They afterwards took the town of Ardee, where they murthered all the proteſtants in revenge for their ill ſucceſs before Tredagh or Drogheda, and ſo marched on, with the ſame rapidity and fury, to Drogheda, being then many thouſands in number. The Iriſh hoped they ſhould take that frontier garriſon; and afterwards deſtroy all the proteſtants, both there and in the city of Dublin, with thoſe of the neighbouring counties round it. The garriſon of Drogheda was in no condition to ſuſtain a ſiege; and the treachery of the popiſh inhabitants, within the town, was almoſt as dangerous as the fury of the Iriſh rebels from without; theſe being maſters of almoſt the whole country round, on both ſides the Boyne; yet, ſo often as they renued their attacks, they were as often courageouſly and vigorouſly repulſed, by a very unequal number of the king's forces; and a few faithful proteſtant citizens, under Sir Henry Tichborne, the governor, aſſiſted by the lord Viſcount Moore, anceſtor of the earl of Drogheda. The ſiege of Drogheda began November 30, 1641, and held till March 4, 1642, when Sir Phelin O'Neal, and the Iriſh rebels, were forced to retire.

In

In conſequence of which, the city of Dublin, the magazine of all the arms, ammunition, and other proviſions of the army; and the chief ſanctuary of all the Engliſh deſpoiled proteſtants, was now reduced to a very ſad condition, and encompaſſed on every ſide.

The northern rebels being come down in great numbers, as far as Drogheda, within twenty miles of Dublin; and other rebels, from the county of Wicklow, infeſting it on the other ſide: which filled the inhabitants with terror.

This was greatly increaſed, by the ſight of vaſt numbers of Engliſh proteſtants, all of them ſtript and miſerably deſpoiled, who came out of the north. Many perſons of rank and quality, covered with old rags, and ſome without any other covering than a little twiſted ſtraw to hide their nakedneſs. Some reverend miniſters, and others, who had eſcaped with their lives, came ſadly wounded. Wives came, bitterly lamenting the fate of their huſbands; mothers that of their children, barbarouſly deſtroyed before their eyes; poor infants ready to periſh, and to pour out their ſouls in their mother's boſoms. Some, over weary with long travail, came creeping on their knees. Others froze with cold, ready to give up the ghoſt in the ſtreets. Others, overwhelmed with grief, grew diſtracted.

Thus was the city, within a few days after the breaking out of the rebellion, filled with moſt lamentable ſpectacles of ſorrow. Theſe wandered up and down, in great numbers, in all parts of the city; deſolate and forſaken; having no place to lay their heads on; no cloths to cover their nakedneſs; no food to fill their hungry bellies.

All manner of relief was diſproportionate to their wants. The popiſh inhabitants refuſed to adminiſter the leaſt comfort unto them; whence theſe poor creatures appeared as ſo many ghoſts in the ſtreets. The barns, the ſtables, and out-houſes were filled with them; whilſt ſome lay in the open ſtreet; and others under ſtalls, where they periſhed miſerably. The churches were the common receptacle of thoſe of the meaner ſort: theſe ſtood in them in a moſt diſmal poſture, as objects of charity, in ſuch great multitudes, that there was no paſſage into them. But thoſe of better condition, who could not condeſcend to beg, crept into private places; and ſome of theſe, having no friends to relieve them, waſted ſilently away, and died without noiſe.

And, ſo bitter was the remembrance of their former miſerable condition, and ſo inſupportable the burthen of their preſent calamity, (to many,) that they even refuſed to be comforted. Thus, being worn out with the vaſt fatigue of their journey, and the cruel uſage they met with; their ſpirits being exhauſted, and their ſouls fainting, they lay ſadly languiſhing. And ſoon after they had got to this city, great numbers of them died; leaving their bodies as monuments of the moſt inhuman cruelty, exerciſed upon them. The greateſt part of the women and children, thus barbarouſly driven

driven out of their habitations, died in the city of Dublin. Such numbers periſhed, that all the church-yards, within the city, were not large enough to contain them; ſo that the lords juſtices gave orders, that two large pieces of new ground, (one on each ſide of the river,) ſhould be ſet apart for burial places.

The deſign of the rebels was, after they had poſſeſſed themſelves of other towns, to ſeize the city and caſtle of Dublin; and thus extirpate all the Engliſh, root and branch; and not leave them poſterity, or even a name, throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland.

By the relations of thoſe times, it appears that one hundred and fifty thouſand innocent, unguarded, unarmed proteſtants, had the hard fate to ſuffer under the moſt inhuman and moſt deteſtable cruelties: were either maſſacred in cold blood, or ſent to ſtarve and periſh in the woods, in the coldeſt and moſt rigorous ſeaſon of the year.

In the reign of king James II. at the time of his pretended popiſh parliament, held in Dublin, Anno 1689, no leſs than 2445 of the proteſtant nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, were attained of high-treaſon.

At this time, under the earl of Tyrconnel's popiſh adminiſtration, the Iriſh proteſtants ſuffered greatly; as was evident, from the ravages and depredations, the oppreſſions and hardſhips, the bonds and impriſonments, and the untimely deaths to which multitudes were expoſed. A dagger was put to their breaſts; their houſes were fired; moſt of their churches ſhut up, or made their priſons; the fountains of religion and learning ſtopt; the revenues of the city of Dublin ſeized; the vice-provoſt, with the fellows of the college, and all the ſcholars, forcibly turned out of their chambers; and the buildings at once made a garriſon for ſoldiers.

And had not God's goodneſs been moſt eminently diſplayed, in the wonderful and unexpected preſervation of the city of Londonderry, and town of Enniſkillin; by the reſolution and uncommon bravery of the perſons who defended thoſe garriſons, in the midſt of innumerable difficulties and hardſhips; there had not one place remained for refuge to the diſtreſſed proteſtants in the whole kingdom of Ireland; but all muſt have been given up to king James, and to the furious popiſh party who governed him. And had not Ireland been providentially reduced to the obedience of king William and queen Mary; the failure therein might have proved deſtructive not only to the Britiſh kingdoms, but to the whole proteſtant intereſt in Europe.

The remarkable ſiege of Londonderry was opened, April 18, 1689, by 20,000 papiſts, the flower of the Iriſh army; who were prepared with all things neceſſary for the engagement; and aſſiſted by marſhal general De Roſen, and another commander, men of great experience. The city of Londonderry was not fit to ſuſtain a ſiege; and the defenders were only the citizens of the town; a company of raw, undiſciplined proteſtants, who had fled for ſhelter into that city; and half a regiment

regiment of lord Mountjoy's disciplined soldiers; making, in all, only 7361, fighting men.

Upon the desertion of governor Lundy, the reverend Mr. George Walker was chose joint-governor, during the siege, with major Baker. The besieged suffered mostly by sickness and famine, for want of proper food, and a due quantity of provision. They hoped, at first, that their stores of corn and other necessaries, would be sufficient; but by the continuance of the siege, their wants daily increased; and these became, at last so heavy, that, for a considerable time before the siege was raised, (July 31,) a pint of coarse barley, a little greaves, a few spoonfuls of starch, with a very moderate proportion of horse flesh, were reckoned a week's provision for a soldier; and a shilling was the common price for a quart of horse's blood. They were, at last, reduced to such extremities, that they eat dogs, horses, cats and mice.

Their miseries increasing with the siege, many, through mere hunger and want, pined and languished away; or fell dead in the streets. And it is very remarkable, that when their long-expected succours arrived, they were upon the point of eating one another; or attempting to fight their way through the Irish, which would have been impossible.

These succours were most happily brought by sea, by the Mountjoy of Derry, and the Phœnix of Colrain; at which time the besieged believed that they had but two days to live; had only 9 lean horses left; with a pint of meal to each man. By hunger and the fatigue of war, their 7361 fighting men, were 4300; one fourth part whereof were rendered unserviceable. And as the calamities of the besieged were very great, so likewise were the terrors and sufferings of their protestant friends and relations; all who, (men, women and children,) were forcibly driven from the country, thirty miles round; and inhumanly reduced to the sad necessity, of abiding some days and nights, without food or covering, before the walls of the town; and were thus exposed to the continual fire, both of the Irish army from without, and from the shot of their friends from within.

The Irish army, reflecting that the besieged had many relations in the adjacent country, and had a general kindness for all the protestant neighbours thereabout; issued out orders, to bring together all the protestants, men, women, and children; protected and not protected; and to set them before the walls, there to receive the shot of the besieged; whilst the besiegers made their approaches, under their covert. And, in the mean time to starve them out, in case their friends, in the town, would not, out of compassion, deliver up themselves, and their city, into the hands of these murtherers.

The dragoons and soldiers executed this order with the utmost rigour. They first stript, and then drove the whole country, for thirty miles before them; not sparing nurses with their

young children, women big with child, nor old decripid people, Some women in labour, and ſome juſt brought to bed, were driven among the reſt.

The very popiſh officers, who executed theſe horrid orders, confeſſed that it was the moſt diſmal ſight they had ever beheld, and that the cries of the poor people ſeemed ſtill to ring in their ears.

The papiſts owned, that there were about 5500 of theſe; that many of them were kept without meat or drink during a whole week; that ſeveral hundreds died in the place before they were ſet at liberty; and many more, as they were returning to their houſes.

It is aſſured that the ſoldiers, rapparees, and pilferers, who followed the army, left them neither meat, drink, houſhold goods, nor cattle, they having plundered all places in their abſence; ſo that the greateſt part of them afterwards periſhed for want, and many more knocked on the head by the ſoldiers.

The day before the ſiege of Londonderry was raiſed, the Inniſkillers engaged a body of ſix thouſand Iriſh Roman catholicks, at Newtown-Butler or Crown-Caſtle; of whom near 3000 were ſlain.

By a report made in Ireland in the year 1731, it appeared, that a very great number of eccleſiaſticks had, in defiance of the laws, lately flocked into that kingdom; that ſeveral convents had been opened by Jeſuits, monks, and friars: that many new and pompous maſs houſes had been erected, in ſome of the moſt conſpicuous parts of their great cities, where none had been built before; and that ſuch ſwarms of vagrant, immoral Romiſh prieſts had appeared, that the very papiſts themſelves complained of their burthen.

Notwithſtanding all this, the proteſtant intereſt ſtands upon an infinitely ſtronger baſis than it did an hundred years ago,

The Iriſh, who formerly led an unſettled and roving life, in the woods, bogs, and mountains, and lived on the depredation of their neighbours: they who, in the morning devoured the prey; and, at night, divided the ſpoil; have now, during many years paſt, become quiet and civilized.

They taſte the ſweets of Engliſh ſociety, and the advantages of civil government. They trade in our cities; they are employed in our manufactures. They are received alſo into Engliſh families; and are treated with great humanity, by the proteſtants.

The heads of their clans, and the chiefs of the great Iriſh familes, who cruelly oppreſſed and tyrannized over their vaſſals, are now dwindled, in a great meaſure, to nothing; moſt of the ancient popiſh nobility and gentry of Ireland have turned proteſtants. So that the great bulk of the Iriſh people conſiſts, chiefly, of the meaner and lower ſort, who ſhew no averſion to the Engliſh cuſtoms, or to the other, which is now ſeen in that kingdom.

And it is not to be doubted, but that ineſtimable benefits will accrue to Ireland, from the eſtabliſhment of proteſtant ſchools in different parts of it;

it; in which the children of the poor Roman-catholicks, at the ſame time that they are taught induſtry, are alſo inſtructed in religion and reading; whereby the miſt of ignorance is diſpelled from their eyes; the great ſource of thoſe cruel rebellions with which that land has been infeſted.

THE HISTORY and ORIGIN OF THE INQUISITION.

POPE Innocent III, being deſirous to extirpate all thoſe who began to think freely, and ſo to treat the ſee of Rome, declared open war againſt the Albigenſes and Waldenſes, famous for firſt lighting the pure flame of Reformation in the church. This was followed by the eſtabliſhment of the Inquiſition, which completed the deſtruction of that unhappy people, and which was founded under the direction of Dominic, on whom the title of Saint was beſtowed.

Innocent, reflecting, that, what open force ſoever might be exerted againſt them, ſtill vaſt numbers would carry on their worſhip in private, thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh a ſtanding and perpetual remedy, that is, a tribunal, compoſed of men whoſe ſole occupation ſhould be, the ſearching after, and puniſhing heretics. This tribunal was called, *The Inquiſition*, and Dominic was the firſt *Inquiſitor*.

Dominic, having been ſent to Toulouſe, to convert the heretics, took up his reſidence at the houſe of a nobleman, of this city, infected with hereſy. However, our miſſionary found means to bring him back to the church; after which, the nobleman devoted his houſe with his family, to St. Dominic and his order. The tribunal of the Inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in this place, which is ſtill called, *The houſe of the Inquiſition*.

It may hence be concluded, that Dominic was the firſt Inquiſitor, and Toulouſe the firſt city where the Inquiſition was ſettled. Some ſay, that this was in 1208, and others, in 1212, or 1215; but, which ſoever may be the true æra, is of no great conſequence.

Theſe

Theſe Inquiſitors had, at firſt, no particular tribunal, their function being only to inquire or ſearch after heretics, (whence the former received their name, Inquiſitor) to examine into their number, ſtrength, and riches; which being done, they made a report thereof to the biſhops, who, as yet, were the only perſons authorized to take cognizance of ſpiritual matters. On theſe occaſions the Inquiſitors uſed to urge the prelate to excommunicate and puniſh all heretics who ſhould be impeached.

Pope Innocent, being wholly diſſatisfied with the indolence of the biſhops, and their officials whoſe zeal he thought much too lukewarm againſt heretics; imagined that he perceived, in the Dominican and Franciſcan, whoſe orders were but lately founded, all the qualities requiſite for directing this new eſtabliſhment.

The monks of thoſe orders were fired with an implicit and boundleſs zeal for the court of Rome, and wholly devoted to it's intereſts. They had full leiſure to purſue that glorious work, as this would be their only buſineſs. They were deſcended from the dregs of the people; and had no kindred, as it were, or other tie, which might check the rigors of this tribunal; they were ſevere and inflexible: the ſolitude and auſtere life profeſſed by them, and of which they ſeemed already tired: the meanneſs of their dreſs and monaſteries, ſo widely different from their preſent ſtate; and, eſpecially, the humility and mendicant life to which they, perhaps, had too heedleſsly devoted themſelves: theſe things, rendered them exceedingly fit for the office in queſtion, which (in the opinion of the pontiff) would ſoften the aſperity of their vows, and ſooth their ambition, ſome ſeeds whereof were ſtill left in their minds.

Innocent III. having thus made ſure of a ſet of people, ſo firmly devoted to his ſervice, and ſo admirably well qualified to exerciſe an employment, whoſe chief characteriſtics are extreme ſeverity and cruelty; ſought for every opportunity to increaſe their authority, by appointing them a particular tribunal, where they were to ſit, hear and pronounce ſentence againſt hereſies and heretics, as judges delegated by him, and repreſenting his perſon.

This pope firſt enlarged their authority, by impowering them to beſtow indulgences, to publiſh cruſades, and to excite nations and princes to join the cruſades, and march forth, in order to extirpate hereſy.

In 1244 the emperor Frederic II. increaſed their power much more, by publiſhing four edicts, in Pavia. He, therein, declared himſelf protector of the Inquiſitors; decreed, that the clergy ſhould take cognizance of hereſy, and the lay judges proſecute heretics, after that the former had heard them. He, likewiſe enacted, that all obſtinate heretics ſhould be burned; and ſuch as repented, impriſoned for life.

The reaſon why Frederic teſtified ſo much zeal for the Chriſtian religion, was, in order to deſtroy a report, which the popes, with whom he had been ingaged in violent conteſts ſpread, throughout all the courts of Chriſtendom, viz. that he intended to renounce the

Massacre of the Protestant Martyrs at ye Bridge over the River Bann in Ireland.

the chriſtian religion, and turn Mohammedan. This very probably induced him to exert himſelf, with greater ſeverity againſt the heretics, than any of his predeceſſors; he being the firſt emperor who ſentenced to death all heretics, without diſtinction.

But whatſoever might have been the motive which prompted this prince to act with ſo much rigour againſt them, it is certain, if he at firſt reaped ſome little advantage from this conduct, it afterwards proved infinitely prejudicial both to himſelf and his ſucceſſors; ſince the court of Rome turned the power with which he had inveſted the Inquiſitors, both againſt this monarch and the friends to the empire, not only in Italy, but in other countries.

In a word, the Roman pontiffs uſed their utmoſt endeavours to increaſe this authority, in order to make the Inquiſitors ſtill more formidable; they exerted this power with moſt ſucceſs under the ſpecious pretence of religion, by making all who preſumed to oppoſe the temporal authority of the popes feel the dire effects of it.

The tribunal is ſaid to have been introduced by the artifice of *John Perez de Saavedra*, of *Jaen*, in *Spain*. We are told, that he having found out the ſecret to counterfeit apoſtolical letters, amaſſed by that means, about thirty thouſand ducats, which were employed by him in order to bring the Inquiſition into Portugal, and that in the manner following: He aſſumed the character of Cardinal Legate from the Sea of Rome; when forming his houſhold of one hundred and fifty domeſtics, he was received in the above-mentioned quality, at *Seville*, and very honourably lodged in the archiepiſcopal palace.

Advancing after this towards the frontiers of Portugal, he diſpatched one of his ſecretaries to the King, to acquaint with his arrival, and to preſent him with fictious letters from the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and ſeveral other princes, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, who all intreated his majeſty to favour the legate's pious deſigns.

The king overjoyed at this legation, ſent a lord of his court to compliment him, and attend him to the royal palace, where he reſided about three months.

The mock-legate having ſucceeded in his deſigns, by laying the foundation of the Inquiſition, took leave of his majeſty, and departed, greatly ſatisfied with his atchievement; but unluckily for himſelf, he was diſcovered on the confines of Caſtile, and known to have been formerly a domeſtic of a Portugueſe nobleman. He was then ſeized, and ſentenced ten years to the gallies, where he continued a very long time, till at laſt he was releaſed from thence, anno 1556, by a brief from pope Paul IV. This pontiff, who uſed to call the Inquiſition, *the grand ſpring of the papacy*, wanting to ſee him.

We are told that the Inquiſition of Portugal was copied from that of Spain, and introduced in the former, anno 1535. But Mr. de la Neuville

in his hiſtory of Portugal, declares, that the Inquiſition was introduced there anno 1537, under John III, and ſettled in the cities of Liſbon, Corribra, and Evora.

The Inquiſition has ſubſiſted ever ſince in Portugal, and is the moſt ſevere, the moſt rigid and cruel of any in the world.

The tribunal in queſtion roſe, afterwards, with the Spaniſh and Portugueſe names, and ſhared as it were in their acquiſitions; for theſe two nations making boundleſs conqueſts in both the Indies, eſtabliſhed the Inquiſition in the ſeveral countries won by their arms after the ſame methods and under the ſame regulations as in their dominions in Europe.

We find that endeavours were uſed to introduce the Inquiſition into England under the reign of queen Mary. *The juſtices of the peace, ſays biſhop Burnet, were now every where ſo ſlack in the proſecution of heretics, that it ſeemed neceſſary to find out other tools: So the courts of Inquiſition were thought on.*

Theſe were ſet up in France againſt the Albigenſes, and afterwards in Spain for diſcovering the Moors; and were now turned upon the heretics. Their power was unaccountable; they ſeized on any thing they pleaſed, upon ſuch informations or preſumptions as lay before them. They managed their proceſſes in ſecret, and put their priſoners to ſuch torture as they thought fit, for extorting confeſſions or diſcoveries from them.

At this time in 1557, both the Pope and king Philip, though they differed in other things, agreed in this, that they were the only ſure means of extirpating hereſy. So as a ſtep to the ſetting them up, a commiſſion was given to Bonner, and twenty more, the greateſt part lay-men, to ſearch all over England for all ſuſpected of hereſy, who did not hear maſs, go in proceſſions, or take holy bread, or holy water.

They were authoriſed, three being a quorum, to proceed, either by preſentments, or other politic ways. They were to deliver all they diſcovered to their ordinaries; and were to uſe all ſuch means as they could invent, which left to their directions and conſciences for executing their commiſſion. Many other commiſſions, ſubaltern to theirs, were iſſued out for ſeveral counties and dioceſes.

This was looked on as ſuch an advance towards an Inquiſition, that all concluded it would follow ere long. The burnings were carryed on vigorouſly in ſome places, and but coldly in moſt parts; for the diſlike of them grew to be almoſt univerſal.

How greatly are we indebted to ſuch of our generous anceſtors, as, under the immortal Queen Elizabeth, reſcued us, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, from that diabolical yoke, the Inquiſition, which Britons, it is to be hoped, will never fall ſo low as to ſuffer to take footing among them.

The Inquiſition has not enlarged its juriſdiction ſince the attempts made to force it into the Netherlands. Such countries as had admitted this tribunal before, are ſtill ſubject to it, and thoſe which had refuſed it, have been

ſo

ſo happy as to keep it out; ſo that it is now confined to a great part of Italy, and the dominions ſubject to the crowns of Spain and Portugal; yet its power reaches over a larger extent of ground than all Europe; and in the ſeveral places where it is eſtabliſhed, the ſad marks thereof are put too apparent.

The officers of the inquiſition are three inquiſitors or judges, a fiſcal proctor, two ſecretaries, a judge, a receiver, and a ſecretary of confiſcated poſſeſſions, aſſeſſors, councellors, an executor, phyſicians and ſurgeons, a jailor, a meſſenger, door-keepers, families and viſitors, who are inveſted with great privileges, and ſworn to the utmoſt ſecreſy.

The firſt circumſtance which ſubjects a perſon to this tribunal, is hereſy. Under this head are comprehended all perſons who have ſpoken, written, taught or practiſed any tenets contrary to the ſcriptures, to the articles of the creed, and eſpecially to the traditions of the church of Rome.

Likewiſe ſuch as have denied the Catholic faith, by going over to ſome other religion; or who, though they do not quit the Romiſh communion, praiſe the cuſtoms and ceremonies of other churches; practiſe ſome of them; or believe that perſons may be ſaved in all religions, provided they profeſs them with ſincerity.

They alſo conſider as heretics, all who diſapprove any ceremonies or cuſtoms received not only by the church, but even by the inquiſition.

All who think, ſay, or teach any thing contrary to the opinion received at Rome, with regard to the Pope's unlimitted authority, and his ſuperiority over general councils: or, who ſpeak, teach, or write, contrary to the papal deciſions on what occaſion ſoever.

A ſuſpicion of hereſy, which is the ſecond caſe, is ſtill more extenſive, for to incur ſuſpicion it is enough that ſuch a perſon only ſtart ſome offenſive propoſition, or fail to impeach thoſe who advance ſuch,—or contemn, or mutilate images,—or read books condemned by the Inquiſition, or lend them to others.

That perſon, alſo, incurs this ſuſpicion, who deviates from the ordinary cuſtoms relating to religion practiſed by the Romaniſts; as letting a year paſs without going to confeſſion or communion; the eating meat on fiſh days, or neglecting maſs at the times injoined by the church.

They alſo are ſuſpected, who, being in holy orders, repeat ſuch ſacraments as ſhould not be repeated; endeavour to enter into the marriage ſtate; or marry two or three wives.

In fine, ſuch incur a ſuſpicion of hereſy as go but once to the ſermons of heretics, or any other of their public exerciſes, or neglect to appear before the Inquiſitors when ſummoned, or procure abſolution the ſame year they were excommunicated; alſo the lodging, or contracting a friendſhip, with heretics, making them preſents, or even viſiting them; eſpecially the preventing their impriſonment in the Inquiſition; or furniſhing them with opportunity of eſcaping, though excited thereto by the ſtrongeſt ties of blood,

of

of gratitude, or pity. Nay, to ſuch lengths is this article carried by the Inquiſitors, that perſons are not only forbidden to ſave heretics, but are obliged to diſcover them, though a father, brother, huſband, or wife, on pain of excommunication, of incurring a ſuſpicion of hereſy, and of being obnoxious to the rigours of the tribunal, as abettors of the hereſy. How unnatural, how cruel is ſuch an injunction!

Under the name of Fautors, or abettors of hereſy, which conſtitute the third caſe, are comprehended all who favour, or defend, the proteſtant principles.

Theſe are diſtinguiſhed by the adviſing, or aſſiſting, in any manner, thoſe whom the Inquiſitions have begun to proſecute,—or, who, knowing perſons to be heretics, or, to have eſcaped from the priſons of the Inquiſition, or, who, upon their being cited to appear, refuſed to obey the ſummons, yet conceal, adviſe, or aſſiſt them in order to their eſcape: likewiſe, all who by threats, or otherwiſe, moleſt the agents of the tribunal in the execution of their office; or who, though they do not themſelves obſtruct them, aid or abet oppoſers.

Under the name of Fautors of hereſy are alſo included thoſe who ſpeak, without permiſſion, to the priſoners, or who write to them, either to give them advice or comfort.

Such as by money, or otherwiſe, prevail on witneſſes to be ſilent, or to favour the priſoners in their depoſitions; or who conceal, burn, or get poſſeſſion, in any manner whatever, of papers which may be of uſe to convict perſons accuſed.

The fourth caſe ſubject to the judgment of the Inquiſition, includes magicians, wizards, ſooth-ſayers, and the like, of whom it is ſuppoſed, very idly ſure, that there are more in Italy than in any other country, the Italian women being ſtrangely curious and credulous.

We ſhall not ſpecify the various accuſations brought on theſe occaſions, they conſiſting of ridiculous ſuperſtitions, ariſing from a heated imagination and blind credulity, rather than from a depraved will, and a corrupt heart.

We will only obſerve, that among the ſeveral caſes ſubject to the Inquiſition, none fills it's priſons with a greater number of women of all conditions.

Blaſphemy, the fifth caſe, though very common, and one of the greateſt crimes, yet the Inquiſitors do not take cognizance of it, except it contain ſome hereſy. We ſhall forbear giving inſtance thereof here, it being much better for mankind that ſuch things ſhould be buried in oblivion.

Though neither Jews, Mohammedans, or ſuch like, are ſubject to the Inquiſition, yet in many things they are obnoxious to it, as in all the caſes above-mentioned; thoſe crimes not being tolerated in Jews and Mohammedans, &c. more than in Chriſtians.

Farther, the above-mentioned become ſubject to the Inquiſition, if they aſſert, write, or publiſh any particulars contrary to the Roman communion.

Thus

Thus, for inſtance, ſhould a Jew or Mohammedan deny a Trinity, or a Providence, he would be puniſhed as an heretic; as alſo was he to hinder a perſon, profeſſing any of thoſe relions, from turning Chriſtian, or convert a Romaniſt to theirs, or favour ſuch a deſign.

Jews are not allowed to vend, publiſh, or even keep the Talmud, or any book which ſpeaks contemptuouſly of the Chriſtian religion, or is prohibited by the Inquiſition; and in fine, are not permitted to have Chriſtian nurſes, or to do any thing in contempt of the Romiſh religion.

The Inquiſitors take cognizance of ſuch caſes, and puniſh offenders in them with the utmoſt ſeverity; ſo that the dread of this obliges thoſe unhappy people to become converts to popery.

The utter abhorrence in which theſe new converts are held, makes them unite more cloſely one with the other, in order to perform mutual ſervices, which they could not expect from the old Chriſtians. But this very union is commonly the ſource of their misfortunes.

To illuſtrate this I need but obſerve, that, if a new Chriſtian, who is ſincerely ſuch, happens to contract a very ſtrict intimacy with other new Chriſtians, this alone would be ſufficient to make him ſuſpected of practiſing Jewiſh ceremonies with them, in ſecret.

In conſequence of this ſuſpicion, ſuch perſon is ſeized by order of the holy office, and accuſed, by a depoſition of ſome perſon, of being a Jew. Being conſcious of his innocence, he flatters himſelf, that nothing will be eaſier for him than to prove it publicly; whence he makes no difficulty to comply with the cuſtom eſtabliſhed by the Inquiſitors, viz. of giving in immediately a complete inventory of all his effects, &c. upon the firm perſuaſion that they will be reſtored to him the inſtant he ſhall have juſtified himſelf. But he is miſtaken, for, preſently after he has given in ſuch inventory, the Inquiſitors ſeize his effects, and ſell them publicly by auction.

The bare accuſation pronounces him guilty, and he has no other way to eſcape the flames, than by making a confeſſion conformably to the articles of the indictment. As his accuſers, the witneſſes, and himſelf, are not brought face to face, his innocence is of no ſervice. His riches prove his ruin, thoſe being certainly ſeized; and his life would inevitable fall a ſacrifice ſhould he not acknowledge himſelf a relapſed Jew, though he had always been a zealous Romaniſt.

The ſixth and laſt caſe ſubject to the judgment of the Inquiſition, is of thoſe who reſiſt its officers, or any way oppoſe it's juriſdiction. As one of the chief maxims of the tribunal is to ſtrike terror, and to awe ſuch as are ſubject to it; it puniſhes, with the utmoſt ſeverity, all who offend it's agents and officers.

On theſe occaſions the ſlighteſt fault is conſidered as an heinous crime. Neither birth, employment, dignity, or rank, can protect. To threaten ever ſo little, the loweſt officer belonging to

the Inquiſition, it's informers, or witneſſes, would be puniſhed with the extremeſt rigour.

Such are the caſes which ſubject a perſon to the Inquiſition.

Having thus treated of the caſes which ſubject a perſon to this tribunal; we will now conſider the ways by which ſuch a one becomes ſo.

Firſt, by common fame, which declares him to be guilty of one or more of the crimes before ſpecified.

Secondly, by the depoſition of witneſſes, who impeach him.

Thirdly, by his being informed againſt by the ſpies of the inquiſition, who are diſperſed every where. And

Fourthly, by the confeſſion of the priſoner, who accuſes himſelf in hopes of being treated with greater humanity, than if he had been informed againſt by others.

The manner of proſecuting a perſon impeached is, ſometimes, upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion. Firſt, he is ſummoned three ſeveral times, to appear before the Inquiſitors; when, if, thro' fear or contempt, he ſhould neglect to do this, he would be excommunicated, and ſentenced, proviſionally, to pay a conſiderable fine, after which, ſhould he be ſeized, a more ſevere ſentence would inevitably be paſſed upon him.

The ſafeſt courſe, therefore, for a perſon impeached, is, to obey the firſt ſummons. The longer he delays, on this occaſion, the more criminal he makes himſelf in the eye of the Inquiſitors, though he ſhould really be innocent.

To diſobey their command is ever conſidered by them as a crime. They always look upon delays to be certain indications of guilt, as ſhowing a dread to appear before the judges.

When, therefore, a perſon is reduced to this ſad extremity, nothing can ſecure him from the moſt rigorous puniſhment but a voluntary and perpetual exile. Nothing is forgot by the inquiſitors; time cannot obliterate any crime; and preſcription is a thing unknown to them.

It frequently happens that the Inquiſitors, either from their conſidering the crime of which a perſon ſtands impeached as enormous, and that they have ſufficient evidence againſt him, or from their apprehending that he may eſcape, immediately iſſue their order, without firſt ſending a ſummons, for his being ſeized in any place whatever.

When this is the caſe, no aſylum or privilege can ſtop, a ſingle moment, the proſecution, nor abate it's rigors.

The Inquiſitors give an order, under their own hands, to the executor, who takes a ſufficient number of familiars along with him, to prevent a reſcue.

Words cannot deſcribe the calamity of a man under theſe circumſtances. He, perhaps, is ſeized, when in company with his friends, and ſurrounded by his family; a father by his ſon's ſide; a ſon by that of his Father; and a wife in the company of her huſband. No perſon is allowed to make the leaſt reſiſtance, or even to ſpeak a ſingle word in favour of the wretched priſoner; who is not indulged a moment's reſpite to ſettle his moſt important affairs.

From hence our reader may judge of the continual apprehenſion with which

which the perſons, who inhabit the countries where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed, muſt neceſſarily be filled; ſince, in order to ſecure themſelves from it, one friend is obliged to ſacrifice another; ſons their parents; parents their children; huſbands their wives, and wives their huſbands, by accuſing them to the pretended holy office.

How horrid a ſcene of perfidy and inhumanity! What kind of community muſt that be, whence gratitude, love, and a mutual forbearance, with regard to human frailties, are baniſhed! What muſt that tribunal be, which obliges parents, not only to eraſe from their minds the remembrance of their own children, to extinguiſh all thoſe keen ſenſations of tenderneſs and affection wherewith nature inſpires them, but even to extend their inhumanity ſo far as to force them to commence their accuſers, and, conſequently, to become the cauſe of the cruelties inflicted upon them!

What ideas ought we to form to ourſelves of a tribunal, which obliges children not only to ſtifle every ſoft impulſe of gratitude, love, and reſpect, due to thoſe who gave them birth, but even forces them, and that under the moſt rigorous penalties, to be ſpies over their parents, and to diſcover, to a ſet of mercileſs Inquiſitors, the crimes the errors, and even the little lapſes to which human frailty ſo often expoſes. In a word, a tribunal, which will not permit relations, when impriſoned in it's horrid dungeons, to give each other the ſuccours, or to perform the duties which religion injoins.

What diſorder and confuſion muſt ſuch a conduct give riſe to in a tenderly affectionate family! an expreſſion, innocent in itſelf, and, perhaps, but too true, ſhall, from an indiſcreet zeal, or a panic fear, give infinite uneaſineſs to a family, ſhall ruin it's peace intirely, and, perhaps, at length, cauſe one or more of it's members to be the innocent, unhappy victims of the moſt barbarous of all tribunals.

What diſtractions muſt neceſſarily break forth in an houſe where the huſband and wife are at variance, or the children looſe and wicked! Will ſuch children ſcruple to ſacrifice a father, who endeavours to reſtrain them by his exhortations, by reproofs, or paternal corrections? Will not they rather, after plundering his houſe to ſupport their extravagance and riot, readily deliver up their unhappy parent to all the horrors of a procedure, founded on the blackeſt injuſtice.

A riotous huſband, or a looſe wife, have likewiſe an eaſy opportunity, aſſiſted by means of the proſecutions in queſtion, to rid themſelves of one who is a check to their vices, by delivering him or her up to the rigours of the Inquition.

Every deteſtable expedient, ſuch as falſe oaths and teſtimonies, are employed, with impunity, to ſacrifice an innocent perſon. Very juſtly, therefore, might an ingenious French author, a Romaniſt, write thus, ſpeaking of the various courts in Lima: *The moſt formidable of all the tribunals is that of the Inquiſition, whoſe bare name ſtrikes univerſal terror. 1ſt. Becauſe the informer, is admitted as a witneſs. 2dly,*

As

As the perſons impeached never know thoſe who inform againſt them. 3dly, As the witneſſes are never confronted. Hence innocent people are daily ſeized, whoſe only crime is, that certain wretches are bent on their deſtruction.

When a perſon is once impriſoned by the Inquiſitors, his treatment is ſtill more cruel. He is more thoroughly ſearched, to diſcover, if poſſible, any books or papers which may ſerve to convict him; or ſome inſtrument he may employ to put an end to his life, in order to eſcape the torture, &c. Of this there are but too many ſad examples; and ſome priſoners have been ſo raſh as to daſh out their brains againſt a wall, upon their being unprovided with ſciſſars, a knife, a rope, or the like.

After a priſoner has been carefully ſearched, and his money, papers, buckles, rings, &c. are taken from him, he is conveyed to a dungeon, the ſight of which muſt fill him with horror. Torn from his family and friends, who are not allowed acceſs, or even to ſend him one conſolatory letter, or take the leaſt ſtep in his favour, in order to prove his innocence: he ſees himſelf inſtantly abandoned to his inflexible judges, to melancholy and deſpair, and even often to his moſt inveterate enemies, quite uncertain of his fate. Innocence, on ſuch an occaſion, is as a week reed, nothing being eaſier, than to ruin an innocent perſon.

After his arrival at the priſon, the Inquiſitor, attended by the officers of this mock holy tribunal, goes to the priſoner's abode, and there cauſes an exact inventory to be made of all his papers, effects, and of every thing found in his houſe. They frequently ſeize all his poſſeſſions, at leaſt the greateſt part of them, to pay themſelves the fine to which he may be ſentenced; for very few eſcape out of the inquiſition without being entirely ruined.

The houſe of the Inquiſition in Lisbon is a very ſpacious edifice. There are four courts, each about forty feet ſquare, round which are the cells or priſons, being in number about three hundred: thoſe on the ground floor are alloted for the vileſt of criminals, as they are termed, and are ſo many frightful dungeons, all of the free-ſtone, arched over, and very gloomy. The cells on the firſt floor are filled with leſs guilty perſons; and women are commonly lodged in thoſe of the ſecond ſtory. Theſe ſeveral galleries are hid from view, both within and without, by a wall above fifty feet high; built a few feet diſtant from the cells, which darkens them exceedly.

The houſe in queſtion is of ſo great an extent, and contains ſo vaſt a variety of turnings, that I am perſuaded a priſoner could ſcarce find his way out, unleſs he was previouſly well acquainted with them.

The apartments of the chief Inquiſitor, which likewiſe are very large, make part of this houſe. The entrance to it is through a coach-gate, which leads to a large court or yard, round which are ſeveral ſpacious apartments, where the king and his court commonly ſtand, to view the proceſſion

ceſſion of the priſoners on the day of the Auto da fe.

The furniture of the miſerable dungeons juſt mentioned, is, a ſtraw bed, a blanket, ſheets, and, ſometimes a mattraſs. The priſoner has likewiſe a frame of wood, about ſix feet long, and three or four wide: this he lays on the ground, and ſpreads his bed upon it. He alſo has a large earthen pot to eaſe nature in; an earthren pan, for waſhing himſelf; two pitchers, one for clean, and the other for foul water; a plate, and a little veſſel with oil, to light his lamp: he is not, however, allowed any books, not even thoſe of devotion.

With reſpect to proviſions, the Inquiſitors allow every priſoner a teſtoon, ſeven-pence half-penny, Engliſh money, per day, for his ſubſiſtance.

The gaoler, accompanied with two other officers, viſits, at the end of every month, all the priſoners, to inquire how they would have their monthly allowance laid out. The priſoner uſually expends nine teſtoons for part of his proviſions; that is, for a porringer of broth, and half a pound of boiled beef, daily; eight teſtoons for bread, four for cheeſe, two for fruit, four for brandy, and the reſt for oranges, lemons, ſugar, and waſhing.

The gaoler's ſecretary, who accompanies him, takes an exact account of what particulars every priſoner requeſts to be provided with during the month; which orders are punctually obſerved; the perſon who is appointed to furniſh the priſoners on theſe occaſions being puniſhed in caſe he infringes them.

Such as have a great appetite, or deſire wine, as foreigners do, petition for an audience, in order to ſet forth their wants; and theſe are uſually ſupplied, provided ſuch indulgence does not foment intemperance, or in ſickneſs, that the Inquiſitors ſhow ſome little humanity. Theſe excepted, nothing is found in them but ſeverity and barbarity. They are quite inflexible; for when once a perſon has the misfortune to be their priſoner, he is not only forbidden all correſpondence with his family and friends, but even to ſigh, complain, addreſs heaven aloud, to ſing pſalms or hymns, or, in ſhort, to make the leaſt noiſe.

Theſe are eſteemed capital crimes, for which the guards or attendants of the Inquiſition, who are ever walking up and down the paſſages, firſt reprove him ſharply; but if he happen to make any noiſe a ſecond time, they open his cell, and ſeverely beat him; and this, not only to puniſh the priſoner offending, but likewiſe to intimidate others, who, by reaſon of the horrid ſilence which ever reigns there, and proximity of the cells, may hear the blows and the cries of the wretched victim. Of this barbarity we will here beg leave to give an inſtance, atteſted by ſeveral perſons.

A priſoner having a violent cough, one of the guards came and ordered him not to make a noiſe: he replied, that it was not in his power to forbear, when his cough increaſing, he was commanded, a ſecond time, to be ſilent; but this being impoſſible, he ſtripped the poor creature naked, and

beat him so unmercifully that his cough grew worse, and the blows being again repeated, he died soon after.

By this silence, which the guards and keepers force prisoners to observe, they not only deny them every little consolation, but prevent such as are neighbours from making the least acquaintance; for the instant this should be found out, they would be removed to other cells.

They never lodge two prisoners in the same cell; to prevent, as the inquisitors pretend, their consulting together, in order to suppress or conceal the truth, or baffle the interrogatories; but the chief motive for keeping those unhappy persons apart, is, to extort from them, by the dread solitude of their confinement, a confession of whatever the Inquisitors may require from them.

However, on some occasions two prisoners are lodged together in the same cell; as, for instance, when a husband and wife are imprisoned for the like crime, and that there is no room to suspect that one of them will prevent the other from freely confessing the several articles of which he or she may stand indicted.

When a prisoner is sick, a companion is given him, in order to assist him, as he is told.

Likewise, when the inquisitors have not been able to prevail with a prisoner to plead guilty, and that there are not proofs sufficient to convict him, they then send him a companion, who has been taught his lesson before-hand by the officers of the Inquisition; and this companion artfully glides into the confidence of the prisoner, wins his friendship, and inveighs strongly against the Inquisitors; accuse them of injustice, cruelty, and barbarity, and, insensibly, causes the unhappy victim to join his reproaches against the Inquisitors and the Inquisition.

This is a black and unpardonable crime; and, should the prisoner inadvertently fall into this trap, he would be inevitable undone; for then his companion immediately desires to be admitted to audience, appears as a witness against him, and is no longer his fellow prisoner.

A day or two after a prisoner is brought into his cell his hair is cut off and his head shaved.

On these occasions no distinction is made in age, sex, or birth. He then is ordered to tell his name, his profession, and to make a discovery of whatever he is worth in the world.

To induce him to do this the more readily, the Inquisitor promises, that, if he be really innocent, the several things disclosed by him will be carefully restored; but that should any effects, &c. concealed by him be afterwards found, they will all be confiscated, though he may be cleared.

As most of the Portuguese are so weak as to be firmly persuaded of the sanctity and integrity of this tribunal, they do not scruple to discover even such things as they might the most easily conceal, from a firm belief that every particular will be restored to them the moment their innocence shall be proved.

However, these hapless persons are imposed upon; for those who have the sad

ſad fortune to fall into the mercileſs hands of theſe Iniquitous Judges, are inſtantly bereaved of all their poſſeſſions.

In caſe they plead their innocence, with regard to the crimes of which they ſtand accuſed, and yet ſhould be convicted by the witneſſes who ſwore againſt them, they then would be ſentenced as guilty, and their whole poſſeſſions confiſcated.

If priſoners, in order to eſcape the torture, and in hopes of being ſooner ſet at liberty, own the crime or crimes of which they are impeached, they are then pronounced guilty by their own confeſſion, and the public in general, think their effects, &c. juſtly confiſcated.

If ſuch priſoners come forth as repentant criminals, who have voluntarily accuſed themſelves, they yet dare not plead their innocence; ſince they thereby would run the hazard of being impriſoned again, and ſentenced, not only as hypocrite penitents, but likewiſe as wretches who accuſe the inquiſitors of injuſtice; ſo that what courſe ſoever theſe perſons might take, they would certainly loſe all ſuch poſſeſſions belonging to them as the Inquiſitors had ſeized.

Sometimes a priſoner paſſes ſeveral months in his cell without having a ſingle word of being brought to his trial; nay, even without knowing the crime of which he ſtands impeached, or a ſingle witneſs who hath ſworn againſt him.

At laſt the jailor tells him, as of his own motion, that it will be proper for him to ſue to be admitted to audience. In caſe he conſents to this propoſal, he is then conducted, for the firſt time, bareheaded to the judges.

Being come to one of the doors of the tribunal, the keeper knocks thrice, upon which the door is opened by one of the attendants, or porters of the inquiſition.

The priſoner is commanded to ſtay in the anti-chamber, till the porter has knocked three times at the door of the great hall.

This is done in order to give the inquiſitors time to prepare for, and receive the priſoner; that is, for them to diſmiſs all perſons to whom they may be giving audience, thereby to prevent the priſoner from ſeeing, or being ſeen by them.

Every thing being made ready purſuant to the orders given for the purpoſe, the judge who preſides in the great hall, ſignifies it by ringing a little bell; upon which the porter of the hall opens the door. The priſoner enters, guarded by his two keepers; when theſe advancing towards the table, give the priſoner a ſtool; after which, ceremoniouſly bending the knee, they retire.

The preſident then bids the priſoner to kneel down, at the ſame time ordering him to lay his right hand on a book, which he preſents to him, cloſed. He then proceeds to addreſs him in theſe words, *Will you promiſe to conceal the ſecrets of this holy office, and to ſpeak the truth?* — If the priſoner anſwers in the affirmative, the preſident commands him to be ſeated, and afterwards aſks him a great variety of queſtions, with reſpect to all

ſuch

ſuch crimes as he may have committed, cognizable by the Inquiſition.

The ſecretary writes down very accurately the ſeveral interogations and anſwers; which being done, he rings the little bell, when the priſoner is conducted back to his cell in the ſame manner as he had been brought from it; but not till after he has been exhorted to recollect all the ſins he may ever committed ſince his arrival at the years of diſcretion.

In caſe the priſoner has made an ingenuous confeſſion, and complied with all the cuſtoms and orders of the Inquiſition, the gaoler and underkeeper, who are apprized of his conduct by the examiners, make him a low bow, and aſſume an air of mildneſs towards him. But if on the contrary, he ſhall decline a direct anſwer to all ſuch interrogatories as they are pleaſed to propoſe, and happens to employ ambiguous or evaſive expreſſions, as they may he deemed; ſuch as, *I do not know, I cannot call to mind, I have forgot*, or the like, he is then remanded to his cell with the rough ſoverity of indignation.

Some days after this firſt audieuce, the priſoner is again brought before his judges, with the like formality as before. He is then aſked, whether he hath ſeriouſly examined and ſcrutinized into his paſt life, and has any thing farther to divulge.

In caſe he ſhall accuſe himſelf of ſome other crime or crimes, his declaration is received, and drawn up by the ſecretary: but if he refuſes to make any further confeſſion, the judge, by a thouſand ſubtile ſhifting enſnaring queſtions, endeavours to draw from him ſuch anſwers as may condemn him.

This ſnare, which is laid with the utmoſt caution and addreſs, can hardly be eſcaped; for ſhould the priſoner have been confined merely on ſuch a random feeble report as is inſufficient to convict him, the judges would be greatly embarraſſed in caſe he ſhould not fall one way or other into the toils they have ſpread for him, nor furniſh, by his anſwers, wherewithal to find him guilty.

Farther, as the Inquiſitors promiſe to treat with the greateſt lenity, and even to releaſe thoſe who ſhall accuſe themſelves before their crimes have been proved.

Some priſoners are thus over-reached and plead guilty of the offences they ſtand charged with, in hopes of obtaining, by ſuch a voluntary confeſſion, the ſpeedy releaſe which is ſo ſolemnly promiſed them.

They often go a ſtep farther, and ſome have been known even to declare themſelves guilty of crimes of which they are wholly innocent: a circumſtance which is always infinitely pleaſing to the Inquiſitors, eſpecially when they are not furniſhed with matter ſufficient for the priſoner's conviction.

But ſhould a priſoner, either becauſe he is really innocent, or too much on his guard to be cajoled or impoſed on by their artifices, perſiſt in pleading not guilty to their charge, then a written copy of his indictment is given him;

him; wherein the Inquiſitors frequently intermix many falſe accuſations relating to the moſt enormous offences, with thoſe of which he ſtands indicted; all ſuch circumſtances, ſworn to by the witneſſes, as might be of ſervice to the priſoner, being ſuppreſſed.

The blending truth and falſhood together in this manner, is another trap laid for the wretched victim; for as he does not fail to inveigh bitterly againſt the horrid crimes with which he is falſly charged, his judges take occaſion from thence to ſuppoſe, however unjuſtly, that thoſe concerning which he complains leaſt, are true. How falſe ſoever this conſequence may be, it is, notwithſtanding, turned greatly to the diſadvantage of the priſoner.

After the priſoner has received the articles of indictment in writing, he is aſked, whether he deſires to have a counſellor. However, he is not at liberty to chuſe one: a counſellor not being allowed to defend the cauſe of an heretic, upon pain of being himſelf declared infamous.

This perſon, therefore, is appointed by the Inquiſitors, who take care to ſecure him to their own intereſts by an oath. Such an aſſiſtant muſt conſequently be of little ſervice to the priſoner, as he is not permitted to be his advocate, to give him advice, or to ſearch for proofs of his innocence, unleſs in the preſence of the Inquiſitors.

Thus the priſoner is reduced to the ſad neceſſity of defending himſelf againſt accuſers and witneſſes who are wholly unknown to him. The fiſcal profeſſor is his accuſer, and the only perſon he is permitted to know.

It is to no purpoſe that he preſſes to be informed of, and confronted with, the witneſſes, who have ſworn againſt him. The only circumſtance in his power is to gueſs at them, and to aſk if ſuch and ſuch people are not his enemies, to which no anſwer, affirmative or negative, is returned him.

The Inquiſitors then proceed in their interrogations; when, if the priſoner ſtill continues to deny the charge, he is again remanded to his cell.

In fine, after being ſometimes conducted from the priſon to audience, and from audience to the priſon, perhaps, for ſeveral years together, his trial is at length prepared, and definitively concluded.

For this purpoſe he is taken before the Inquiſitors, who deliver him a copy of the depoſitions of the ſeveral witneſſes; but not till they have expunged every particular which might ſerve to his juſtification; as, likewiſe, all ſuch circumſtances of perſons and places, as might give the priſoner light with regard to the witneſſes who have ſworn againſt him.

If the priſoner is not prepared to reply to the articles of which he ſtands accuſed, he is allowed three or four days to conſider of them; and for this purpoſe he is remanded back to his dungeon.

On this occaſion the unhappy creature racks his thoughts in order, if poſſible, to trace out his accuſers; with reſpect to whom he yet often remains in doubt, after all his recollection and diſtracting reflexions.

This time being elapſed, he is again ſummoned before his judges. He then is heard, with regard to any exceptions he may make, as to the witneſſes, or the depoſitions ſworn againſt him, though he knows neither names, profeſſions, or characters. What inconſiſtency! But ſhould he happen to pitch upon the real perſons, and give his reaſons why he ſuppoſes they would endeavour to exerciſe their malice againſt him, by falſe and unjuſt accuſations; this, though, perhaps, it might tend to weaken their teſtimony, yet it would not avail him to invalidate it, eſpecially if he ſhould be charged with any black and heinous crimes.

Such are the prerogatives of the witneſſes of this tribunal, who are never named, confronted, or known, by which means crouds of them are eaſily to be procured.

In the caſe of hereſy, the inhumanity of the Inquiſitors is ſo great, that every perſon, how infamous ſoever his character may be; though a thief, falſe-ſwearer, or the like; yet his teſtimony would be received: and this would ſuffice to precipitate a poor injured priſoner to the flames.

The priſoner having given in his anſwers; in caſe the Inquiſitors are not ſatisfied with them; if the charge is not ſufficiently proved, or the judges want to diſcover any accomplices the priſoner may be ſuppoſed to have; for theſe cauſes, or any of them, they order him to the torture, at the motion of the Fiſcal Profeſſor for that purpoſe; and this is immediately put in execution.

We have already obſerved, that in caſe a priſoner's confeſſion was not deemed ſatisfactory after every other method to extort it, had been attempted, without the deſired effect, namely, his full conviction of himſelf as to the crime laid to his charge in his indictment; the Inquiſitors then proceeded to the horrid expedient of Torturing the wretched victim of their cruelty. Of theſe diabolical tortures the following is a particular deſcription.

A late author who has written on the Inquiſition of Portugal, fully ſhews the difficulty of repreſenting the tortures to which the poor priſoner is condemned by his mercileſs judges, in order to draw from his own mouth what they cannot prove by witneſs. His words, upon this occaſion, may be no improper apology for any defect in our deſcription.

Oh! that I were able to give ſome faint idea of that variety of tortures which the miſerable victims are here forced to ſuffer! But no language can repreſent ſuch a complicated ſcene of horrors. It is utterly impoſſible for any words to deſcribe which of them is the moſt cruel and inhuman; every one is ſo exquiſite in it's kind, as to ſurpaſs all imagination.

What deteſtable monſters then, muſt thoſe judges be, who are the inventors and perpetrators of ſuch miſery! They are ſhaped, it is true, like other men, but ſurely they ſeem to have a different kind of ſouls: *They appear as little affected with the groans and agonies of their fellow-creatures, as the cords, and chains, and racks of torture, which are applied to their writhing limbs: The hearts of theſe eccleſiaſtical butchers are grown*

grown callous, and, like thoſe of the common ſpecies, ſo inured to the ſhedding of blood, and the horrid ſight of mangled carcaſſes, as to have loſt all the impreſſions of ſenſibility, and every touch and feeling of humanity.

Perpetual ſcenes of horror and diſtreſs become ſo familiar to their minds, that what would rend the very heart-ſtrings of ſome men, make no more impreſſion on theirs, than on a rock of adamant. Indeed, without ſuch a fiend-like temper, it were impoſſible for any man to act the part of an Inquiſitor.

To convince the unprejudiced (in which number every one muſt be included, who is not irrecoverably immerſed in the bottomleſs gulphs of popery, and nurſed up in it's true ſpirit of perſecution) that this is the genuine character of the miniſters of that tribunal, we hope the following paſſages will amply ſuffice, of whoſe authenticity there is not the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion.

According to the rules of the Inquiſition no one can be tortured more than thirce; but the extremity to which they carry their barbarity, ſeldom fails to kill, or render life ever afterwards a burden.

We ſhall here give the account of one who himſelf ſuffered, and ſurvived, the torture, which was inflicted with the utmoſt ſeverity the three ſeveral times:

I. On his refuſal to comply with the iniquitous demands of the Inquiſitors, by confeſſing all the crimes they thought proper to charge him with, he was immediately conveyed to the torture-room, where no light appeared, but what two candles gave, and made the ſcene more dreadful. To prevent the heart-rending cries, and ſhocking groans, of the unhappy ſufferers, from reaching the ears of the other priſoners, the doors of this room are lined with a ſort of quilt.

The readers will naturally ſuppoſe our author's horror; on entering the infernal place, he ſaw himſelf, on a ſudden, ſurrounded by ſix wretches, who, after preparing the tortures, ſtripped him naked to his drawers, and, laying him on his back, upon a kind of ſtand, or ſcaffold, raiſed a few feet from the floor, began their operation. Firſt, they put round his neck an iron collar, which was faſtened to the ſcaffold; then they fixed a ring to each foot, and that being done, ſtretched his limbs with all their might. Next, they wound two ropes round each arm, and two round each thigh; which ropes being paſſed under the ſcaffold, through holes made for the purpoſe, were all drawn tight, at the ſame inſtant of time, by four of the men, on a ſignal given, by one of them.

The pains which ſucceeded, were as will eaſily be conceived, intolerable. The ropes, which were of the ſize of the little finger, pierced through the priſoner's fleſh quite to the bone, making the blood guſh out at the eight different places that were thus bound. He ſtill, however, perſiſted in refuſing to make a further confeſſion than he had before given in; and the ropes were thus drawn together four different times. At his ſide ſtood a phyſician, and a ſurgeon, who

who often felt his temples, to judge of the danger he might be in; by which means his tortures were, for a while, ſuſpended, at intervals, that he might have no opportunity of recovering himſelf ſufficiently, to ſuſtain each enſuing rack.

In all this extremity of anguiſh, while the tender frame is tearing, as it were, in pieces; while at every pore it feels the ſharpeſt pangs of death, and the agonizing ſoul is juſt ready to burſt forth, and quit it's wretched manſion, the miniſters of the holy office have the obduracy of heart to look on without emotion, and calmly to adviſe the poor diſtracted creature to confeſs his imputed guilt: on which occaſion they promiſe him, that he may not only expect a pardon, but be permitted a releaſe. All this, however, was ineffectual with our author, whoſe mind was ſtrengthened by a ſweet conſciouſneſs of innocence, and the divine conſolations of religion.

While he was thus ſuffering, his phyſician and ſurgeon were ſo barbarouſly unjuſt as to declare, that if he died under the torture, he would be guilty, by his obſtinacy, of ſelf-murder. In fine, at the laſt time of the ropes being drawn tight, he grew ſo exceedingly weak, by his blood's circulation being ſtopped, and the pains he endured, that he ſwooned away; upon which he was carried back to his dungeon.

II. The barbarians of the holy office, finding that all the torture above-related, could extort no further diſcovery, but ſerved the more fervently to excite his ſupplications to heaven for patience, and power to preſevere in truth and integrity; were ſo inhuman, ſix weeks afterwards, as to expoſe him to another kind of torture, more grievous, if poſſible, than the former, and which was effected in this manner. They forced his arms backwards, ſo that the palms of his hands were turned outward behind him; when, by the means of a rope which faſtened them together, at the wriſts, and which was turned by an engine, they drew them, by degrees, nearer each other, in ſuch a manner that the back of each hand touched, and ſtood exactly parallel to the other. In conſequence of this violent contortion both his ſhoulders became diſlocated, and a conſiderable quantity of blood iſſued from his mouth. This torture was repeated thrice; after which he was again taken to the dungeon, and put into the hands of the phyſician and ſurgeon, who, in ſetting the diſlocated bones, put him to exquiſite miſery.

III. Two months after this, being a little recovered, he was again ordered to the torture-room; and there, for the laſt time, made to undergo another kind of puniſhment twice ſucceſſively, and without any intermiſion: The following account of which will enable the reader ſufficiently to conceive the horror of it:

The executioners turned twice round his body a thick iron chain, which croſſing upon his ſtomach, terminated at the wriſts, where it was faſtened. They then placed him with his back againſt a thick board, at each extremity

mity whereof was a pulley, through which there run a rope that catched the ends of the chain at his wrists.

The tormentors then stretching the end of this rope, by means of a roller, placed at a distance behind him, pressed or bruised, his stomach, in proportion as they were drawn tighter. They tortured him, on this occasion, to such a degree, that his wrists, as well as his shoulders, were put out of joint.

The surgeons, however, set them presently after; but the barbarians, not yet satisfied with this series of cruelty, made him immediately undergo the like rack a second time; which he sustained, though, if possible, attended with keener pains, with equal constancy and resolution.

He was then again remanded to his dungeon, attended by the surgeons to dress his bruises; and there continued till their Auto da Fe, or goal delivery: A solemnity, which we shall present our readers with the description hereafter.

From the above relation, however inaccurately or faintly drawn, it may easily be judged, what dreadful agony the sufferer must have laboured under, at being so frequently put to the torture.

Most of his limbs were disjointed: and so much was he bruised, and exhausted, as to be unable, for some weeks, to lift his hand to his mouth; and his body became vastly swelled by the inflammations caused by such frequent dislocations. He concludes his account with observing, he had too much reason to fear he should feel the sad effects of this cruelty so long as he lived; being seized, from time to time, with thrilling and excruciating pains, to which he had never been subject, till after he had the misfortune to fall under the merciless and bloody hands of the Inquisitors.

When this misfortune happens to be the case with young ladies (of which there are frequent instances:) Their cloaths are stripped off, and nothing put on them but a pair of coarse canvas drawers.

In this condition they are fixed to the rack, where very little regard is paid either to the tenderness and delicacy of their sex, or even to common decency.

How many of these poor creatures, merely from a powerful sense of shame, have rather chosen to plead guilty to the falsest accusations, than to have their modesty injured, and be treated in so brutal a manner? As shocking as this account may appear, the fact is not to be disputed, and to confirm it we shall here relate a particular case, which will serve as the most striking instance imaginable of the inhumanity of this tribunal.

The case was published in the Auto da Fe held at Evory, on the 18th of April 1660.

Maria de Coceiçao, born in the town of Estramoz, daughter of Manoel Soares Pereira, while living at her brother's, in Lisbon, was apprehended, with two of her sisters, all three being unmarried, and came out of prison in the same Auto, acquitted of the crime laid to her charge, which was, a vehement suspicion of Judaism, whereof she made her abjuration in form.

As the proofs againſt this young gentlewoman were far from ſatisfactory, and nothing could be drawn from her own mouth, to convict her, the Inquiſitors ordered her to be put on the rack, where, having almoſt got the better of the firſt tortures (theſe are the very words of the ſentence) ſhe was, at length, overcome by their violence, confeſſed the whole charge.

The cords were immediately ſlackened; and the officers, taking her down from the rack, put on her cloaths and carried her back to her cell.

As ſoon as ſhe had recovered the uſe of her limbs, ſhe was brought before the tribunal, to ratify her confeſſion. Inſtead of which, ſhe anſwered the Lords Inquiſitors, that every thing ſhe had uttered, whilſt ſhe was under the executioner's hands, was abſolutely falſe: That ſhe was, and ever had been a ſincere chriſtian: and that her confeſſion to the contrary had been extorted by the extremity of the torments, wherein ſhe found herſelf juſt expiring.

On hearing this, the judges immediately ordered her to be put again to the rack, which being as effectually applied as before, ſhe again ſunk under it's violence; and, in order to ſave her life, made the ſame confeſſion as before, which was taken down in writing, while her limbs were ſtill ſtretching with the cords! This being done, ſhe was once more taken down, and carried to her cell.

As ſoon as ſhe was in a condition to appear before the tribunal, they commanded her to ratify her firſt and ſecond confeſſions. She ſtill perſiſted in the ſame anſwer as before, and had now ſo much courage as to add, That were they to rack her an hundred times, ſhe ſhould always act in the ſame manner, until ſhe expired, or, at leaſt, ſo long as God ſhould afford her ſtrength to ſupport the torments: That their cruel treatment, and her own frailty, might poſſibly force her again to confeſs that of which ſhe was perfectly innocent; yet, the moment ſhe was taken off the rack, ſhe would revoke, and never ratify what had been thus extorted from her.

She farther intreated their lordſhips to take her caſe into ſerious conſideration, and to undeceive themſelves, as ſhe aſſured them, in the moſt pathetic terms, that this was her final reſolution, and that all the torments in the world ſhould never induce her to alter it.

The unrelenting Inquiſitors were ſo little affected at what ſhe ſaid, that they inſtantly commanded her to be racked a third time, which, as the ſentence itſelf declares, ſhe underwent, with amazing conſtancy.

For this heinous crime of refuſing to ratify her confeſſions, whereof ſhe now ſtood convicted, and having thrice borne the torture, which, as we have before obſerved, was the regular extent of puniſhment, in the holy office, ſhe was condemned to be whipped through the public ſtreets by the common hangman, and then to be baniſhed for ten years to an iſland principally inhabited by negroes.

This ſentence was pronounced againſt her when ſhe came out at the Auto da Fe, with her two ſiſters, who had

had likewiſe been accuſed of Judaiſm.

Oh thou Father of Mercies! and God of all conſolation! what heart is there, though ever ſo obdurate, except that of an Inquiſitor, which will not melt at ſuch a ſcene of oppreſſion, of cruelty and diſtreſs! Is it poſſible to read this account without indignation and horror? Good heavens! an innocent young lady, of ſo noble and exalted a ſpirit, poſſeſſed of ſuch generous and amazing fortitude, whipped like a miſcreant through the ſtreets of a city, by the hands of a common executioner, and then baniſhed to ſo wretched a place for ten years, after having been ſo long confined in ſuch a diſmal priſon, thrice put on the rack, and almoſt tortured to death!

Gonſalius, in his treatiſe of the holy Inquiſition of Spain, tells us, that the Inquiſitors of Seville ſeized and impriſoned Jane Bohorquia, a lady of noble extraction, on an information forced by torture from her own ſiſter, afterwards burned as an heretic, who depoſed, that ſhe had frequently diſcourſed with her ſiſter Jane on religious ſubjects.

The lady in queſtion was ſix months gone with child, for which reaſon the Inquiſitors treated her with leſs cruelty at firſt; however, a week after her delivery they took her infant away, and on the fifteenth day confined her more cloſely, and uſed her with no leſs ſeverity than the other priſoners; carrying on her proſecution with the uſual artifice and inhumanity.

In this miſerable ſtate her only conſolation was a young woman of great good-nature and piety; whom the Inquiſitors burned ſome time after, on pretence of her being a heretic: ſhe had before been ſo cruelly tortured, and reduced ſo very low, that ſhe could not move without feeling the moſt exquiſite pains. In which ſituation Mrs. Bohorquia comforted her as well as ſhe could, and behaved to her with all the tenderneſs of a parent.

Scarce was the poor young creature recovered, but Mrs. Bohorquia herſelf was ordered by the judges to the rack, and violently tortured, the ropes uſed in the operation having pierced quite to the bones of her arms, legs and thighs; ſhe was then carried back to her dungeon, caſting up continually great quantities of blood, which emaciated her to ſuch a degree that ſhe expired in a week after.

The Inquiſitors were more than ordinarily perplexed at her death, the rather, ſince ſhe was a native of Seville, it became neceſſary for the mock holy-office to give the inhabitants ſome account of her. Accordingly, in the next Auto de Fe, her ſentence was pronounced to the following effect, care being taken to ſuppreſs the cauſe of her exit.

Jane Bohorquia was dead in priſon, and that the Inquiſitors, after review-her proſecution, had found her innocent: that no farther proſecutions would be carried on againſt her: that*

* The better to underſtand this expreſſion of the Inquiſitors, we muſt obſerve, that they do not confine their power merely to the living; the dead are ſubjects of their ridiculous inhumanity;

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she was restored to her innocence and reputation; and therefore that all her possessions which had been confiscated should be restored to her heirs.

How barbarous a satisfaction to the relations of this lady, to declare her innocency after putting her to a most cruel death!

We cannot conclude our subject without taking notice of another instance of wontonness and excess of barbarity and injustice in the Inquisitors, which they practised on Dr. Isaac Orobio, a physician, as related by himself.

This gentleman tells us, That he was accused of Judaism by a Moor, who had been his servant, and whom he had caused to be beaten for theft. Dr. Orobio, after having been kept three years in prison, and interrogated several times, still persisted in denying the crimes laid to his charge; upon which he was tortured successively in the manner following:

First, they put on him a coarse linen coat, which the tormentors strained so very tight that his breath was almost lost; when loosing it on a sudden, the instantanious motion put him to incredible pain.

They next tied his two thumbs with small cords, so very hard, that the blood gushed from under his nails.

The third torture was, the tormentors seating him on a bench, his back against a wall, wherein little iron pullies were fixed; through these, ropes were run, which took hold of several parts of the body, and particularly his arms and legs; then the executioner, pulling these ropes with the utmost violence, drew the unhappy victim's back so close to the wall that his hands and feet, and particularly his thumbs and great toes were squeezed so violently that he felt the most accute pains, like to that of burning.

In the midst of these dreadful agonies, the bench was suddenly drawn from under him, so that the poor gentleman hung solely by the ropes; and being thus unsupported, the whole weight of his body drew the knots still tighter, and put him to inconceivable misery.

This torture was succeeded by another, performed by means of an instrument in form of a little ladder, crossed by five pieces of wood, and made sloping before. This instrument being set directly opposite to the sufferer, he received, on a certain motion of the torturers, at one and

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Not only those who die in prison before their process is completed, are prosecuted with a like formality as if they were alive; but they even prosecute such as have died many years before their being indicted, cause their bodies to be dug up, and burn them in the Auto da Fe.

The Inquisitors likewise confiscate their possessions, of which they make no scruple to dispossess their heirs not excepting even their children.

It is certain nothing can be easier than to condemn bones, as these are unable to defend themselves; but this proceeding will not be wondered at when the reader is assured, that such of the living as become victims to the tribunal, are no better heard in the Inquisition, than if they were really dead.

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the ſame time, five dreadful blows on the cheek, which put him to ſuch pain that he fainted away.

Recovering afterwards, the laſt torture was inflicted, which was effected in this manner. The executioners faſtened ropes about the doctor's wriſts, then wound them round his body; after which he was laid upon his back, with his feet againſt a wall; this being done, the executioner drew him, with all his might, ſo that the ropes pierced quite to his bones.

This torture was thrice repeated: the cords being fixed round the priſoner's arms, not above two finger's breadth from the wounds which the firſt torture had made. And now the ropes (at the ſecond attempt) ſlid into the firſt wounds, by the violence of the jerk, which occaſioned an effuſion of blood, ſo great, that the doctor ſeemed expiring.

The phyſicians were then conſulted to know whether the ſame torture might be practiſed a third time without endangering his life. To which they anſwered, that he might ſuffer it a third time without the leaſt danger.

This declaration ſaved him from undergoing again all the various ſorts of tortures abovementioned, his ſentence ſpecifying that he ſhould ſuffer ſucceſſively all theſe different kinds the ſame day. Being tortured for the laſt time, he was remanded back to priſon, where he lay above ſeventy days, before his wounds were healed; and he was at laſt baniſhed for life out of the kingdom, for being ſuſpected of Judaiſm.

Having thus exhibited many horrid examples of the ſhocking barbarities of this Tribunal, which, under the maſk of religion, commits cruelties unknown even to the moſt ſavage Heathens; we ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of the grand ſolemnity of the Auto da Fe, or act of faith.

If the tortures we have related force from the priſoner a full and entire confeſſion of all the articles of which he ſtands accuſed, he is then conveyed back to his frightful dungeon; where he is left a prey to his melancholy, to the violent anguiſh cauſed by the tortures, and the dreadful expectation of ſtill greater barbarities.

But in caſe the tortures have not been able to force a confeſſion from him, he is then remanded back to his ſad abode; when the baſeſt artifices are employed, under pretence of ſuccouring him in this deplorable condition.

He is allowed a companion in his cell, as we have before obſerved, who after gaining his confidence by pretending that he alſo is impriſoned for the like crimes with himſelf, exclaims againſt the Inquiſition, its injuſtice, rigour and cruelty; and thus makes the priſoner fall into ſnares, which are ſo much the more difficult to be avoided, as they are diſguiſed under the deceitful appearances of friendſhip, compaſſion and ſympathy in misfortunes. Some Familiars, or common ſervants of the Inquiſition, do not ſcruple to confine themſelves

four or five months in a cell, merely to entrap a priſoner.

In fine, if the perſon impeached is found guilty, either from evidence or his own confeſſion, he is ſentenced to be whipped, to perpetual impriſonment, to the galley, or to death, according as his crime is thought more or leſs enormous. One ſure conſequence of this, as we have before taken occaſion to obſerve is, that the beſt part, if not all of his effects, are confiſcated to the tribunal.

After judgment hath thus paſſed on all the priſoners, a mock religious ceremony is performed, when they all walk in diſmal proceſſion to the place appointed for their execution, and there hear the articles of their impeachment read, together with their ſentences. This ceremony is called the Auto da Fe, or act of faith; and is a kind of jail-delivery of the Inquiſition.

Theſe ſolemnities are not annual, nor is there any ſtated time for them: they are very rarely held in two ſucceſſive years, but rather for the moſt part at two, three, and ſometimes four years diſtance one from another.

Here follows a ſuccinct deſcription of one, as it was ſolemnized at Madrid in the year 1682; from whence a full idea of the ceremony may be collected.

"The officers of the Inquiſition, "preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, "and their banner, marched, on the "30th of May, in cavalcade, to the "palace of the great ſquare; where "they declared by proclamation, that "on the 30th of June the ſentences of "the priſoners would be put in execution.

"There had not been a ſpectacle of "this kind in Madrid for ſeveral years "before, for which reaſon it was expected by the inhabitants with as "much impatience as though it had "been the merrieſt holiday.

"On the 30th of June a numberleſs multitude of people appeared, as "ſplendidly dreſſed as for a royal "wedding. In the great ſquare was "raiſed a high ſcaffold; and thither, from ſeven in the morning till "nine at night, came criminals of "both ſexes; all the Inquiſitions in "the kingdom ſending their priſoners "to Madrid.

"Of theſe priſoners, twenty men "and women and one renegado Mohammedan were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jeweſſes, having never been before impriſoned, "and repenting of their crimes, were "ſentenced to a long impriſonment "and to wear a yellow ſcapulary; and "ten more, indicted for bigamy, "witchcraft, and other crimes, were "ſentenced to be whipped, and then "ſent to the gallies: theſe laſt wore "large paſte-board caps, with inſcriptions upon them; having halters "about their necks, and torches in "their hands

"The whole court of Spain was "preſent on the occaſion. The grand "Inquiſitor's chair was placed in a "ſort of tribunal, far above that of "the king. The nobles here acted "the part of the ſheriff's officers in "England, leading ſuch criminals "as were to be burned, and holding

"them

" them when fast bound with thick " cords: the rest of the criminals " were conducted by the Familiars of " the Inquisition.

" The unhappy victims were situated " near the place where the king stood, " their scaffold touching his balcony; " several friars, appointed for the " purpose, arguing with great vehe- " mence, to convince the wretched " creatures of the truth of the christ- " ian religion.

" Amongst those who were to suf- " fer was a young Jewess of exquisite " beauty, and but seventeen years of " age; who, being on the same side " where the queen was seated, address- " sed her, in hopes of obtaining her " pardon, in these pathetic words: " *Great queen! will not your royal* " *presence be of some service to me in my* " *miserable condition? Have regard to* " *my youth; and, oh! consider, that I* " *am about to die for professing a reli-* " *gion imbibed from my earliest infancy!* " Her majesty seemed greatly to pity " her distress, but turned away her " eyes, as she did not dare to speak a " word in a heretic's behalf.

" Now mass began; in the midst " of which the priest came from the " altar, placed near the scaffold, and " seated himself in a chair prepared for " that purpose.

" The chief Inquisitor then de- " scended from the amphitheatre, " dressed in his cope, and having a " mitre on his head. After bowing " to the altar, he advanced towards " the king's balcony, and went up " to it, attended by some of his offi- " cers, carrying a cross and the gos- " pels; with a book containing the " oath by which the kings of Spain " oblige themselves to protect the ca- " tholic faith, to extirpate heretics, " and support, with all their power, " the prosecutions and decrees of the " Inquisition.

" On the Inquisitor's approach, and " presenting this book to the king, " his majesty rose up, bare headed, " and swore to maintain the oath, " which was read to him by one of " his counsellors: after which his " majesty continued standing till the " Inquisitor was returned to his place; " when a secretary of the holy office " mounted a sort of pulpit, and admi- " nistered the like oath to the coun- " sellors, and the whole assembly. " The mass was begun about twelve " at noon, and did not end till nine " in the evening; being protracted by " a proclamation of the sentences of " the several criminals, which were " all rehearsed aloud, one after ano- " ther.

" Then followed the burning of the " twenty-one men and women; whose " intrepidity in suffering that horrid " death, was truly astonishing; some " threw themselves into the flames, " others thrust in their hands and " feet, with dauntless fortitude; and " all of them yielded to their fate with " so much resolution, that many of " the amazed spectators acknowledged " themselves sorry, that such heroic " souls were not inlightened by the " gospel.

" The king's near situation to the cri- " minals rendered their dying groans " very audible; he could not, how- " ever,

" ever, be abſent from this dreadful " ſcene, as it is eſteemed a religious " one; and as his oath obliges him to " give a ſanction by his preſence to all " the acts of the tribunal."

Dr. Geddes, deſcribing an Auto da Fe in Liſbon, of which he himſelf was a ſpectator, ſays, " That at the place " of execution there are ſo many ſtakes " ſet up as there are priſoners to be " burned, a large quantity of dry " furze being placed about them.

" Theſe *ſtakes of the profeſſed*, as " the Inquiſitors call them, are about " four yards high, and have each of " them a ſmall board, whereon the " priſoner is to be ſeated, within half " a yard of the top. The *profeſſed* " then go up a ladder betwixt two " Jeſuits, who attend them the whole " day of execution: When they come " even with the forementioned board, " they turn about to the people, and " the Jeſuits ſpend near a quarter of " an hour in exhorting them to be " reconciled to the ſee of Rome: on " their refuſal, the Jeſuits come down " and the executioner aſcending, turns " the *profeſſed* from off the ladder upon " the ſeat, chains their bodies cloſe " to the ſtakes, and leaves them.

" The Jeſuits then go up to them " a ſecond time, to renew their ex- " hortation, and, if they find it in- " effectual, uſually tell them at part- " ing: *That they leave them to the* " *devil, who is ſtanding at their elbow* " *ready to receive their ſouls, and carry* " *them with him into the flames of hell* " *fire, ſo ſoon as they are out of their* " *bodies.*

" Upon this a general ſhout is " raiſed; and as ſoon as the Jeſuits " are got off the ladder, the univerſal " cry is, *Let the dogs' beards be made,* " *let the dogs' beards be made:* which " is accordingly performed, by thruſt- " ing flaming furzes, faſtened to a long " pole, againſt their faces.

" This barbarity is commonly re- " repeated till their faces are burned " to a coal; and is always accompa- " nied with the loudeſt acclamations " of joy: a bull-feaſt, or farce, be- " ing dull entertainment to this inhu- " man treatment of a profeſſed he- " retic.

" Fire is then ſet to the furze at the " bottom of the ſtake; when, if there " happens to be a wind, to which " that place is expoſed, it ſeldom " reaches higher than the criminal's " knees; in which caſe they are not " dead in an hour and half, or two " hours, and ſo are really roaſted, and " not burned, to death.

" If there is a calm they are com- " monly dead in about half an hour " after the furze is ſet on fire.

" There cannot, ſurely, out of hell, " be a more lamentable ſight, than " this; eſpecially, joined to the hor- " ror of the ſufferers' loud and fre- " quent cries, who, as long as they " are able to ſpeak, are heard to im- " plore, *Miſerecordia, por amor de* " *Dios*, Mercy, for the love of God: " and yet all this is beheld by the " people of both ſexes, and all ages, " with ſuch tranſports of joy and ſa- " tisfaction, as are not to be perceiv- " ed amongſt them on any other oc- " ſion."

Having

Having taken notice of the extreme rigours exerciſed by the Tribunal againſt *perſons*, we ſhall proceed to ſhew that it is no leſs ſevere with reſpect to *books*: and indeed this is one of the principal branches of its authority.

As there are always among the agents and familiars of the Holy Office a great number of indolent fellows, the ſame as in monaſteries, whoſe monks are as much devoted to the inquiſition as its own agents; the moment a book is publiſhed it is read and examined; but always read and examined with thoſe prejudices which prevail in thoſe places, and which are frequently received as ſound maxims by a great part of the world beſides.

If they diſlike but the moſt trifling circumſtance in a book, the tribunal has immediate notice of it, where it is to be ſcrutiniſed a ſecond time; ſeldom without being cenſured. The Inquiſitors are exceſſively rigorous on the articles of books; and they often cenſure them on the minuteſt occaſion.

Their cenſure may be conſidered under three heads: ſometimes a book is abſolutely condemned to all intents and purpoſes. At other times it is condemned only till it ſhall be corrected. And laſtly, an extract is ſometimes made of the ſeveral propoſitions condemned; all which are expreſly ſtigmatized.

An index, or table, is publiſhed annually, containing a catalogue of all the books which have been condemned in the preceding year; and in which all the books may be met with which have been cenſured in any of the three manners abovementioned.

This index is afterwards paſted, or hung up, in the moſt public places of reſort; after which no perſon is allowed to keep the books therein ſpecified by him.

One of the caſes which ſubjects a perſon to the Inquiſition, is, either the reading or keeping ſuch pieces by him: and, if any man ſhould be found to have but one of theſe interdicted books that alone would bring him into great trouble.

Hence we may conceive what treatment the authors of thoſe performances would meet with, were they to be diſcovered. For this reaſon they take the utmoſt precaution not to write any thing that may prove obnoxious; or in caſe a man has an itch of ſcribbling, he never ſuffers any perſon to be privy to it: and a writer who cannot reſiſt the impulſe of genius, is often obliged, for his own ſecurity, to baniſh himſelf for ever from his country.

The printer or publiſher of ſuſpected books would think himſelf very happy, could he clear himſelf by the payment of a large fine, or the confiſcation of all the copies. But he does not meet with the leaſt favour on theſe occaſions; no compoſition is allowed; and his proſecutors never leave him till they have completed his ruin. It even often coſts him his liberty; and he ſees himſelf, perhaps, reduced to ſpend many years, ſometimes his whole life, in the priſons of the Inquiſition.

Nay, they are ſo rigorous in the Inquiſitions upon this article of books, that they have not even ſpared the fathers of the church: there are ſeveral of their works extant, printed by the Inquiſition, wherein we find whole pages mutilated, becauſe they contained ſentiments, or paſſages, repugnant with thoſe tenets which are received in the countries where the tribunal is eſtabliſhed.

We cannot comprehend what excuſe can be offered for ſo extraordinary a liberty, to give it the ſofteſt name: we may, however, affirm, that were it to be practiſed in thoſe countries which are not ſubject to the Inquiſition, we ſhould thereby ſoon loſe all thoſe proofs of antiquity and tradition, which are ſo uſeful to convict heretics of innovations in matters of religion; at leaſt we ſhould have none left but ſuch as might be juſtly ſuſpected.

Could it be poſſible for the greateſt enemies of the church to give her a more dangerous wound? Thus Zeal, when unaſſiſted by knowledge, has frequently an effect quite foreign to it's deſign.

And yet we muſt own, that, as nothing can be of more pernicious conſequence than the peruſal of bad books; ſo, alſo, to prevent the ſale of ſuch as may corrupt either the faith or morals of mankind, cannot but be of the utmoſt ſervice.

One of the moſt eſſential duties of all chriſtian princes and magiſtrates is, to have a watchful eye over thoſe matters; ſuch governments as have ſuffered themſelves to be deprived of this branch of their authority, have never perceived the loſs it was to them, till it was too late to apply a remedy.

The cōmonwealth of Venice ſeems to be the only republic that has ever had a juſt notion of the importance of this maxim, and it has not ſuffered the leaſt diminution of it's ancient rights. She ſtill aſſerts them with ſpirit and reſolution; and her miniſters, to this day, enjoy the right of examining whatever books are printed, to prevent their inſtilling any pernicious doctrines. As for thoſe which were formerly publiſhed, occaſioned by the too great remiſſneſs of the cenſors, ſhe prevents their being reprinted, in order to put an entire ſtop to the evil.

Spain, for many years, followed what is ſtill practiſed at Venice. The right of examining all books written in oppoſition to religion and the ſtate, was lodged in the prince's miniſters, who uſed to cenſure them; but the court of Rome, ever upon the watch to extend the limits of her power, at length, in an artful manner, got poſſeſſion of this right, and hath ever ſince retained it.

Let us now take ſome notice of good books, which are equally, not to ſay, indiſcriminately, ſubjected to the cenſure of the Inquiſition. As the ſtudying of ſuch muſt neceſſarily be extremely uſeful, one cannot be too careful in diſtinguiſhing them from thoſe of a pernicious tendency, nor be too cautious how they are condemned, leſt they ſhare in the fate common to bad ones.

To be enabled to pronounce juſtly on the ſeveral merits of all literary performances, a man ſhould be endued with

with learning, penetration, a good taſte; and, above all, a certain extent of underſtanding; a circumſtance rarely met with, eſpecially amongſt thoſe perſons, who are any way connected with the Inquiſition.

The members of this tribunal have in general very little notion of learning; are vaſtly confined in their ideas; ſeem to think a good taſte wholly unneceſſary, and lay it quite out of the queſtion; are wholly ignorant of antiquity; and, in a word, decide intirely from the prejudices they have imbibed, whether good or bad: boaſting of no other ſcience than that of ſchool divinity, or the new Cannon-law.

Whatever does not ſquare with the lights which theſe two laſt mentioned branches of knowledge are able to afford; and which it is well known are confined within pretty narrow bounds, is ſure of being diſapproved.

What muſt be the fate of an ingenious and valuable book, when ſuch perſons as theſe are to be it's cenſors? Notwithſtanding this, the Inquiſition pretends to determine upon every department in literature; but then, as a natural conſequence, their injudicious cenſure is generally advantageous to the ſale of a ſtigmatized book; and though it may thereby become more ſcarce, it is frequently the better eſteemed on that very account.

Of all the countries in which the roman catholic religion is eſtabliſhed, there is no one where the cenſure of the Inquiſition againſt a book is leſs regarded than in France: nay, to their honour be it ſaid, the French openly profeſs, that they will never be influenced by it.

A book does not ſell the worſe amongſt them, for having been prohibited by thoſe deſpotic tyrants, nor do the writers ſuffer in their reputation in conſequence of their interdiction.

Four circumſtances contribute to the little regard which is there paid to this kind of cenſure.

I. It is ſaid that the Inquiſition, even including that of Rome, notwithſtanding the empty title of Univerſal, which it aſſumes, has no manner of authority in that kingdom.

II. There is a great number of maxims in France, directly claſhing with thoſe of the Inquiſition; and, as the French maxims have been often condemned by the Inquiſitors, the former have accuſtomed themſelves to deſpiſe whatever ſentences they pronounce.

III. The French are certain, that policy, intrigue, and intereſt, are, very often, the chief motives for paſſing cenſure. And, as the politics which prevail in France do not always agree with thoſe of Rome, this is another inducement not to ſubmit to it's cenſures.

IV. They are perſuaded of the bad taſte which prevails in the Inquiſition; and the genius and qualities of the members of it are not unknown in that kingdom.

France, on the contrary, abounds with learned men; the handſome reception which ſuch there meet with,

and

and the generous rewards that are there commonly beſtowed on them, induce perſons of all nations to reſort thither.

Great penetration and good taſte ſeem to ſpread in France univerſally: the French too, have a regard to antiquity; they apply themſelves continually to the ſearch of it; and, ſo far are they from mutilating the fathers in the forementioned manner (a practice of the moſt dangerous tendency) that they daily enlarge their plan, by the addition of new diſcoveries; all which they communicate to the public, and that with ſo much fidelity, that the moſt ſevere and eagle-eyed critics have not yet been able to contradict them.

The liberty which the French enjoy, of ſpeaking, or publiſhing their thoughts, is as far removed from the unbounded licence which prevails in ſome neighbouring countries, as from the tyrannical conſtraint to which perſons, ſubordinate to the inquiſition, are ſubject.

It is a well regulated liberty, which, by the wiſdom and vigilance of the legiſlature, is kept within ſuch bounds as to prevent its being any way prejudicial to the public.

As it is a difficult matter to form the ſame judgment with qualities of ſo oppoſite a nature, we need not be ſurprized that, what is condemned by the Inquiſition is often approved in France; or that the French pay ſo little regard to its cenſures.

We have, in the former part of this hiſtory given an account of the ſeveral methods of proceeding in the falſely-ſtyled Holy-office: and, we hope, the relation has afford the deſired ſatisfaction to our curious readers; at the ſame time, that it hath inſpired them with equal horror and deteſtation at that ill-formed conſtitution, which ſanctifies ſo infernal a court of eccleſiaſtical judicature; and, with grateful acknowledgment to thoſe our chriſtian legiſlators, who, under the guidance of divine Providence, have eſtabliſhed a far different conſtitution in this happy kingdom; a conſtitution, whoſe every principle breathes pure religion, liberty, both bodily and mental, and univerſal benevolence and mercy, to thoſe who *err, or are deceived.*

Before we conclude our ſhort hiſtory of the Inquiſition, it may not be improper to take notice of ſome of it's principal Maxims; as thereby we ſhall, perhaps, be enabled to judge of it's ſpirit and conduct better, than by any thing which we have before related on that head.

It is an inviolable maxim with the Inquiſitors, that an heretic muſt never be diſputed with upon religious matters, eſpecially in public; ſo that they are to be inſtructed, by compulſion, not by argument.—That all who either conceal, or favour, an heretic, in what manner, or by what methods ſoever, ought to be excommunicated, and cannot be received into the number of penitents, without firſt paſſing through the hands of the Inquiſition.

This tribunal always conſider ſuch perſons as juſtly to be ſuſpected of hereſy, and that too in the ſtrongeſt manner; as though it were impoſſible to aſſiſt a perſon, and, at the ſame time, pre-

preſerve oneſelf from their errors. An heretic, though abſolved by the Pope himſelf, is, nevertheleſs, ſtill ſubject to the Inquiſition, and may be condemned to die.

When an heretic has been once condemned, he muſt never be ſuffered to ſpeak before the people. An heretic, notwithſtanding he retracts his former errors muſt yet not be pardoned; becauſe, otherwiſe, there is no one but would ſave himſelf by a pretended recantation.

The Inquiſitors, in their examination of a priſoner who is impeached, muſt never interrogate him as though they were doubtful of his crime, but muſt always ſuppoſe him guilty, and examine him only with reſpect to the circumſtances of the fact alledged.

In the examination of an heretic, death muſt always be ſet before his eyes; nor muſt his interrogators hope, or ever attempt to convert him, either by ſcripture, or argument. A promiſe muſt be made him in ambiguous terms, that, in caſe he confeſſes his crime, he ſhall be pardoned; but yet this promiſe muſt not be kept after he has made his confeſſion.

To theſe maxims, we may add the following; which their known mode of proceſs warrants us to obſerve are conſtantly adhered to; and which, indeed, the foregoing narration of it, in a great meaſure, tends to exemplify: That the poſſeſſions of an heretic devolve, by right, on the Inquiſition, in prejudice even of his children, and the reſt of his catholic heirs. That death does not prevent a ſuſpected criminal, from being ſubject to the tribunal: that he muſt be proſecuted after his death; and, if adjudged guilty, executed in effigy.

That a perſon becomes ſuſpected of hereſy, and, thereby, ſubject to the Inquiſition, if he only happens to advance ſome heretical tenets, in a jocoſe manner, or to have mimicked the heretic, merely for jeſt's ſake. That, in matters of hereſy and apoſtaſy, there is no pleading, or availing oneſelf of preſcription.

That no perſon ought to employ friendly advice before he impeaches another to the Inquiſition. That no conſideration, whether of kindred, alliance, or gratitude, though even for having ſaved the informer's life, ought to prevent a man from impeaching a criminal who is become ſubject to the juriſdiction of the office. That a perſon, who is known to have favoured heretics, ought, after his death, to be denied church-burial.

That, whoever has advanced any heretical tenets, though it were thro' ignorance, and without being aware that they were ſuch, does, nevertheleſs, by that means, become ſubject to proſecution; and that, becauſe it is the duty of every good Chriſtian to know and avoid whatever has been condemned by the church.

That the civil magiſtrate is bound to aſſiſt the Inquiſition, upon pain of excommunication: and, that, in caſe a magiſtrate, after having been excommunicated for refuſing to aſſiſt the Inquiſition, delays to get himſelf abſolved, he ſhall be condemned as an heretic.

The Inquiſitors are perſuaded, that a Mental heretic, who does not reveal his errors, and, conſequently, hurt

any one but himſelf, ought to be impeached to the Inquiſition, and condemned. That one who has *relapſed*, though he repent afterwards, ought, nevertheleſs, to be condemned to die. That an heretic, who, *after have abjured* his errors, *falls*, afterwards, *into another hereſy* ought to be conſidered as one relapſed.

That a mental heretic, who was not looked upon as ſuch, during his life, time, and is not diſcovered to be one till after his death, ought, notwithſtanding, to be condemned, and executed in effigy. And that a perſon impeached, who owns that he formerly did embrace ſome heretical principle, imagining it to be orthodox, ought, nevertheleſs, to be ſent to the torture, in order to ſqueeze out of him a confeſſion, whether his aſſertion be true.

If, to all this, we add, the conſideration, that the proſecutors and informers, are allowed as witneſſes: that they are never named, or diſcovered, to the priſoner, in order to incapacitate him from excepting to their evidence; that the parties are ſcarcely ever confronted; that perjured perſons and miſcreants of the blackeſt character, are there received as witneſſes; and that wards, or minors, at the age of fourteen years, may depoſe, as ſuch, without the conſent of their guardians, or truſtees.

If all theſe things are conſidered, we ſhall be forced to own, that the Inquiſition is the moſt ſevere, the moſt formidable, and the moſt barbarous and unjuſt tribunal in the world.

The Inquiſitors themſelves acknowledge, that the procedure of the Holy Office is ſuch, that it is hardly poſſible, but that a great number of innocent perſons muſt ſuffer with the guilty: but this does not once give them the leaſt uneaſineſs: for it is alſo one of their chief maxims, that it were better to put to death an hundred catholics of unblemiſhed life, than to let one heretic eſcape.

The following reaſon, which they give for this, is neither valid, or convincing, viz. That, by putting an innocent catholic to death, they, then, only aſcertain to him the joys of paradiſe; whereas an heretic, ſuffered to eſcape, might infect and deſtroy a great number of ſouls.

Nor are ſuch innocent perſons, who are unjuſtly oppreſſed, allowed to complain of the injuries which may have been done them: to do this, would be a freſh crime, which the Inquiſitors would puniſh with ſo much the greater ſeverity, as it might be a means of caſting a ſtain on their reputation; not to mention, that thoſe gentlemen never allow themſelves to have been miſtaken in their verdict.

Such ſufferers, therefore, muſt content themſelves, with the poor conſolation, which the directory of the Inquiſition give them, in the following words: *Let no man ſay, he has been unjuſtly condemned; or complain of the eccleſiaſtical judges, or of the judgment of the church: but, in caſe he be unjuſtly condemned, let him rejoice that* HE SUFFERS FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS' SAKE.

They pretend that this ſad conſolation ought to ſatisfy a man, though he may have been diveſted of all his poſſeſſions,

ſeſſions, or condemned to the gallies, to baniſhment, to perpetual impriſonment, or even to the moſt cruel and infamous death.

It muſt, indeed, be owned, that what renders it ſomething the more tolerable, is, that the wretched condition to which theſe unhappy perſons are reduced, does not allow them to entertain any other.

However, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that the Inquiſitors themſelves would not be ſatisfied with ſuch reaſoning, though in occaſions of a leſs cruel nature.

Such was the riſe and progreſs of the Inquiſiton. Policy had, at firſt, as great a ſhare in it's eſtabliſhment, as a zeal for the preſervation of religion in it's purity. As it owes it's original to politics, this has always been it's ſupport ſince that time, and has raiſed it to that height of power and authority, which makes it ſo formidable at this day. The court of Rome conſiders the Inquiſition as the maſter-piece of it's invention, and the moſt ſubſtantial ſupport of it's power both ſpiritual and temporal.

There is nothing it attends to more than the preſervation of it's authority in both: and, indeed, the Inquiſitors have brought matters to that paſs, in thoſe countries which ſubmit to their authority: that, though they offer to ſtretch their prerogative never ſo far, every one favours their pretenſions; or at leaſt, no man dares to contradict them; and, on theſe occaſions, they go what lengths they pleaſe: nothing is able to oppoſe them, but all muſt ſubmit: the moſt extravagant maxims are looked upon as indiſputable, and the moſt ill-grounded claims, as juſt: hence, infallibility, with reſpect to actions; the ſuperiority of the pope over general councils: his right to all the poſſeſſions of the ſeveral churches in the world; a power of diſpoſing of them at pleaſure: his pretending power over the temporality of ſovereigns; the unwarrantable prerogative he aſſumes of depoſing them, of abſolving their ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and of diſpoſing of their dominions to whomſoever he thinks proper.

Theſe are all maxims of which if any perſon preſume to doubt the validity in thoſe countries where the inquiſition prevails, they dare not, however, oppoſe them; ſince they would thereby expoſe themſelves to the ſevereſt rigours of that dreadful tribunal.

The blind and paſſionate attachment of the Inquiſition, to all that concerns the intereſt of the court of Rome; the warmth and eagerneſs with which it ſupports all their pretenſions, and it's uninterrupted endeavours to enforce that unlimited authority which the popes arrogate to themſelves, are the principles to which it owes it's prodigious influence and numberleſs privileges; and which have rendered it ſo formidable, as to be dreaded even by thoſe very princes who have received it into their dominions.

The court of Rome is anxiouſly deſirous of having it received in all places which are yet free from it's ſhackles;

ſhackles; and would ſpare no pains, were there the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs in ſuch attempts; and, indeed, could this once be brought to bear, we might almoſt admit the buſineſs to be done.

But, as the rational world is perſuaded, that religion is able to ſupport itſelf in it's purity, as it hath hitherto done, and ſtill continues to do, in many countries, without employing ſuch violent expedients; and that ſo powerful and deſpotic a body as the Inquiſition—(which has ſo great a number of agents and perſons in it's dependence; ſo many maxims which claſh and interfere with the rights, and ſo many engagements, which are directly oppoſite to the intereſts of ſovereigns; and which, moreover, binds the people, by the ſtrongeſt and moſt indiſſoluble ties, viz. thoſe of religion and conſcience;)—would not fail, whenever opportunity offered, to interrupt the tranquility of government. All theſe things conſidered, it is highly probable, that it will make no farther progreſs.

To this it might indeed be anſwered, that it were an eaſy matter to preſcribe ſuch laws to it, to limit it's authority in ſuch a manner, and to take ſuch juſt meaſures, as to render it ſerviceable to religion, and, at the ſame time, incapable of prejudicing the ſtate.

But experience ſhews, that, on what conditions, or under what qualifications ſoever it may be received, and whatever laws may be preſcribed to it; yet it never fails at length to obtain an abſolute and unlimited power.

The court of Rome, whoſe intereſt it is, that it ſhould flouriſh, never fails to ſide with, and are always ſure to favour the Inquiſitors, in oppoſition to ſovereign princes: nay, the moſt wiſely eſtabliſhed laws, the due execution whereof is of ſuch mighty conſequence to the peace of kingdoms; are, in the hands of Inquiſitors, only ſo many inexhauſtible ſources of quarrels and diviſions; ſources, which they never fail to make uſe of to curb the authority of ſovereigns.

What has been related concerning the Inquiſition may poſſibly ſeem incredible to thoſe who inhabit thoſe countries where it is not admitted; but all perſons who have viſited any parts of Italy, or lived in Spain or Portugal, know, and could teſtify the truth of every particular throughout this narrative.

Hence then it is manifeſt, that the tribunal in queſtion very unjuſtly aſſume the title of Holy Office, ſince it's conduct is directly contrary to that which the ancient fathers of the church employed againſt heretics, and quiet repugnant to that ſpirit of mercy, gentleneſs, and love, which our bleſſed Saviour breathed not only with regard to heretics but even in favour of perſecutors.

Nay, ſo far from meriting, in any degree, the appellation of Holy, it is a ſcandal to human nature; and the higheſt affront to, and blaſphemy againſt, the Almighty; eſpecially as it's abominable miniſters pretend to act under his influence and direction.

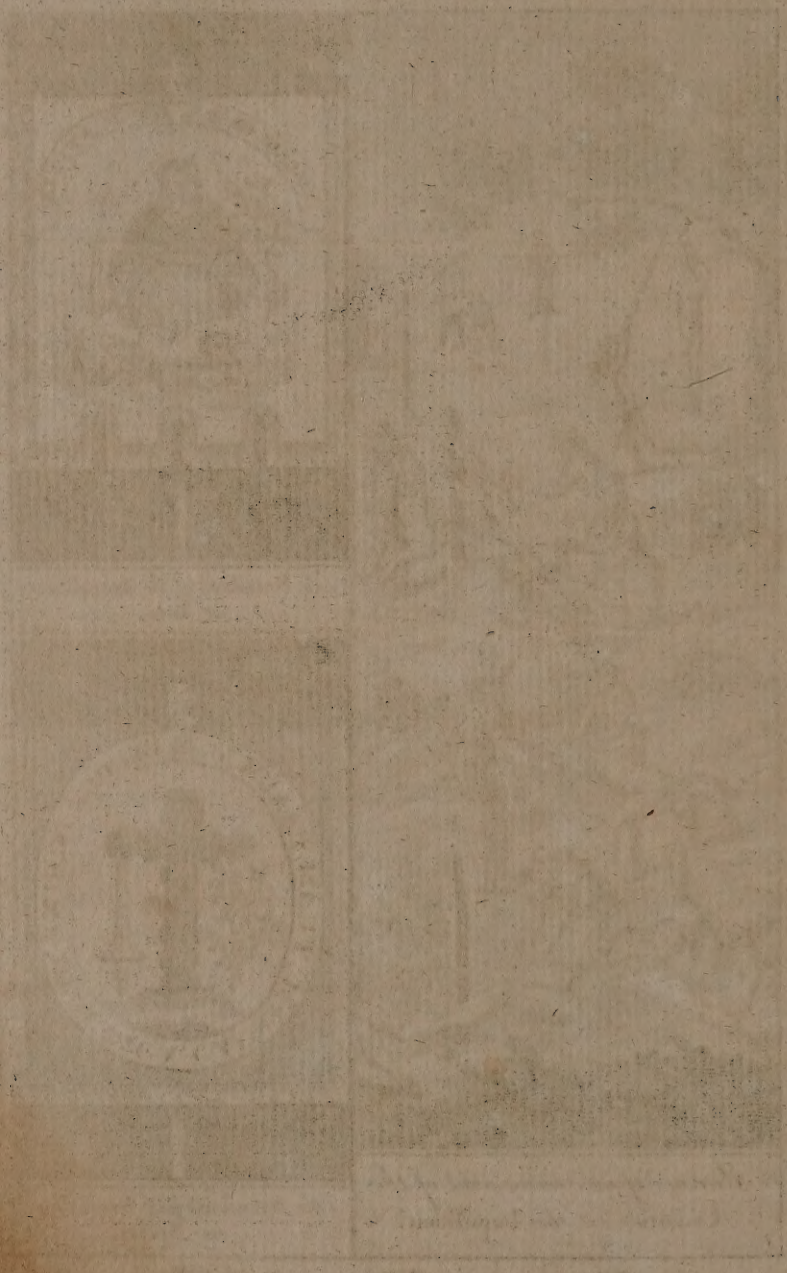
In

Engravid for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

Manner of exercising some of the Cruelties *in the* Inquisition.

The Standard *of the* Inquisition *at* Goa.

The Standard *of the* Inquisition, *in* Spain.



In proof of this, the words of a late celedrated writer are very ſtrong though conciſe: *The popiſh Inquiſitors, ſays he, while they deliver over to the flames a poor wretch, already half dead with fears, famine, and torture; beſeech and adjure the civil magiſtrate, who muſt ſee to his execution, by the love of God, and the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, not to hurt his life or limb.*

How ſhocking is this grimace! how blaſphemous ſuch hypocriſy! May divine providence for ever keep this horrid tribunal at the fartheſt diſtance from this our happy nation, and liberty ſhield it to the lateſt ages from the horrid incurſions of popery and perſecution!

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

INQUISITION of GOA:

With an Account of the Sufferings of Mr. JOHNSON.

(Written by himſelf.)

THROUGHOUT the whole extent of the Portugueze dominions, there are four Inquiſitions, all of which are ſovereign, and have no appeal.

Beſides theſe, there is alſo the great council of the Inquiſition, in which the Inquiſitor-general preſides. This tribunal is the principal, and it is made acquainted with whatever is done in all other places.

Beſides the honour, the unbounded authority, and the ſalaries annexed to the Inquiſitors, there are alſo two circumſtances that are greatly beneficial to them.

The firſt is, whenever they expoſe the effects of any priſoner to ſale by auction, if there is any precious jewel, or any ſuch thing among them, which they are deſirous of, they have no more to do but to ſend one of their ſervants to bid, and no-body will preſume to out-bid them; by which means they often purchaſe very valuable Things for a trifle.

The ſecond method, by which they make a great advantage, is, that as the ſums ariſing from the confiſcations are put into the King's treaſury, they are impowered to draw a Warrant upon it for whatſoever ſums, and

what time ſoever they pleaſe, to defray the expences and private exigencies of the Inquiſition.

This money is paid at ſight, nor does any perſon preſume to enquire what thoſe private exigencies are; by which means they get the greateſt part of the monies ariſing from confiſcations.

The King nominates all the Inquiſitors, who are confirmed by the pope, and from him they receive all their bulls.

The Inquiſitor of Goa only aſſumes the privilege of being carried in a chair, and he is much more reſpected than either the Archbiſhop or the viceroy. He has juriſdiction over all perſons, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, the archbiſhop, his great Vicar, who is commonly a biſhop, the viceroy, and the governor, when the viceroy is dead, excepted. But he has the power of arreſting any of theſe, after having firſt given notice thereof to the court of Portugal, and received ſecret orders for that purpoſe from the ſupreme councils of Liſbon, called Conſolho Supremo.

This ſovereign tribunal meets every fortnight, except upon extraordinary occaſions, when they meet oftner; whereas the ordinary councils meet twice every day, viz. from eight in the morning till eleven, and from two till four; ſometimes later in the afternoon, eſpecially when the acts of faith draw near; for on thoſe occaſions the audience is frequently continued till after ten at night.

When cauſes are tried, beſides the daputadoes who aſſiſt, the archbiſhops or biſhops of the ſeveral places where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed, have the privilege of being preſent in them, and to preſide in all the ſentences pronounced againſt them.

The priſon of the Inquiſition at Goa, is called Aljouva by the Portugueſe, and is a kind of Cellar, which receives the light only by a ſmall hole, into which the ſun-beams never enter. It caſts a dreadful ſtench; nor have the priſoners any other place to eaſe nature in, than a great hole like a well, level with the ground, and in the midſt of the cavern; whence it is, that part of the filth lies round the Hole; for which reaſon moſt of the priſoners eaſe themſelves in different parts of the priſon.

Thoſe who die in priſon are buried in it without the leaſt ceremony; and in caſe they are judged by the inquiſitors to have merited death, their bones are burnt in the next Jail-delivery or Act of Faith.

As 'tis very ſultry in the Indies, and the Inquiſitors don't allow the priſoners beds, they never have fire, candle, or any light but that of the ſun. With regard to beds, there are two bedſteads in each cell; becauſe they are ſometimes forced to confine two priſoners in the ſame dungeon.

Beſides the mat which is allowed to every one, the Europeans, and perſons of ſome diſtinction, have a counterpain, which being doubled, ſerves them inſtead of a mattraſs; but ſeldom have coverlets, becauſe of the violent heat of the Indian climate, unleſs it be to guard againſt the gnats, whereof there are vaſt quantities in

theſe

Engrav'd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

A Prisoner under Examination in the Hall of the Inquisition.

theſe countries, and which are inexpreſſibly troubleſome.

Mr. Johnſon, who was confined in this loathſome dungeon upwards of two years, relates the particulars of his ſufferings thus.

When I found, ſays he, that I was kept a whole day and night in the Aljouvar, without being examined, I began to flatter myſelf that I might continue in it till my affair was concluded; but all my hopes vaniſhed, when an officer of the inquiſition came the 16th of January at eight in the morning, and brought orders for carrying us to the Santa Caſa, which was immediately executed.

The Irons with which I was loaded, made walking very painful to me; however, we were obliged to walk on foot thus fettered, from the Aljouvar to the Inquiſition. I was helped in going up the ſtairs, when I entered with my companions the great hall, where ſeveral ſmiths knock'd off our irons; which being done, I was firſt called to audience.

After having croſs'd the hall, I went into an anti-chamber, and from thence into another apartment, where I found my judge.

This place is called by the Portugueſe, Meſa do Santo Officio, i. e. the table or tribunal of the holy office. It was hung with blue and yellow taffety. At one end of it is a large crucifix in relievo, placed againſt the hangings, and reaching up almoſt to the cieling.

In the middle of the chamber is a large Alcove, on which is fixed a table near fifteen feet long, and four over. There were alſo over the alcove two eaſy chairs, and ſeveral other ſeats round the table, and at the end, on one ſide of the crucifix, was the ſecretary ſeated on a folding chair. I was placed at the other end, oppoſite to the ſecretary; very near me, and at my right-hand was ſeated, in one of the eaſy chairs, the great inquiſitor of the Indies, Franciſco Delgado e Matos, a ſecular prieſt, about forty.

He was alone, becauſe then, of the two Inquiſitors who are generally in Goa, the ſecond, who is always a Dominican friar, was embarked for Portugal, a little while before, and the king had not yet nominated any Perſon to ſucceed him.

As ſoon as I entered the hall, I threw myſelf at the feet of my judge, imagining the ſuppliant poſture I was in would move him to compaſſion; but he would not ſuffer me to continue in it, and therefore immediately ordered me to riſe.

Then having aſked me my name and my Profeſſion, he aſked me whether I knew the reaſon why I had been impriſoned? Whereupon he exhorted me to declare it immediately, as it was the only means left me to recover my liberty inſtantly.

After having anſwered theſe two firſt queſtions, I told him, that I believed I knew the reaſon for my being impriſoned; and that in caſe he would be pleaſed to hear me, I would immediately accuſe myſelf. I mingled tears with my intreaties, and thereupon I threw myſelf a ſecond time at his feet: but my judge told me, with great coolneſs, that I might take my time,

time, for that matters were not urgent; that he had affairs upon his hands of much greater conſequence than mine; that he would give me notice at a proper ſeaſon, when immediately he rang a little bell for the alcaide, or turnkey of the priſon.

This officer came into the hall, and conducted me to a long gallery not far diſtant from it, whither we were followed by the ſecretary.

Here my trunk was brought, which was opened before me; upon which I was ſearched very narrowly, and every thing I had about me was taken away, to the very buttons of my ſleeves, and a ring which I wore on my finger; inſomuch, that they left me nothing but my beads, my handkerchief, and a few pieces of Gold which I had ſewed up in a ribbon, and were lodged between my leg and ſtocking, which they happened to overlook.

A pretty exact Inventory was immediately drawn up of all the reſt; but all this was of no manner of ſervice to me, ſince nothing of value was afterwards reſtored to me, notwithſtanding that the ſecretary aſſured me, and the inquiſitor alſo, that all I had would be faithfully reſtored to me the inſtant I ſhould be releaſed.

The inventory being drawn up, the alcaide took me by the hand, and carried me to a dungeon ten feet ſquare, where I was confined alone, nor ever ſaw a living ſoul till the evening, when my ſupper was brought me. As I had not eat any thing either that or the preceding day, I eat what was given me very heartily, and ſlept much better upon it.

The turnkey coming the next morning with my breakfaſt, I deſired to have my books and combs; but they told me, that priſoners are never allowed to have books, not even a prieſt to have his breviary, tho' he be obliged to repeat divine ſervice; and that as for my combs, I ſhould not want them; and indeed, this was very true, for they immediately cut off my hair; a cuſtom obſerved with regard to both women and men, tho' of the greateſt quality, the firſt or ſecond day at fartheſt of their impriſonment. I had been told, when I was firſt impriſoned that when I ſhould want any Thing, I need do no more than knock gently at the door, in order to call the turnkeys, or to aſk for what I wanted at meal time: and that when I were deſirous of going to the audience, I need only addreſs myſelf to the alcaide. who, as the turnkey, never ſpeaks to the priſoners without having ſome perſon along with him.

I had alſo been flattered that I ſhould be ſet at liberty immediately after my confeſſion, which made me continually importune my officers to let me be carried before my judges; but notwithſtanding all my tears and intreaties, I was not indulged with it, till a conſiderable time after.

However the day being at length fixed, about two o'clock in the afternoon the alcaide, accompanied with a turnkey, come to me for that purpoſe. I dreſſed as he ordered me, and came out of my dungeon bare-legged and bare-footed, the jailer going before, and the turnkey after me.

In this order we walked to the gate of

of the chamber where audience is given. Here the alcaide advancing a little forward, and making a low bow, came out again; upon which I went in. Here I found the inquisitor and secretary, as before. Immediately I fell upon my knees, but was ordered to rise and seat myself; upon which I sat down upon a bench which was placed at the end of the table, on the side where the judges sat.

Just by me, and at the End of the table, was a mass-book, on which I was first ordered to lay my Hand, and to promise that I would swear to the Truth, and to keep inviolable secrecy, which are the two oaths required of all who appear before this tribunal, whether they come to receive any orders, or to give in their depositions.

After this, I was asked, whether I knew the reason of my being imprisoned, and if I were resolved to declare it? To which I answered, that I was fully determined to do so. Upon which I made an exact declaration of all I had before related with regard to baptism and the worship of Images; but did not mention any thing I had said with respect to the inquisition, they not occurring at that time to my memory.

The judge having again asked me, whether I had any more to say? And being told that I could not think of any thing else; was so far from setting me at liberty, as I had flattered myself I should be, that he concluded the Audience thus:

That I had done very well to accuse myself voluntarily: and that he exhorted me in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to declare immediately the remainder of my informations, in order that I might experience the goodness and mercy which that tribunal indulges to all who prove the sincerity of their repentance, by a genuine and voluntary confession.

My declaration and the exhortation being ended and written down, it was read to me, and I signed it; which being done, the inquisitor rang a little bell to call the Alcaide, who came, and carried me back to prison in the same order I came.

I was carried a second Time before the judge, without my desiring it, on the 15th of February, which made me suppose he intended to set me at liberty.

Being come, I was asked, whether I had no more to say? I was exhorted not to disguise any circumstance, but on the contrary, to make a sincere confession of my faults. I answered, that after a very serious self-examination, I could not think of any fresh particulars. I then was asked my name, those of my father, my mother, brothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, godfathers and godmothers; whether I were Christian de oito Dies? that is, a christian of eight days standing: because children are not baptized in Portugal till the eighth day after their birth, nor the childbed women church'd till the fortieth day after their lying-in, tho' they had ever so easy a delivery.

The judge seemed to be surprized, when I told him that the custom of deferring the baptism of children a whole week, was not practised in

France; but that, on the contrary, they were always chriſtened as ſoon as conveniency would permit.

I was farther asked the name of the perſon who baptized me, in what dioceſe, what city; and laſtly, whether I had ever been confirmed, and by what biſhop?

Having anſwered theſe ſeveral queſtions, I was ordered to kneel down, to make a ſign of the croſs, to repeat the Paternoſter, the Ave-Maria, the Creed, the Commandments of God and the church, and the Salve Regina.

In fine, he concluded as before, with exhorting me by the bowels of Jeſus, to confeſs immediately the ſeveral crimes and errors I had not yet revealed; which being written down, and read before me, and ſigned by myſelf, I was remanded back to priſon.

From the firſt moment of my confinement, I had always been in the deepeſt affliction, and ſhed inceſſant tears; but at my return from the ſecond audience, I abandoned myſelf intirely to grief, when I found that I was required to confeſs ſuch things as to me appeared impoſſible, ſince I could not recollect any ſuch circumſtances as I was ordered to confeſs. I therefore endeavoured to ſtarve myſelf; not but I took all the ſuſtenance that was brought me, becauſe, in caſe I had refuſed it, I ſhould have been beat by the turnkeys, who always examine very carefully, upon their taking the plates back, whether the priſoners eat enough to ſupport nature; but my deſpair ſuggeſted methods to elude their vigilance in this particular.

I ſpent whole days without taking a morſel, and uſed to throw part of what was given to me into the baſon, to prevent its being ſeen.

This ſevere abſtinence entirely prevented my ſleeping, and now I did nothing but macerate my body in this manner, and ſhed floods of tears.

However, in theſe days of ſorrow and lamentation, I revolved in my mind all the errors of my paſt life, and confeſt that all my miſery was a judgment from heaven upon me: I even perſuaded myſelf, that God perhaps had employed theſe ſevere, but ſalutary methods to call me to himſelf; when being a little revived and comforted with theſe reflections, I ſincerely implored the aſſiſtance of the Holy Virgin, who is equally the comforter of the afflicted, and the refuge and aſylum of ſinners; and indeed, I have had ſo viſible a demonſtration of her protecton, as well during my impriſonment, as on ſeveral other occaſions, that I cannot forbear making this publick teſtimony thereof.

In fine, after having made a more exact, or more happy recollection of all I had ſaid or done, during my reſidence at Daman, I remembered the ſeveral expreſſions I had uſed touching the inquiſition and the integrity thereof: upon which I immediately deſired to be admitted to audience; but this however was not granted me till the 16th of March following.

I made no doubt, upon my appearance this time before the judge, but I ſhould

ſhould then put an end to my unhappy affair, and after the confeſſion I was going to make, be immediately ſet at liberty: but when I thought my wiſhes upon the point of being accompliſhed, I ſaw myſelf immediately fall from my moſt ſanguine hopes; becauſe that when I had declared every thing I had to ſay with regard to the inquiſition, I was told, that this was not what was expected from me; and having nothing elſe to ſay, I was immediately remanded back, nor would they ſo much as write down my confeſſion.

I frankly own, that thro' the cruelty and length of my impriſonment, I fell into deſpair, and often attempted to deſtroy myſelf, firſt by ſtarving myſelf, and becauſe that did not ſucceed, I feigned myſelf ſick; and when the phyſician of the inquiſition found my pulſe unequal, and that I was feveriſh, he ordered me to be let blood, which was done again five days after.

When the doctor was gone, I unbound my arm every day, that ſo by the large effuſion of blood, I might continually grow weaker and weaker.

In the mean while I eat very little, that by hunger and loſs of blood, I might put an end to a miſerable life. Whilſt I was in this ſad condition, I had a confeſſor ſent to me of the Franciſcan order, who, by various Arguments of comfort, endeavoured to recover me from my deſpair.

They alſo gave me a companion in my jail, which was ſome comfort to me in my confinement. But growing well againſt after above five months they took my companion from me. The loneſomeneſs of my confinement brought on again my melancholy and deſpair, which made me invent another method to deſtroy myſelf. I had a piece of gold money, which I had concealed in my cloaths, which I broke into two parts; and making it ſharp, I opened with it a vein in each arm, and loſt ſo much blood, that I fell into a ſwoon, the blood running about the jail.

But ſome of the ſervants happening to come before the uſual time to bring me ſomething, found me in this condition.

Then the inquiſitor reproached me ſeveral times; gave orders for my being carried away, handcuffs to be put upon me, to prevent my forcing off the chains with which I was bound. This was immediately executed, and I was not only hand-cuffed, but an iron machine was clapt about my neck, which held to the handcuffs, and was locked with a padlock; ſo that now it was impoſſible for me to ſtir my arms.

But this treatment only exaſperated me the more: I threw myſelf on the ground, and ſtruck my head againſt the floor and the walls; and had I been bound but a little longer in that manner, I ſhould have infallibly have got my arms at liberty, and ſhould have died with it: but as I was continually watched, they found, by my actions, that ſeverity was very unreaſonable at this time, and that it were better to employ gentle methods.

Upon this my irons were knocked off, endeavours were made to comfort me with deluſive hopes, I was put into another cell, and had again a companion given me, who was ordered

dered to watch me narrowly. This priſoner was a black, but much more unſociable than my former companion.

Nevertheleſs heaven, who had preſerved me from ſo great an evil, baniſhed the deſpair which ſat brooding over me, a circumſtance in which I was more happy than many others, who frequently made away with themſelves in their confinement in theſe dungeons, where no conſolation is ever allowed to enter.

This companion continued about two months with me; but as ſoon as I appeared to be eaſier in my mind, he was taken from me.

In fine, after having ſpent almoſt a year in this manner, I was ſeaſoned to affliction, and providence afterwards indued me with ſo much patience, that I never made any more attempts upon my own life.

I had been about eighteen months in this confinement, when the judges being informed that I was in a condition to ſpeak, ſent for me the fourth Time to audience; where I was asked, whether I was not reſolved to anſwer what was required of me? Having replied, that I could not recollect a ſingle circumſtance more, the proctor of the inquiſition appeared with his declaration, in order to ſignify to me the ſeveral informations which had been exhibited againſt me.

In all the other examinations I had accuſed myſelf, and they were contented with hearing my depoſitions, without deſcending to particulars, and had remanded me back to my cell the inſtant I proteſted I had no more to declare againſt myſelf: but in this fourth examination I was accuſed, and was allowed to defend myſelf.

They read to me, in the informations which were exhibited againſt me, the ſeveral things wherewith I had accuſed myſelf. Theſe facts were true, and I had confeſſed them by my own proper impulſe, conſequently I had nothing to object againſt theſe facts; but then I flattered myſelf, that I could prove to the judges they were not ſo criminal as they were thought to be.

The proctor when he read the informations, had ſaid, that beſides what I myſelf had confeſſed, I was moreover accuſed and clearly convicted of having ſpoke with contempt of the inquiſition and its miniſters; and of having ſpoke with great diſreſpect of the pope and his authority.

He concluded, that the ſtubborneſs I had hitherto ſhewn in ſlighting ſo much charitable advice, which had been given me, being a manifeſt proof that I concealed very pernicious deſigns, and that having deſigned to teach and foment hereſy, I conſequently was become obnoxious to the major excommunication; that my goods and chattels ought to be forfeited to the king, and myſelf delivered over to the executioner, in order to be conſumed in the flames.

I leave the reader to judge the tortures which theſe concluſions of the proctor raiſed in my breaſt; notwithſtanding I can truly affirm, that how dreadful ſoever thoſe words may be, yet death would have been more welcome than impriſonment.

Thus, in ſpight of the terror with which

which I was ſeized, I yet had ſpirits enough left to anſwer the accuſations which were then exhibited againſt me, in ſaying; that I never had harboured any ſiniſter intentions; that I had ever continued a true catholick; that all thoſe I had converſed with in India would vouch the truth thereof, particularly father Ambroſe, and father Ives, both French capuchins, who had frequently heard my confeſſions; (I knew after I was ſet at liberty that father Ives was actually at Goa, at the very time when I called upon his teſtimony; that I had ſometimes gone fifty miles to celebrate Eaſter; that if I had been any ways inclined to entertain heretical principles, I might eaſily have ſettled in thoſe countries in the Indies, where a full liberty of ſpeaking is allowed; and conſequently, that I ſhould not, had matters ſtood thus, have ſettled in the dominions of the King of Portugal; that ſo far from diſputing againſt religion, I had, on the contrary, frequently argued with hereticks in defence of it: that indeed I remembered I had ſpoke with too much freedom, when I was before the Inquiſitor; but that I was greatly ſurprized they ſhould impute that very thing to me as a heinous crime, which they had looked upon as a trifle, when I offered to declare it about a year and half ago; that as to the particulars which related to his holineſs, I could not recollect that I had expreſſed myſelf in the manner laid to my charge; that nevertheleſs, if they would pleaſe to deſcend to particulars, I would ſincerely confeſs the truth.

Then the Inquiſitor told me, that I was allowed time to conſider of thoſe articles which related to his holineſs; but that he could not ſufficiently admire my impudence, in affirming that I had made my confeſſion with regard to the inquiſition, ſince 'twas very certain that I had not once opened my mouth upon that head; and that in Caſe I had made my declaration upon that article, when I ſaid I had done it, I ſhould not have been kept ſo long in priſon.

I remembered ſo perfectly every thing I had advanced, and the anſwers that had been made me, and was ſo tranſported with rage to ſee myſelf mocked in that manner, that if I had not been immediately ordered to withdraw, upon the ſigning of my depoſition, it would have been impoſſible for me to refrain from opprobrious expreſſions before the judge: And had I had ſtrength and liberty equal to the courage with which my paſſion fired me, I perhaps ſhould have gone farther than injurious terms.

I was called three or four times to audience in a month, where I was urged to confeſs thoſe particulars I had advanced with reſpect to the pope.

A new proof was then declared to me, which the proctor pretended was drawn up againſt me on that head, but which did not differ in a ſingle circumſtance from what had before been urged againſt me.

But a proof that the whole was a falſe accuſation, and invented merely to force me to ſpeak, is, that they would not declare to me the particulars which they pretended I had advanced.

At last finding they could get no more out of me, they said no more; and this article was not inserted in my indictment, when it was read publickly in the act of faith.

They therefore attempted again in these last audiences, and to oblige me to confess, that in the several facts I agreed upon, I really intended to defend heresy; but this I was resolved never to own, since it was a falshood.

During November and December, my ears were wounded with the cries of prisoners who were put to the torture, which is so severe, that I have known several persons of both sexes who were lame all their life-time after, and among the rest, the first companion I had in my confinement.

In this holy tribunal no regard is had to age, sex, or condition, but all are treated with the same severity; and are indiscriminately tortured, and stript almost naked, whenever the bloody-minded inquisitors are pleased to order it.

I remembered I had heard before my imprisonment, that the Auto de Fe was generally solemniz'd the first Sunday in Advent, because that passage of scripture which relates to the last judgment is read on that day in churches, the inquisitors then pretending to exhibit a lively representation thereof.

I moreover observed, that there were a great number of persons confined in that prison; the deep silence which reigns in that house giving me an opportunity to count the number of doors which were daily opened at the stated times of eating. I was besides, almost sure, that a new archbishop arrived at Goa in October, the see having been before vacant for almost thirty years. At least I thought so, because the bells of the cathedral had rung in an extraordinary manner for nine days together, at a time when neither the universal church, nor that of Goa in particular, solemnize any remarkable festival. I knew that this prelate was expected even before my confinement.

These several reasons made me flatter myself, that I might gain my liberty in the beginning of December, but when I found the first and second Sunday in Advent were past, I did not doubt but either my liberty or confinement was postponed for at least twelve months.

As I fancied that the Act of Faith was never solemnized but in the beginning of the Month of December, finding it elapsed without the least sign of any preparation for that dreadful ceremony, I resolved to submit another year to my afflictions; nevertheless, I found at a time when I least expected it; that I was likely to be set at liberty.

I observed that Saturday the 11th of January 1676, intending after dinner to give my linnen to the turnkeys in order to get it washed, as was the custom, they refused to take it, and put it off till the next day.

I could not but revolve a thousand thoughts upon the occasion of this extraordinary refusal; but not finding one satisfactory, I at last concluded, that possibly the Act of Faith might be solemnized the next day; but I

was

was more ſtrongly confirmed in my opinion, or rather looked upon it as certain, when after hearing the ringing for veſpers at the cathedral, matins were rung immediately after, which had never been done ſince my confinement, the eve of the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti excepted, which is always ſolemnized in India the Thurſday immediately following Low-Sunday, becauſe of the continual rains which fall at the time of its celebration in Europe.

One would have thought that my heart was going to be filled with joy, ſince I thought I ſhould be ſoon ſet at liberty, and that I ſhould come out of the grave, as it were, in which I had been buried for near two years. Nevertheleſs the dread with which the fatal concluſion of the proctor had filled me, and the uncertainty of my deſtiny, heightened my affliction to that degree, that I ſpent the remainder of that day, and part of the night, in ſuch a condition as would have moved the hardeſt heart, thoſe excepted under whoſe cruelty I ſuffered.

Supper was brought me, which I refuſed, and contrary to cuſtom it was not urged upon me; but no ſooner were the doors ſhut, but I gave myſelf up to grief and deſpair.

At laſt, having deplored my hard fate with ſighs and tears, oppreſſed with the moſt piercing anguiſh, I began to doze about eleven at night.

I had not been long aſleep, when I was on a ſudden awaked by the noiſe which the turnkeys made in opening the doors of my cell, and as this was unuſual, I was ſurprized to ſee people enter it with a light; and my fears were not a little increaſed by the lateneſs of the hour.

Then the alcaide gave me clothes, which he ordered me to put on, and be ready to leave my cell when he ſhould call me for that purpoſe: then he went away, leaving a lighted lamp in the dungeon.

I now had neither ſtrength enough to riſe, nor to anſwer: and the moment the turnkeys left me, I was ſeized with ſuch a trembling, that for above an hour I could not ſo much as caſt my eyes upon the clothes which were left me.

At laſt I aroſe, and falling proſtrate upon the earth before a croſs which I had drawn upon the wall, I recommended myſelf to heaven, and reſigned myſelf wholly to Providence; after which I put on the ſuit, which conſiſted in a waiſtcoat, the ſleeves whereof reached to the wriſt, and a pair of drawers that reached to the heels; the whole made of a black and white ſtriped Linen.

I did not wait long after the dreſs was brought me; for the turnkeys came about two in the morning into my cell, whence I was carried into a long gallery, where I found a great number of my fellow-ſufferers ſtanding againſt the wall. Here I placed myſelf, and ſeveral did the ſame after me.

Notwithſtanding there were upwards of two hundred more in this gallery, yet all of them were gloomily ſilent; as there was not above a dozen whites among them, who could ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, and

and as all were cloathed in the ſame dreſs with myſelf, they might eaſily have been taken for ſo many ſtatues fixed againſt the wall, had not the motion of their eyes, which was the only liberty allowed them, ſhewed them to be living creatures.

The gallery in which we ſtood had ſo few lamps in it, and the light of them was ſo very faint and weak, that this circumſtance, added to the croud of black and ſorrowful objects, ſeemed to make the whole like a burial.

The women, who were cloathed in the ſame linen as the men, where placed in an adjacent gallery, where we could ſee them; but I obſerved, that in a dormitory, not far from the place where we ſtood, there were alſo priſoners cloathed in a black ſuit, which deſcended very low, who walked up and down from time to time. I did not then know what this meant, but was informed a few hours after, that they were thoſe who were to be burnt, and were walking up and down with their confeſſors.

As I was unacquainted with the formalities of the holy office, how heartily ſoever I might formerly wiſhed to die, I then was under dreadful apprehenſions, leſt I ſhould be one of thoſe who were condemned to the Flames. However, I cheered myſelf a little, when I conſidered my dreſs was not different from the reſt, and that it was not likely ſuch a number of people would be burnt as were there preſent.

After we were placed againſt the wall, a yellow wax taper was given to us; after which clothes were brought us, made like tunicks, or large ſcapularies; they were of yellow cloth, with red St. Andrew's croſſes, painted before and behind. Such as are branded with theſe ſtigma's, are thoſe who have been guilty, or ſuppoſed to be guilty of crimes againſt the faith of Chriſt. whether they be Jews, Mahometans, wizards, or hereticks, who have left the catholick religion. Theſe large ſcapularies with large St. Andrew's croſſes are called San Benitos.

Thoſe who were looked upon as convicts, and perſiſted in declaring their innocence, or had relapſed, wore another kind of ſcapulary called Samarra, the ground whereof is grey; the criminal is drawn thereon, both before and behind, ſtanding on firebrands with flames mounting upwards, and devils around them: at the bottom of the portrait the crime and nature of the priſoner are written.

But ſuch as accuſe themſelves after ſentence as been pronounced upon them before their releaſe, and have not relapſed, have flames pointing downwards painted on their Sarmarra's, and this is called Fogo Revolto, or reverſed fire.

San Benitos were given to twenty blacks accuſed of magick, and to a Portugueſe convicted of the ſame crime, and who was moreover a new chriſtian; and as they were reſolved not to revenge themſelves by halves, but to inſult me to the utmoſt, they forced me to put on a dreſs like to that of the wizards and hereticks, tho'

though I had always confeſſed the catholic religion. This the judges might eaſily have known from a great many people, both Frenchmen and others, with whom I had lived in ſeveral parts of India.

My terror was increaſed when I ſaw myſelf in this habit, becauſe I thought that as there were not among ſo great a number of criminals, but twenty-two perſons who were dreſſed with theſe ignominious San Benitos, it was very poſſible that theſe only were thoſe who were not to be pardoned.

After the San Benito, five paſteboard caps were brought, ſhaped like a ſugar-loaf, having devils and flames painted on them, with the word Feiticero, that is, Wizard, round them. theſe caps are called Carrochas, and were put on the heads of five of the moſt guilty of the criminals, among thoſe who were accuſed of magic; and as they ſtood pretty near me, I expected to have one alſo: however I was miſtaken.

I then almoſt doubted no more but theſe miſerable wretches were to be really burnt, and as they were no better acquainted than myſelf with the formalities of the inquiſition, they have ſince told me, that they thought their ruin inevitable.

Every one being habited according to his imputed crime, we were alowed to ſit upon the ground till farther orders.

About four in the morning, ſeveral domeſticks belonging to the priſon came after the turnkeys, to give bread and figs to ſuch as would eat; but for my part, though I had not ſupped the night before, I had ſo little appetite, that I ſhould have taken nothing, had not one of the turnkeys come up to me, and ſaid, take the bread that is offered you; and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket; for, depend upon it, you will be a hungry before you come back.

Theſe words gave me the higheſt conſolation, and diſpelled all my fears, ſince he talked of my returning back, which made me take his advice.

At laſt, after having long waited, day began to break about five, when one might plainly behold in the faces of all the priſoners, the various impulſes of ſhame, grief, and fear, as thoſe different paſſions raged in their boſoms; for notwithſtanding that they were all fluſhed with joy, when they found they were going to be delivered from their dreadful and inſupportable captivity, yet the uncertainty of their fate very much diminiſhed their tranſports.

The largeſt bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before ſun-riſe, to give notice to the people of the Solemnization of the act of faith, which is, as it were, the triumph of the holy office.

We at firſt marched out one by one. I obſerved in paſſing out of the gallery into the great hall, that the inquiſitor was ſitting at the door, having a ſecretary ſtanding near him; that the the hall was crouded with the inhabitants of Goa, whoſe names were written in a liſt which the ſecretary held in his hand; and that at the ſame time that a priſoner was ordered out,

he named one of those gentlemen who were in the hall, who immediately went up to the prisoner and attended him, in order to stand godfather to him in the act of faith.

These godfathers answer for the persons they attended upon, and represent them when the festival is ended. The inquisitors pretend, that 'tis a a great honour for a person to be chosen godfather on these occasions.

The general of the Portuguese ships in India, was my godfather, and therefore I came out along with him; and being got into the street I found that the procession opened with the Dominicans, who enjoy this privilege, because St. Dominic their founder instituted the inquisition.

Before them, the standard of the holy office was carry'd, in which the image of the founder was wrought in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand, and an olive-branch in the other, with this inscription, Justitia & Misericordia.

After these friars follow the prisoners walking one after another, with each his godfather by his side, and a wax-taper in his hand. The least guilty walked first; and as I was not looked upon to be very innocent, above an hundred prisoners walked before me. Men and women walked together, for there was no other distinction than that of crimes.

I, like unto the rest, was bare-headed and bare-footed, but I suffered very much in the march, which lasted above an hour, because of the little flints with which the streets of Goa are filled; so that my feet were all bloody.

We were carried thro' the principal streets, exposed to the sight of innumerable spectators, who were come from all parts of India, and lined the way as we walked; care being taken to give notice of an Act of faith in sermon time, in the most distant churches, a long time before its solemnization.

At last, oppressed with shame and confusion, and vastly fatigued with the march, we arrived at St. Francis's church, which was then appointed to prepare the celebration of the Act of Faith.

The high altar was covered with black, and had on it six silver candlesticks, in which were six lighted white wax-tapers. On each side of the altar two seats like thrones were raised; that to the right for the inquisitor and his council, and the other for the viceroy and his court.

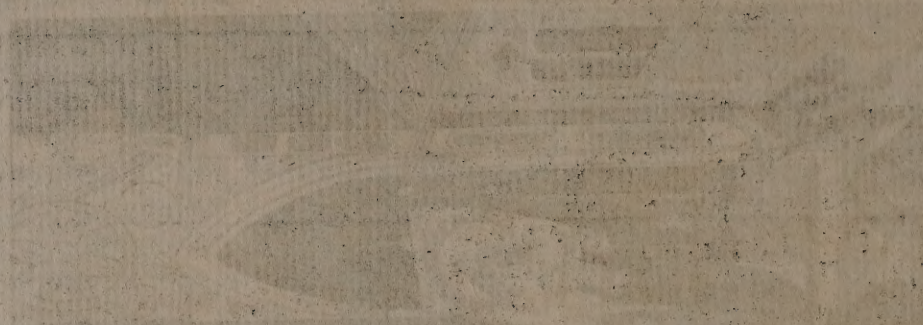
At some distance from them, and opposite to the high altar, a little towards the door, another altar had been raised, on which two mass-books lay open.

From them to the church-gate a gallery was built about three feet wide railed in on each side; and on each side forms were placed for the criminals to sit on, with their respective godfathers, who sat down as they came in to the church; so that those who came first into it, sat nearest to the altar.

Being seated in my place, I began to consider the order which those who came after me, were made to observe. I found that those who wore the dreadful Carrochas above-mentioned, walked

Engrav'd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

The Procession of the Inquisition for the burning of Hereticks.



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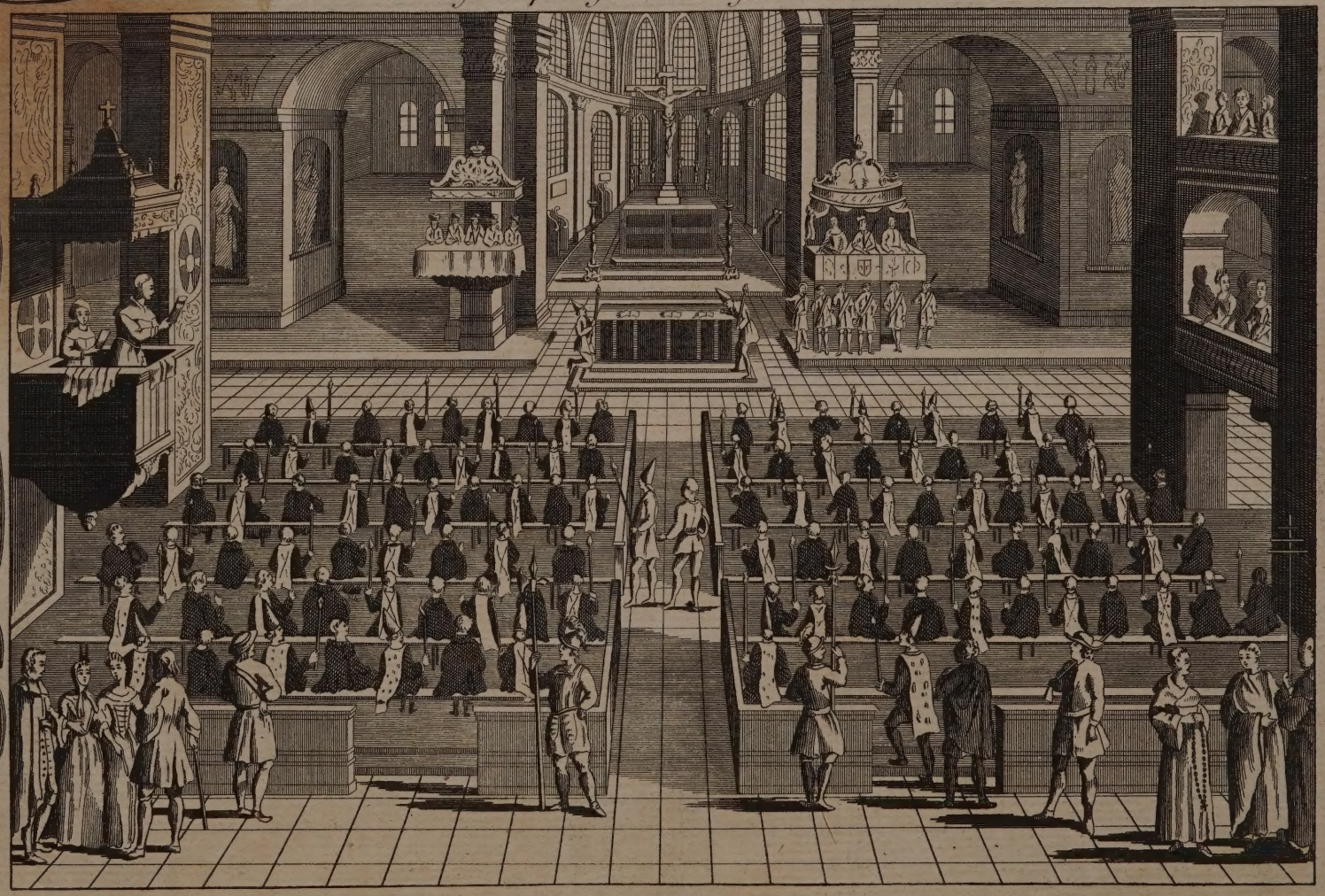


The Celebration of the Auto-Da-Fee or Act of Faith in the Inquisition.

ed last in the procession: that immediately a large crucifix was carried, the face of which was turned to those who walked before it, and which was followed by two persons and four statues, that were carried, big as the life, and representing so many men, each of them fixed upon a long pole, and accompanied with so many boxes, each carried by a man; which boxes were filled with the bones of those whom those statues represented.

By the Face of the Crucifix turned towards those who preceded it, the mercy that hid been shewn them is denoted, by sparing their lives, though they had justly deserved to die; and by the said Crucifix's being turned behind to those who followed it, is denoted, that those unhappy wretches are now lost to all hope. Thus every thing that relates to the Inquisition has a mysterious signification.

The dress of these unhappy persons inspired equal horror and pity. The living criminals, and the statues, were cloathed in Samarras made of grey linnen, painted full of devils, flames and firebrands, on which the criminal's head was painted both before and behind, with the sentence written below, containing in few words, and in large letters, his name, that of his country, and the crime for which he was to suffer. They also wore Carrochas, which, like the habit, were filled with flames and devils. The little trunks in which the bones of those who died were laid, and who had been prosecuted before, or after their decease, before or after their imprisonment, in order that their goods and chattels might be confiscated, were also painted black, and covered with demons and flames.

These unhappy wretches being entered, in the gloomy manner above described, and seated in the places appointed them near the church-door, the inquisitor came, attended by his officers, and went and seated himself on the bench that stood to the right of the altar, during which, the viceroy and his court seated themselves on the left.

The crucifix was placed on the altar betwixt the six candlesticks, when every one being seated in his place, and the church crowded with people, the provincial of the Austin Friars went up into the pulpit, and preached for half an hour.

Notwithstanding my great anguish of heart, I observed that he compared the inquisition to Noah's ark; but nevertheless, that he found this difference between them, viz. That the beasts who entered in the ark, came from thence after the flood with the very identical inclinations they had carried into it: but that the inquisition had this admirable property, to make so great a change with regard to those that were imprisoned in it, that many who were cruel as lions and tygers at their going in, came out from thence as meek and gentle as lambs.

Sermon being ended, two readers went alternately into the pulpit, where they read in publick the trials of the several criminals, and also ther respective sentences.

The prisoner whose sentence was read while that was doing, conducted by the alcaide to the middle of the gallery where

where he ſtood, with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, till his ſentence was read. And as all the priſoners are ſuppoſed to have incurred the penalty of the greater excommunication, after their trial and ſentence have been read, the priſoner is carried to the foot of the high altar, on which the maſs-books are laid; and here being ordered to kneel, he lays his hands on the book, and continues in this poſture till every criminal has a maſs-book before him.

Then the reader laying aſide the trials, read a confeſſion of faith, having firſt briefly exhorted the priſoners to repeat it after him with their hearts as well as mouths, and this being done, each priſoner returned back to his place, and the trials were again read.

I was called in my turn, when I found that my impeachment conſiſted of three heads.

The firſt, for having aſſerted the invalidity of baptiſm flaminis.

The ſecond, for having ſaid that images are not to be worſhipped, and for having blaſphemed a Crucifix, by ſaying that one of ivory, was no more than a piece of ivory; and

Thirdly, for having ſpoke with contempt of the Inquiſition and its miniſters; but above all, for the blackneſs of my intentions, when I affirmed theſe ſeveral things: in conſideration whereof, I was declared excommunicate; and for reparation, my good and chattels were confiſcated to the king's uſe, and myſelf baniſhed from the Indies, and condemned to row in the Portugueze Gallies for five years, and alſo to fulfil the other penances which ſhould be particularly enjoined me by the Inquiſitors.

Of theſe puniſhments, none was ſo grievious to me as my being forced to leave the Indies, where I had made a reſolution of travelling ſeveral years longer: however, this reflection was ſweetened, when I conſidered that I was going to be releaſed out of the clutches of the Inquiſitors.

My confeſſion of faith being read, I returned to my place, and made my advantage of the advice my turn-key had given me, not to refuſe the bread which was offered me; for as the ceremony laſted the whole day, none of the criminals eat any thing that day but in the church.

After the trials of thoſe who were pardoned were read, the Inquiſitor left his ſeat, in order to put on the Albe and the Stole; when being accompanied with about twenty prieſts, each having a ſwitch in his hand, he came into the middle of the church, where, after having ſaid ſeveral prayers, we were abſolved from the excommunication, which it was pretended we had incurred, by virtue of a ſtroke on the back, which theſe prieſts gave to each of us with the ſwitch.

I cannot forbear relating a circumſtance, to ſhew how groſly ſuperſtitious the Portugueſe are with regard to every thing that relates to the Inquiſition; which is, that during the proceſſion, and all the time I continued in the church, my godfather would never anſwer me, for fear of being involved in the ſame cenſure with myſelf; but as ſoon as I was abſolved

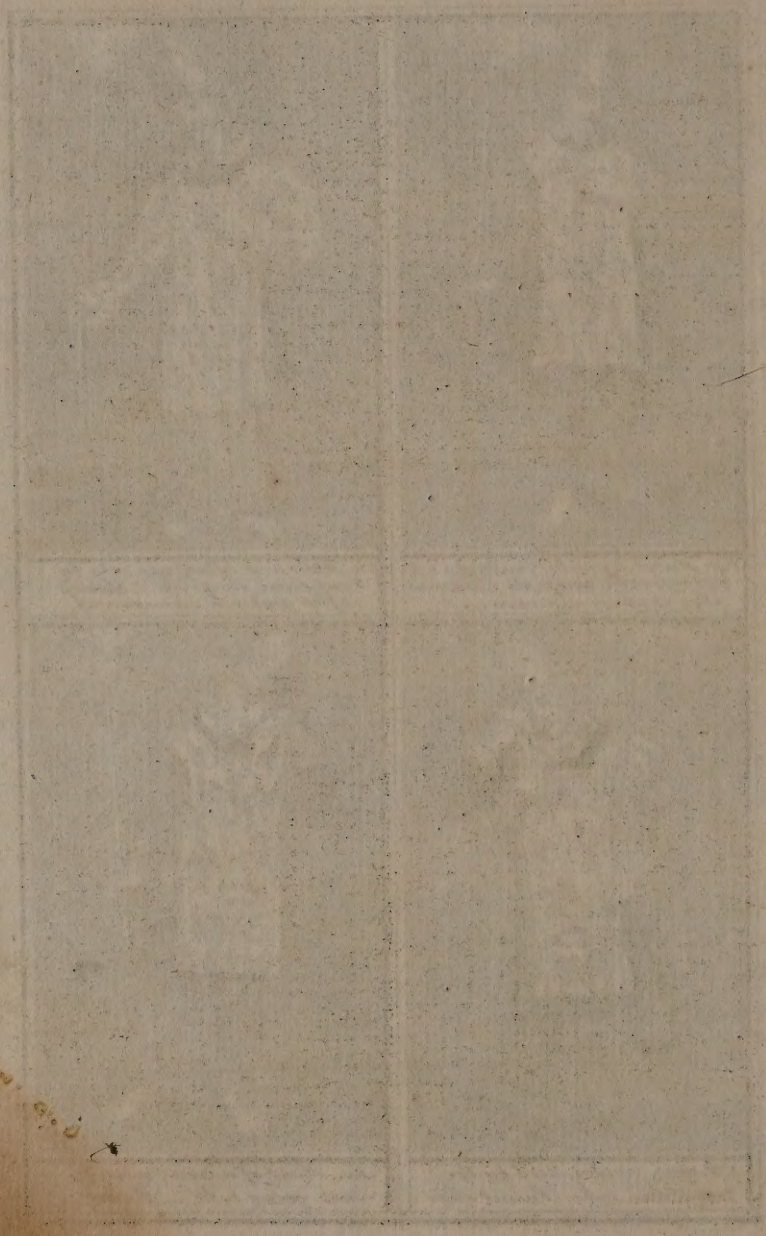
Engravd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

The Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after Sentence is pronounced.

The Habit wore by Penitents who by Confession escape the Flames after Sentence is pronounced.

A Woman condemned by the Inquisition to be Burnt alive.

The Habit of a Relapse or Impenitent going to be Burnt.



Engravd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.
The Place & manner of Execution of Persons condemnd by the Inquisition.

ed, he embraced me, gave me ſnuff, and told me he then looked upon me as his brother, ſince the church had looſed me.

The ceremony being ended, and the inquiſitor returned to his ſeat, the priſoners who were to be burnt, were made to advance forward. There were a man, a woman, and the images of four men deceaſed, with the boxes in which their bones were laid: The man and woman were black Indians and chriſtians, accuſed of magick, and condemned as relapſed; but in reality were no more wizards than thoſe who condemned them.

Of the four images, two repreſented men convicted of magick, and the other two, two men, both new Chriſtians, accuſed of turning Jews; one whereof died in the inquiſition, and the other in his own houſe, and had been buried many years before in his pariſh-church.

However, being accuſed after his death of embracing the Jewiſh principles, as he died very rich, the inquiſitors had cauſed his body to be taken out of the grave, in order to burn his bones in the Act of Faith.

The trials of theſe unhappy perſons were read, which all ended with theſe words, viz. *That it not being in the power of the holy office to pardon them, becauſe of their relapſing into their errors or their impenitence, and being indiſpenſably obliged to puniſh them with the utmoſt rigour of the laws, they therefore delivered them over to the flames.*

While theſe laſt words were pronouncing, a ſerjeant from the ſecular powers advanced forward, and took poſſeſſion of theſe unfortunate perſons, who before had been ſtruck gently on the breaſt by the alcaide, to ſhew that they were abandoned by the inquiſitors.

In this manner the Act of Faith ended; and whilſt the condemned criminals were carried to the river-ſide, where the viceroy and his court were aſſembled, and where the piles on which they were to be burnt, had been prepared the day before; while theſe things, I ſay, were doing, we were carried back to priſon, but without obſerving any order as we walked.

Tho' I did not ſee them executed, yet, as I had a full account of it from perſons who had been preſent at ſeveral of theſe executions, I ſhall give a deſcription thereof in few words.

When the condemned priſoners are come to the place where the lay-judges are aſſembled, they are aſked what religion they chuſe to profeſs at leaving the world; but don't make the leaſt mention of their trial, which is ſuppoſed to have been fair, and that they were very juſtly condemned, the inquiſition being looked upon as infallible.

Having anſwered this only queſtion that is aſked them, the executioner lays hold of them, and ties them to ſtakes, where they are at firſt ſtrangled, in caſe they die chriſtians; but in caſe they perſiſt in profeſſing judaiſm or hereſy, they then are burnt alive: however, this happens ſo rarely, that there is ſcarce one inſtance of it in four acts of faith, tho' ſeveral perſons generally ſuffer on theſe occaſions.

The day after the execution, the

pictures of the executed criminals are carry'd into the church of the Dominicans. Their heads only are repreſented to the life, with firebrands under them, with their names, thoſe of their fathers and their country, and the crime for which they ſuffered, with the day of the month, and year of their execution.

In caſe the criminal had relapſed into this guilt, the following words are writ under his picture, Morreo queimado por Hereje relapſo, i. e. that he was burnt as an heretick relapſed.

If he perſevered in his error, after having been accuſed but once, the words por Hereje conumas, are written under his picture; but there are few of theſe.

In fine, if after having been accuſed but once, by a ſufficient number of witneſſes, he perſiſts in aſſerting his innocence, and dies in profeſſing the chriſtian religion, then there is under his picture, Morreo queimado por hereje convitto negativo, i. e. he was burnt as a heretic convict, but did not confeſs; and of the latter there are great numbers.

Now 'tis certain, that out of an hundred who die as negatives, ninety-nine are not only innocent of the crime imputed to them, but choſe to die, rather than falſly confeſs themſelves guilty of a crime. For 'tis not natural to ſuppoſe, that was a man ſure to be pardon'd in caſe he would confeſs, that he would perſiſt in his innocence, and chuſe rather to be burnt than to own a truth, the confeſſion of which would ſave him.

Theſe terrible portraits are hung up in the Nave, and over the great gate of the church, as ſo many illuſtrious trophies ſacred to the glory of the holy office; and when this ſide of the church is fill'd, they alſo croud the wings near the gate with them. In the great church of the Dominicans at Liſbon, which is not far from the inquiſition, there are ſeveral hundred of theſe melancholy paintings.

I was ſo wearied and dejected at my return from the act of faith, that I was almoſt as deſirous of going back to my cell, as I had been a little before to come out of it.

My Godfather accompanied me to the hall, and the alcaide having carried me into the gallery, I went and ſhut myſelf up whilſt he was looking after the reſt.

Being got in, I threw myſelf upon the bed till my ſupper ſhould be brought me, which conſiſted only of bread and figs, the hurry of the day not allowing the officers to get any thing elſe.

I ſlept however, much better this night than I had done for a conſiderable time before; but the moment day appeared, I was impatient to know my fate.

About ſix, the alcaide bid me give him back the dreſs I had worn in the proceſſion, which I willingly returned him; and at the ſame time offered him the San benito, but he would not receive it, I being to wear it on all ſundays and feſtivals, till I had completed my ſentence.

About ſeven, breakfaſt was brought me, and a little after I was ordered to pack up my things, and to be in readi-

neſs

neſs againſt my being called out. I obey'd this laſt order with all poſſible care and diſpatch; when about nine a turnkey opened my door, ordered me to take up my bundle upon my ſhoulders, and to follow him to the great hall, whither the greateſt part of the priſoners were already come.

Having ſtaid ſome time here, I ſaw about twenty of my fellow-priſoners, who had been ſentenced to be whipt the day before, which had juſt then been executed upon them by the hands of the common hangman, through all the ſtreets in the city.

Being thus aſſembled, the inquiſitor came in, when we all fell on our knees to receive his bleſſing, after having kiſs'd the ground he walked upon. Orders were afterwards given to ſuch blacks as had few or no clothes, to carry thoſe of the whites.

Such of the priſoners as were not chriſtians, were immediately ſent to the places whither they had been condemned; ſome of them into baniſhment, others to the gallies or the houſe were powder is made, called, Caſa de Polvera; and the chriſtians, whether blacks or whites, were carried to a houſe hired for that purpoſe in the city, there to be inſtructed for ſome time.

The blacks lay in the parlours and galleries, and the whites were put into a ſeparate apartment, where we were confined all night, but had liberty to range the whole houſe over in the day time and to ſpeak with any body.

The whites and blacks were catechiſed ſeparately every day, and maſs was daily celebratd, at which we all aſſiſted, as alſo at morning and evening prayer.

During my ſtay in this houſe, I was viſited by a religious dominican, my friend, whom I had known at Daman where he was prior. The good father, who was oppreſſed with years and ſickneſs, no ſooner heard of my being ſet at liberty, but he immediately viſited me in a ſedan. He bewailed my ill fate with tears, and embraces, telling me that he had been in great terror for my ſake; that he frequently inquired into the ſtate of my health, and my affairs, of the father, procurator of the priſoners, his friend, and of the ſame order; that he could obtain no anſwer for a conſiderable time; and that at laſt, after many entreaties, all he could get out of him, was, that I was ſtill alive.

The ſight of this good friar gave me great conſolation, and the neceſſity I was under of leaving the Indies was a trouble to us both. He had the humanity to viſit me ſeveral times, when he requeſted me to return to the Indies as ſoon as I ſhould be ſet at liberty, and ſent me proviſions of various kinds for the voyage, which otherwiſe I could never have procured.

After I had lived in this houſe till the 23d of January, we were again conducted into the hall of the inquiſition when each of us was called in his turn to the board of the holy office, there to receive from the hands of the inquiſitor, a paper containing the penance to which we were reſpectively ſentenced: I went thither in my turn when laying my hands on the goſpels, I was ordered to kneel down, and to pro-

promiſe not to reveal any of thoſe particulars, which had happened in the inquiſition during my impriſonment.

The judge afterwards gave me a paper ſigned by himſelf, containing the following liſt of penances.

1. During the three years to come, he ſhall confeſs and communicate: the firſt Year, every month; and the two following, at Eaſter, Whitſuntide, Chriſtmas, and the Aſſumption of our lady.

2. He ſhall aſſiſt at maſs and ſermons all Sundays and feſtivals, in caſe he has opportunity for ſo doing.

3. During the ſaid three years, he ſhall daily repeat five times the Pater-noſter and Ave Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour Chriſt.

4. He ſhall not engage in friendſhip with hereticks, or perſons whoſe faith is in the leaſt ſuſpected, which may in any manner prejudice his ſalvation.

5. He ſhall keep inviolably ſecret, all he has either ſeen, ſaid, or heard; as alſo whatever has been tranſacted with himſelf, either at the board, or other places of the holy office.

Of the ſeveral Kinds of TORTURES.

WE come now to the moſt ſhocking and diſagreeable part of the work, namely, to deſcribe the dreadful tortures the poor wretches are made to undergo, when doomed to them by the ſentence of this Bloody tribunal.

The place of torture in the Spaniſh Inquiſition is generally underground, in a dark room, which is entered by ſeveral doors.

A tribunal is placed in it, where the inquiſitor, inſpector, and ſecretary ſit. The candles being lighted, the perſon to be tortured is brought in. The executioner is covered all over with a black linen garment down to his feet; his head and face hid with a long black cowl, with two holes in it to ſee through. All this is to ſtrike the miſerable wretch with the greater horror, when he ſees himſelf in the hands of one who looks like the devil himſelf.

Mean while the biſhop and inquiſitor, who generally are both preſent, endeavour to perſuade the priſoner freely to confeſs the truth. If he refuſe, they order the officer to ſtrip him, which is done in an inſtant.

They tell him, If he confeſſes, he will not be put to death, but only be made to ſwear he will not return to the hereſy he hath abjured. But if neither threatenings nor promiſes avail, he is tortured more lightly or grievouſly, according to the nature of his crime; and during his torture, is frequently interrogated upon thoſe articles for which he is put to it.

Proper tortures muſt be appointed, ſuch as are borne of ancient chriſtians, and muſt be bound by oath to conceal their ſecrets.

The judges alſo proteſt, that if the perſons ſhould happen to die under his tortures, or loſe any of his limbs, they are not to be charged with it, but the criminal himſelf, who would not confeſs the truth.

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An heretick may be interrogated not only concerning himſelf, but likewiſe his companions and accomplices, his teachers and diſciples.

A perſon alſo ſuſpected of hereſy, and fully convicted, may be tortured on another account, namely, to diſcover his companions and accomplices in the crime. That is, when he boggles, and it his half proved at leaſt that he was actually preſent with them, or hath ſuch companions and accomplices in his crime; for in this caſe he is not tortured as a criminal, but as a witneſs.

But he who makes a full confeſſion of himſelf, is not tortured on another account: Whereas if he be a negative, he may, to diſcover his accomplices and other hereticks, though he be fully convicted himſelf, and it be half proved that he hath ſuch accomplices.

Mean while, the notary takes down every thing in the proceſs, the tortures inflicted, what matters the criminal were queſtioned about, and his anſwers.

If theſe tortures draw no confeſſion from him, they ſhew him other kinds, which they tell him he may ſuffer, unleſs he confeſs the truth. If he ſtill continues reſolute, they may, to terrify him, aſſign the ſecond or third day to continue, not to repeat the torture, till he hath undergone all thoſe kinds of them to which he is condemned.

There are five degrees of torture, viz.

1. The being threatened to be tortured.

2. Being carried to the place of torture.

3. By ſtripping and binding.

4. The being hoiſted up on the rack.

5. Squaſſation.

Stripping is performed without any regard to humanity or decency; men, women and even virgins, though ever ſo chaſte and virtuous, muſt ſubmit to it. They are firſt ſtripped to their ſhifts, which are likewiſe taken off, and then have ſtrait linen drawers put on them, and their arms naked up to their ſhoulders.

Squaſſation is thus performed. The priſoner's hands are bound behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on high, till his head touches the pully. In this poſture he is kept hanging for ſome time, that by the greatneſs of the weight hanging at his feet, all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully ſtretched; and on a ſudden he is let down with a jerk, by ſlacking the rope, but ſtopt before he comes quite to the ground, by which terrible ſhaking his arms and legs are all disjointed, which puts him to the moſt exquiſite pain, and his whole body ſtretched moſt intenſely and cruelly. Of this kind of torture, the following is an example.

Mr. Webſter, an Engliſhman, but unhappily educated in the church of Rome, was an inquiſitor; but being ſhocked at the cruelties he ſaw exerciſed there, made his eſcape to England. One of theſe acts of cruelty was as follows.

As a nobleman, a friend of his, who

was juſt married, was walking in his garden with his lady; two Capuchin friars paſſed by with their feet and heads bare, and in the mortifying dreſs of their order.

When they were gone to ſome little diſtance, and, as he thought out of hearing, he expreſſed to his wife his ſurprize, that any perſon could be ſo far infatuated, as to believe ſuch a particular dreſs could be meritorious in the ſight of God.

Unhappily for him, he was over-heard by the friars, who made their report to the inquiſition. Mr. Webſter as one of the inquiſitors, was ordered to take a ſufficient guard, which they always had waiting, to bring his unfortunate friend before them. It would have been vain for him to have expreſſed the reluctance he inwardly felt: for the leaſt ſigns of it might have proved fatal to himſelf.

About the middle of the night, he and his attendants appeared before the nobleman's door; when, upon their knocking, a ſervant looked out of the window, and enquiring who was there, was anſwered, the Holy Inquiſition.

Upon this, knowing the conſequence of a refuſal, he haſtened down, opened the door, and conducted them into the bed-chamber, where the new-married couple were faſt aſleep.

The firſt who waked was the lady, who ſeeing ſuch a crew of ruffians in the room, ſcreamed out, for which ſhe was ſaluted by one of them with a blow on the face, that made the blood guſh out.

Mr. Webſter was much enraged at this, and aſking the fellow what authority he had for ſuch an unparalelled piece of cruelty, threatened him ſeverely, and afterwards had him puniſhed in an exemplary manner.

This waked the huſband, who being very much ſurprized at what had happened, caſting his eyes on Mr. Webſter, cried out, "Ah, my friend, "is it you?" Yes, replied he, it is; and you muſt immediately riſe and follow me. This he ſoon complied with.

Accordingly he was conducted to the Inquiſition, where he was told, he was certainly guilty of ſome great crime, and that he had a week given him to recollect himſelf what it was, and ſo accuſe himſelf.

All that time he was confined in a dungeon, and fed with nothing but bread and water, in order to weaken him, and render him leſs able to undergo the torture.

At the end of the week he was brought, in the night, before the infernal tribunal; and ſo altered, that he was ſcarce known to be the ſame: and upon his declaring that he was not conſcious of any thing culpable, he was immediately led to the torture, which was thus inflicted on him.

By means of four cords, which came over four pullies at each corner of the room, he was hoiſted up to the cieling, where, by a ſudden jerk, all his bones were diſlocated.

After he had hung ſome time in this deplorable condition, the inquiſitor-general, thinking he had not ſuffered enough, commanded them to ſlaken the cords, in order to let him fall with a ſhock to the ground.

This, after what was done before, is thought to be one of the great-

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eſt torments that human nature is capable of ſuſtaining. But when they came to inflict it, they found the unhappy man was already dead, upon which they buried him in a private manner; and ſent a note to his wife, deſiring her to offer up prayers for his ſoul, in all the churches in Rome.

The ſame gentleman likewiſe gives us an inſtance of another kind of torture, which he thus relates.

Information having been given to the inquiſition, that a gentleman had been guilty of ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of their office, all imaginable diligence was uſed to diſcover him; and advertiſements fixed up at Rome, and other places, deſcribing him to be a tall black man, with an impediment in his ſpeech.

One of their emiſſaries happening to be at Florence, in the public walks, met with a perſon, whom he thought anſwered the deſcription.

Accordingly he ſpared no pains to inſinuate himſelf into his acquaintance; and ſucceded ſo far, that the gentleman finding him to be a ſtranger, offered to ſhew him the principal curioſities of the place; and entertained him at his houſe, in a free and hoſpitable manner

After ſome time, the ſtranger told him, that he hoped he would ſuffer him to return the obligation, by accompanying him to Rome, and paſſing ſome days with him at his ſeat, in the neighbourhood of that city, where he found the gentleman had never been.

Accordingly they ſet out together, but inſtead of carrying him to any houſe of his own, he led him directly to the palace of the inquiſition at Macerata, where, after bringing him to the great hall, he deſired him to amuſe himſelf with the paintings there; and excuſed himſelf for his leaving him a little, to give the neceſſary orders in the houſe.

Whilſt he was thus admiring the grandeur of the place, and ſuſpecting, from the richneſs of the furniture, that he had not treated his friend with the reſpect that was due, he obſerved ſeveral perſons peeping one by one at the door, and ſtaring him full in the face.

Upon this, ſeeing no ſign of his companion's return, he began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and was juſt ſtepping out, when a perſon came up to him, and enquiring where he was going, told him, that no body was ſuffered to depart thence; that he was now in the hall of the inquiſition, and muſt certainly have been guilty of ſome great crime, or he would not have been brought thither; ſo that he muſt take up his abode there.

Immediately he was thruſt down into the dungeon; where, after being fed for a week with bread and water, he was brought up in the middle of the night to a room hung with black, where the council of the inquiſition was ſitting (one of which was Mr. Webſter himſelf) where he was told by the inquiſitor-general, that he muſt certainly have been guilty of ſome great offence; for the holy inquiſition never accuſed any one raſhly; ſo that he muſt conſider what it was, and impeach himſelf.

Upon his proteſting his innocence, he was prepared for the torture, which was inflicted in this manner.

The unhappy man was ſtripped naked,

naked, and by means of four ropes, which ran upon as many pullies, at each corner of the room, his arms and legs were extended, within one degree of breaking; and he was laid upon his back, with an iron ſpike fixed under him.

In this condition he lay for ſome time in extreme anguiſh; but ſtill refuſing to accuſe himſelf, he was remanded back to his dungeon; where he had not been long before the inquiſitor having diſpatched an expreſs to Rome with their ſuſpicion, that from his reſolution and other circumſtances, he could not be the man they imagined; received for anſwer, That they need give themſelves no further trouble about him, for that they had diſcovered the true offender.

Upon which this gentleman was diſcharged after they had given him an oath of ſecrecy. But the hardſhips under which he had laboured, and the torments he had ſuffered, had ſo far deprived him of the uſe of his faculties, that he continued the remainder of his life ſenſeleſs and diſtracted, in the neighbourhood of Macerata.

Another kind of torture is executed by a wooden bench, which they call the wooden horſe, made hollow like a trough, ſo as to contain a man lying on his back at full length; about the middle of which there is a round bar laid acroſs, upon which the back of the perſon is placed, ſo that he lies upon the bar, inſtead of being let into the bottom of the trough, with his feet much higher than his head.

As he is lying in this poſture, his arms, thighs, and ſhins, are tied round with ſmall cords or ſtrings, which being drawn hard, and placed at little diſtances from each other, cut into the very bones, ſo as to be no longer diſcerned.

Beſides this, the torturer throws over his mouth and noſtrils a linen cloth, ſo that he is ſcarce able to breathe, and in the mean while, a ſtream of water like a thread, not drop by drop, falls from on high, upon the perſon lying in this miſerable condition, and ſo eaſily ſinks down the thin cloth to the bottom of his throat ſo that there is no poſſibility of breathing, his mouth being ſtopped with water and his noſtrils with the cloth, ſo that the poor wretch is in the ſame agony as perſons ready to die, and breathing their laſt.

When this cloth is drawn out of his throat, as it often is, that he may anſwer to the queſtions, it appears like pulling his bowels thro' his mouth.

There is another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, which they call the Fire.

They order a large chaffing-diſh, full of lighted charcoal, to be brought in, and held cloſe to the ſoles of the tortured perſon's feet, greaſed over with lard, that ſo the heat of the fire may more eaſily pierce thro' them.

This is inquiſition by torture, when there is only half full proof of their crime.

However, at other Times, tortures are ſometimes inflicted upon perſons condemned to death, as a puniſhment preceding that of death.

If when the perſon is decently tortured, he confeſſes nothing, he is allowed

Various Tortures Used in Goals of the Inquisition.

lowed to go away free; and if he demands of his judges to be cleared by ſentence, they can't deny him; and they pronounce, that having diligently examined the merits of the proceſs, they find nothing of the crime of which he was accuſed, legally proved againſt him.

But if, when under the queſtion, he confeſſes, 'tis written in the proceſs; after which he is carried to another place, where he has no view of the tortures, and there his confeſſion made during his torments is read over to him, and he is interrogated ſeveral times till the confeſſion be made.

When the priſoner is carried to audience, they make him paſs by the door of the room where the torture was inflicted, where the executioner ſhews himſelf in the frightful habit before deſcribed, that by ſeeing him, he may be forced to feel, as it were, over again his paſt torments.

The caſes in which they proceed to the torture are various. But this is certain, that they never proceed ſo far, unleſs there be defect of other proofs, and they think the truth can't be otherwiſe diſcovered.

Therefore they firſt give the criminal a copy of his proceſs, and take his anſwer to all the articles exhibited againſt him; and if after all he can't make his innocence plainly appear, nor the witneſſes fully convict him, then they apply the torture to oblige him to confeſs.

In like manner, if he is caught contradicting himſelf, and at the ſame time there are proofs ſufficient for the torture, both theſe things muſt be added in his ſentence; or if only one of them happens, it muſt be inſerted juſt as it is.

But farther: it muſt be carefully and diſtinctly inſerted at large by the notary in the acts, whether the perſon interrogated anſwered with reſolution, or in a trembling manner, what ſigns he diſcovered in his face, whether paleneſs, or tears, or laughter, or ſweat, or trembling, becauſe in caſe of an appeal, the ſuperior judge, who can't look on the criminals and witneſſes perſonally, but only as they are deſcribed in writing, can't come to the knowledge of theſe particulars, unleſs they are deſcribed at large by the firſt judge.

There is a caſe, however, in which a perſon may be tortured without any proofs or copy given, viz.

When the perſon under inquiſition is preſent, and will not anſwer. For then he is to be tortured, not to extort a confeſſion, but an affirmative or negative anſwer.

Likewiſe, if a perſon under inquiſition doth not appear within the due term, and is thereupon declared guilty of contumacy, and afterwards comes to purge himſelf from ſuch contumacy, he may, without any other proofs, be tortured on account of it.

When the fame is either vehement, or great, or ſlight, the quality of the perſons and fact are to be conſidered. For if the fact be great, and the perſon of great worth, 'tis neceſſary that this fame ſhould either be of the whole city, or at leaſt the greater part of it.

But if the fact be inconſiderable, and reſtrained to a certain number of perſons, who moſt probably are acquainted with it, the evidence of a

major part of them is enough to prove the fame.

As if a biſhop, living with his canons, ſhould be defamed for fornication, ſuch infamy would be ſufficiently proved by the major part of thoſe canons. But if the fact be very ſmall, and the perſon mean, the major part of his neighbourhood is enough.

In this caſe, the crime is ſaid to appear ſo far as to inflict the torture, when there is an half full proof, or proof ſufficient for the torture. Of theſe proofs there are ſeveral.

Firſt inconſiſtency, not indeed of any kind, but ſuch only as regards the main ſubſtance of the crime, and in a matter which it can't be preſumed ſhould be forgotten in ſo little a while, which is left to the judge to determine; and when the criminal himſelf doth not appear to be very ſtupid and forgetful.

Secondly, when any one is defamed for hereſy, and 'tis farther proved that there is a witneſs againſt him who can teſtify from his own knowledge, or that there is one or more vehement or violent proofs.

Thirdly, if there is one witneſs againſt him who teſtifies from his own knowledge, and at the ſame time there is one or more vehement or violent proofs againſt him.

Or if it be found that there are againſt him ſeveral vehement or violent proofs of hereſy, without any infamy, or witneſs from his own knowledge. But when theſe proofs are vehement, or ſufficient for the torture, it is left to the determination of the judge.

Formerly the torture was inflicted by lay judges, according to the conſtitution of Innocent IV. But as by this means ſecret matters were often divulged, and the faith injured, it was judged more convenient that the whole cognizance and full diſcuſſion of theſe crimes, which are merely eccleſiaſtical, ſhould be confined to the inquiſitors, who, with the biſhops, were therefore empowered to torture criminals; and that if at any time they ſhould happen to contract any irregularity, they ſhould mutually diſpenſe with one another.

Some criminals are ſo crafty, that when put to the torture, they inſtantly confeſs their fault, and in twenty-four hours retract their confeſſion when they ſhould confirm it, and when tortured again, confeſs again, and retract again, repeat the ſame as often as they tortured.

A criminal muſt not be condemned for a confeſſion drawn out by torture, unleſs he afterwards perſeveres in it. 'Tis the ſame in law, if extorted by fear, or dread of impending torments.

This is done, when the criminal is carried to the place in which the torture is inflicted, and there ſtript of his clothes, bound, or ſo terrified by the judges, as that he had great reaſon to believe the torture would be inflicted: for, 'tis not enough if the judge frighten him but ſlightly in another place, unleſs it be ſuch a fear as may affect a perſon of reſolution.

But if he perſiſts in his confeſſion, owns his fault, and aſks pardon of the church, he is condemned as guilty of hereſy by his own confeſſion, but as penitent. But if he obſtinately perſiſt

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in hereſy, he is condemned, and delivered over to the ſecular arm to be puniſhed with death.

If the accuſed perſon is found to have fallen into hereſy, or there is otherwiſe evidence proved againſt him, upon account of which he is obliged to abjure, as lightly or vehemently ſuſpected of hereſy, he muſt not be tortured on this account; but if beſides this he denies ſome things not ſufficiently proved, and there be proofs ſufficient to put him to the queſtion, and he accordingly is tortured, but confeſſes nothing, he is not to be abſolved, but is to be proceeded againſt according to the things proved, and muſt be commanded to abjure either as ſuſpected, or found guilty, as the merits of the proceſs require. Or if he confeſſes any thing by torture, he muſt be forced alſo to abjure it.

Remarkable Adventures of a young Lady, confined in the Inquiſition; as related by herſelf.

THAT the mind of the reader may be ſomewhat relieved from that melancholy, which ſuch a ſeries of tragical ſtories muſt have involved it, we ſhall relate the following odd circumſtance relating to the inquiſitors themſelves; which will ſhew, that notwithſtanding they puniſh others with the moſt relentleſs cruelty for the leaſt breach in their faith; yet they themſelves in private, are far from obſerving the ſtricteſt morality in their actions.

In the year 1706, after the battle of Almanza, the Spaniſh army being divided in two bodies, one of them marched through the kingdom of Valencia to the frontiers of Catalonia, commanded by the duke of Berwick and the other, compoſed of the French auxiliary troops, fourteen thouſand in number, went to the conqueſt of Aragon, whoſe inhabitants had declared themſelves for king Charles III.

The body of French troops was commanded by his highneſs the Duke of Orleans, who was generaliſſimo of the whole army.

Before he came to the city, the magiſtrates went to meet him, and offered the keys of the city, but he refuſed them, ſaying, he was to enter it thro' a breach; and ſo he did, treating the people as rebels to their lawful king: And when he had ordered all the civil and military affairs of the city, he went down to the frontiers of Catalonia, leaving his lieutenant general, Mon. de Joſreville governor of the town.

But this governor being a mild tempered man, he was unwilling to follow the orders left with him, as to the contribution money; ſo he was called to the army, and the lieutenant-general, Monſieur de Legal, came in his place.

The city was to pay a thouſand crowns a month, for the duke's table, and every houſe a piſtole, which by computation made up the ſum of eighteen thouſand piſtoles a month, which

which were paid eight months together; beſides this the convents were to pay a donative proportionable to their rents: The college of Jeſuits were charged two thouſand piſtoles, the Dominicans one thouſand, Auguſtins one thouſand, Carmelites one thouſand, &c.

Monſieur de Legal ſent firſt to the Jeſuits, who refuſed to pay, ſaying, that it was againſt the eccleſiaſtical immunity; but Legal, not acquainted with thoſe ſort of excuſes, ſent four companies of grenadiars to be quartered in their college at diſcretion.

The fathers ſent immediately an expreſs to the king's confeſſor, who was a Jeſuit, with complaints about the caſe: but the grenadiers made more expedition in their plundering and miſchief, than the courier did in his journey: ſo the fathers ſeeing the damage all their goods had already ſuſtained, and fearing ſome violence upon their treaſure, went and paid Monſieur Legal the two thouſand piſtoles as a donative.

Next he ſent to the Dominicans. The friars of this order are all familiars of the holy office, and depending upon it; they excuſed themſelves in a civil manner, ſaying, they had no money, and if Monſieur de Legal had a mind to inſiſt upon the demand of one thouſand piſtoles, they could not pay him without ſending to him the ſilver bodies of the ſaints.

The friars thought by that to frighten Monſieur de Legal, and if he was ſo reſolute as to accept the offer, to ſend the ſaints in a proceſſion, and raiſe the people, by crying out Hereſy, Hereſy!

De Legal anſwered the friars, that he was obliged to obey the duke's orders, and ſo he would receive the ſilver ſaints. So the friars, all in a ſolemn proceſſion, with lighted candles in their hands, carried the ſaints to the governor Legal; who as ſoon as he heard of this public reſolution of the friars, ordered immediately four companies of grenadiers to line the ſtreets on both ſides, before his houſe, and to keep their fuſees in one hand, and a lighted candle in the other, to receive the ſaints with the ſame devotion. And though the friars endeavoured to raiſe the people, no-body was ſo bold as to expoſe themſelves to the army.

Legal received the ſaints, and ſent them to the mint, promiſing the father prior to give him what remained above the thouſand piſtoles. The friars being diſappointed in their projects of raiſing the people, went to the inquiſitors to deſire them to releaſe their ſaints out of the mint, by excommunicating Monſieur de Legal, which the inquiſitors did upon the ſpot: and the excommunication being drawn and ſigned, they gave ſtrict orders to their ſecretary to go read it before Monſieur de Legal, which he did accordingly. And the governor, far from flying in a paſſion, with a mild countenance, took the paper from the ſecretary, and ſaid, Pray tell your maſters the inquiſitors, that I will anſwer them to-morrow morning. The ſecretary went away fully ſatisfied with Legal's civil behaviour; who the ſame minute, without reflecting upon any conſequence, called his own ſecretary,

tary, and bid him to draw a copy of the excommunication, putting out the name of Legal, and inſerting, in its place, The holy inquiſitors.

The next morning he gave orders for four regiments to be ready, and ſent them along with his ſecretary to the inquiſition, with command to read the excommunication to the inquiſitors themſelves, and if they made the leaſt noiſe, to turn them out, open all the priſons, and quarter two regiments there.

The inquiſitors were never more ſurprized than to ſee themſelves excommunicuted by a man that had no authority for it; and began to cry out *War againſt the heretical Legal*; this is a publick inſult againſt our Catholick faith. To which the ſecretary anſwered, Holy Inquiſitors, the king wants this houſe to quarter his troops in, ſo walk out immediately; and as they continued in their exclamations, he took the inquiſitors with a ſtrong guard, and carried them to a private houſe deſigned for that pupoſe; but when they ſaw the laws of military diſcipline, they begged leave to take their goods along with them; which was immediately granted, and the next day they ſet out for Madrid to complain to the king; who gave them a ſlight anſwer, ſaying, *I am very ſorry for it, but I cannot help it; my crown is in danger, and my grandfather defends it, and this is done by his troops, if it had been done by my troops, I ſhould have applied a ſpeedy remedy; but you muſt have patience till things take another turn.*

The ſecretary of Monſieur de Legal, according to his orders, opened the doors of all the priſons, and then the wickedneſſes of the inquiſitors were detected: Four hundred priſoners got liberty that day; and among them ſixty young women were found very well dreſſed, who were in all human appearance, the number of the three inquiſitors Seraglio, as ſome of them afterwards acknowledged.

But this diſcovery, ſo dangerous to the holy tribunal, was in ſome meaſure prevented by the archbiſhop, who went to deſire Monſieur de Legal to ſend thoſe women to his palace, and that his grace would take care of them. And in the mean time he ordered an eccleſiaſtical cenſure to be publiſhed againſt thoſe that ſhould defame by groundleſs reports the holy office of the inquiſition. The governor anſwered, he would be willing to aſſiſt his grace in any thing he could; but as to the young women, it was not in his power, the officers having hurried them away; as indeed it was not, for the French officers were all glad to get ſuch fine miſtreſſes.

As I travelled in France ſome time after, I met with one of thoſe women at Rochfort, in the ſame inn I went to lodge in, who had been brought there by the Son of the maſter of the inn, formerly a lieutenant in the French ſervice in Spain, who had married her for her extraordinary merit and beauty. She was daughter of counſellor *Balabriga*. I had known her before ſhe was taken up by the inquiſitors orders; her father died of grief, without the comfort of revealing the cauſe of his trouble, even

to his confeſſor. So great is the dread of the inquiſition there!

I was very glad to meet one of my country-women in my travels: and as ſhe did not remember me, eſpecially in my diſguiſe, ſhe took me for an officer.

I reſolved to ſtay there the next day to have the ſatisfaction of converſing with her, and to get a plain account of what we could not know in Zaragoſa, for fear of incurring the eccleſiaſtical cenſure publiſhed by the biſhop.

Her father and mother-in-law, to ſhew the reſpect for their daughter's countryman (Mr. Faulcault, her ſpouſe being now gone to Paris) invited me to a handſome ſupper; after which I begged the Favour of her to tell me the reaſon of her impriſonment; of her ſufferings in the inquiſition, and of every thing ſhe knew relating to the holy office: to which ſhe readily conſented, and gave me the following account.

I went one day with my mother to viſit the counteſs of Attaraſs, and I met there Don Franciſco Torrejon, her confeſſor and ſecond inquiſitor of the holy office. After we had drank chocolate, he aſked me my age, my confeſſor's name, and ſo many intricate queſtions about religion, that I could not anſwer him. His ſerious countenance frightened me; and as he perceived my fear, he deſired the counteſs to tell me, that he was not ſo ſevere as I took him to be. After which he careſſed me in a moſt obliging manner; he gave me his hand, which I kiſſed with great reſpect and modeſty; and when he went away, he told me, *My dear child, I ſhall remember you till the next time.*

I did not mind the ſenſe of the words; for I was unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being at that time but fifteen years old. Indeed he did remember me; for the very ſame night, when we were in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid that lay in the ſame room with me went to the window, and aſking who was there? I heard ſay, The holy inquiſition. I could not forbear crying out, Father, Father, I am ruined for ever!

My father got up, and inquiring what the matter was? I anſwered him with tears, The Inquiſition. He for fear that the maid ſhould not open the door as quick as ſuch a caſe required, went himſelf, like another Abraham, to open the door, and to offer his dear daughter to the fire of the inquiſitors; after which he put in my mouth a bit of a bridle, to ſhew his obedience to the holy office, for he thought that I had committed ſome crime againſt religion; for the officers giving me only Time to put on my petticoat and a mantle, took me down in the coach, and without allowing me the ſatisfaction of embracing my dear father and mother, they carried me into the inquiſition.

I thought I ſhould have died that very night; but when they carried me into a noble room, well furniſhed, I was quite ſurprized. The officers left me there, and immediately a maid came in, with a ſalver of ſweet meats, and

and cinnamon water, desiring me to take some refreshment, before I went to bed. I told her I could not; but that I should be obliged to her if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not? Die! (said she) you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world, but the liberty of going out: so pray be not afraid, but go to bed, and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house; and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you will be very kind to me.

I was going to ask some questions, but she told me, she had not leave to tell me any thing more till the next day, only that no body should come to disturb me; and now (said she) I am going about some business, but I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet near yours: So she left me for a quarter of an hour.

The great amazement I was in took away the free exercise of my senses to such a degree, that I had not power to think either of my afflicted parents, or the danger I was in.

In this suspension of thought, the maid returned, and lock'd the chamber door after her; Madam (said she) let us go to bed, and be pleased to tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready. I asked her name, and she told me it was Mary. Mary, for God's sake (said I) tell me, whether I come to die or not? I have told you, Madam, replied she, that you come to be one of the happiest ladies in the world: So observing her reservedness, I asked no more questions that night, but went to bed.

The fear of death prevented me from shutting my eyes, so that I rose at break of day; Mary lay till six o'clock, and was surprized to find me up; however, she said little, but in half an hour she brought me, on a silver plate, two cups of chocolate and biscuits; I drank one cup, and desired her to drink the other, which she did. Well, Mary, said I, can you give me any account of the reasons of my being here? Not yet madam, said she; have a little patience. With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again, with a fine holland shift, a holland under-petticoat, finely laced round, two silk petticoats, and a little Spanish waistcoat, fringed all over with gold, and combs, ribbands, and every thing suitable for a lady of higher quality than I; but my greatest surprise was, to see a gold snuff box, with the picture of Don Francisco Torrejon in it.

Then I soon understood the meaning of my confinement; so I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death; and to accept it was to give him too great encouragement against my honour, But I found, as I thought, a medium in the case; so I said to Mary, pray give my service to Don Francisco Torrejon, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes along with me last night, honesty permits me to accept of those clothes which are necessary to keep me decent; but since I take no snuff, I beg his lordship to excuse me, if I do not accept his box.

Mary

Mary went to him with this anſwer, and came again with a picture, elegantly ſet in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me, that his lordſhip had miſtook, and that he deſired me to accept that picture

While I was muſing what to do, Mary ſaid, pray madam take my poor advice, accept the picture, and every thing he ſends you; for conſider, if you do not comply with every thing he has a mind for, you will ſoon be put to death, and no-body can defend you: but if you are obliging to him, he is a very complaiſant gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you will be here like a queen: he will give you another apartment with fine gardens, and many young ladies ſhall come to viſit you: So I adviſe you to ſend a civil anſwer, and deſire a viſit from him, or elſe you will ſoon repent it. O dear God! cry'd I; muſt I abandon my honour, without remedy; if I oppoſe his deſire, he will by force obtain it.

So, full of confuſion, I bid Mary to give him what anſwer ſhe thought fit: She was very glad of my humble ſubmiſſion, and went to give Don Franciſco an account of it.

In a few minutes ſhe returned with great joy, to tell me, that his lordſhip would honour me with his company at ſupper; in the mean time he deſired me to mind nothing, but how to divert myſelf, and to give Mary my meaſure for ſome new clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I could wiſh for.

Mary alſo added, Madam, I may now call you my miſtreſs, and muſt tell you, that I have been in the holy office, theſe fourteen years, and know the cuſtoms of it very well; but as ſilence is impoſed upon me, under pain of death, I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns your perſon: So, in the firſt place, do not oppoſe the holy father's will; ſecondly, if you ſee ſome young ladies here, never aſk them any queſtions; neither will they aſk you, and take care that you never tell them any thing; you may come and divert yourſelf among them at ſuch hours as are appointed: you ſhall have muſick, and all ſorts of recreations; three days hence you ſhall dine with them; they are all ladies of quality, young and merry; you will live ſo happy here, that you will not wiſh to go abroad; and when your time is expired, then the holy father will ſend you out of this country, and marry you to ſome nobleman.

Never mention your name, nor Don Franciſco's, to any; if you ſee here ſome young ladies you have been acquainted with, no notice muſt be taken, nor nothing talked of but indifferent matters.

All this made me aſtoniſhed, or rather ſtupified, and the whole ſeemed to me a piece of enchantment. With this leſſon ſhe left me, ſaying ſhe was going to order my dinner; every time ſhe went out ſhe lock'd the door.

There were but two windows in my room, and they were ſo high, that I could ſee nothing through them; but hunting about, I found a cloſet, with all ſorts of hiſtorical and profane books; ſo I ſpent my time till dinner in

in reading, which was some satisfaction to me.

In about two hours time she brought in dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the most delicate appetite. When dinner was over, she left me alone, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring the bell, and call. So I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading. I think really I was under some enchantment; for I was in a perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father nor mother.

Mary came and told me, that Don Francisco was come home, and that she thought he would come to see me very soon, and begged of me to prepare myself to receive him with all manner of kindness.

At seven in the evening Don Francisco came, in his night-gown and cap; not with the gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect, and told me at the same time, *that his coming to see me, was only to shew the value he had for my family*; and to tell me, *that some of my lovers had procured my ruin for ever, having accused me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt to death in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he out of pity and love to my family had stopped the execution of it.*

Each of these words was a mortal stroke to my heart; I threw myself at his feet, and said, *Ah, seignior, have you stopped the execution for ever?* — *That only belongs to you to stop it, or not*, said he, and with this he wished me a good night.

As soon as he went away, I fell a crying; but Mary came and asked me what could oblige me to cry so bitterly? — *Ah, good Mary, said I, pray tell me what is the meaning of the dry pan, and gradual fire? For I expect to die by it.* — *O, madam, replied she, never fear; you shall see ere long the dry pan and gradual fire. But they are made for those that oppose the holy father's will. Not for you that are so good to obey it.* — *But pray, was Don Francisco very obliging?* — *I do not know, said I, for his discourse has put me out of my wits; he saluted me with great civility; but he left me abruptly.—Well, said Mary, you do not yet know his temper; he is extremely kind to people that are obedient to him; but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as Nero; so for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy.* But the thoughts of the dry pan troubled me so much, that I could neither eat nor sleep that night.

Early in the morning Mary got up, told me, that no-body was yet stirring in the house, and that if I would promise secrecy, she would shew me the dry pan, and gradual fire. So taking me down stairs, she brought me into a large room with a thick iron door, and within it was an oven burning at that time, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it.

In the next room, there was a great wheel covered on both sides with

thick boards; and opening a little window in the centre of it, she desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it. There I saw all the circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors.

After that she shewed me a pit full of serpents and toads, She said, *Now my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things.*

The dry pan is for hereticks, and those that oppose the holy father's will and pleasure. They are put naked alive into the pan, and the cover of it being locked up, the executioner begins to put a small fire in the oven, and by degrees augmenteth it, till the body is reduced to ashes.

The second is designed for those that speak against the pope, and the holy fathers; for they are put within the wheel; and the little door being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till the person is dead.

And the third is for those who contemn the images, and refuse to give due respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of serpents and toads.

Then Mary said to me, that another day, she would shew me the torments for public sinners; but I was in so great an agony at what I had seen, that I desired her to shew me no more places; so we went to my room, and she again charged me to be very obedient to all the commands Don Francisco should give me, or I might be assured, if I was not, I must undergo the torments of the dry pan.

I conceived such an horror of the gradual fire, that I was not mistress of my senses; so I promised Mary to follow her advice. If you are in that disposition, said she, leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure and satisfaction. Now let me dress you; for you must go to wish a good-morrow to Don Francisco, and to breakfast with him.

Having said this, she conveyed me through a gallery into his apartment; he was still in bed, and desired me to sit down by him, and ordered Mary to bring the chocolate two hours after.

When she was withdrawn, he immediately declared his inclinations in so ardent a manner, that I had neither strength or power to oppose him; and and so by extinguishing the fire of his passion, I was freed from the dry pan.

When Mary came with the chocolate, I was very much ashamed to be seen in bed with him; but she coming to the bed-side where I was, and kneeling down, paid me the homage as if I had been queen, and served me first with a cup of chocolate, desiring me to give another cup to Don Francisco, which he received very graciously. After breakfast she went away. We discoursed for some time of various things; but I never spoke a word, but when he desired to answer him: So at ten o'clock Mary came again and dressed me.

We left Don Francisco in bed, and she carried me into another chamber very delightful and better furnished than the first; for the windows were lower, and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens.

Mary

Mary then told me, that the young ladies would come and pay me their compliments before dinner, and would take me to dine with them; and begged me to remember her advice. She had ſcarce finiſhed theſe words, before I ſaw a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely dreſſed, who all one after another came to embrace me, and to wiſh me joy.

My ſurpriſe was ſo great, that I was unable to anſwer their compliments; but one of them ſeeing me ſo ſilent, ſaid to me, *Madam, the ſolitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleaſures and amuſements we enjoy, you will quiet your penſive thoughts. Now we beg of you the honour to come and dine with us to-day; and henceforth three days in a week.* I returned them thanks, and ſo went to dinner.

That Day we had all ſorts of exquiſite meats, delicate fruits, and ſweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each ſide, and another at the front of it; and I reckoned in that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldeſt of them not exceeding twenty-four years of age. Six maids ſerved the whole number of us; but Mary waited on me alone.

After dinner we went up ſtairs into a long gallery, where ſome of us played on Inſtruments of muſick, others at cards; and ſome walked about for three or four hours together..

At laſt Mary came up ringing a bell, which was, as they informed me, the ſignal to retire into our rooms. But Mary ſaid to the whole company, ladies, to-day is a day of recreation, ſo you may go into what rooms you pleaſe till eight o'clock. They all deſired to go to my apartment with me. We found in my anti-chamber a table, with all ſorts of ſweetmeats upon it; iced cinamon, almond milk, and the like.

Every one did eat and drink; but nobody ſpoke a word touching the ſumptuouſneſs of the table, or concerning the inquiſition, or the holy fathers. So we ſpent our time in merry, indifferent converſation, till eight o'clock, and then every one retired to their own room.

As ſoon as they were gone, Mary let me know that Don Franciſco waited for me; ſo went to his apartment; and ſupper being ready, we ſat down, attended only by Mary. After it was over, ſhe went away, and we to Bed. Next morning ſhe ſerved us with chocolate, which after we had drank, we ſlept till ten; at which time we got up.

When I returned to my own chamber, I found ready two ſuits of cloaths of rich brocade, and every thing elſe ſuitable to a lady of the firſt rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dreſſed, the ladies came to wiſh me joy, all dreſſed in different cloaths, much richer than before.

We ſpent the ſecond and third day in the ſame recreation; Don Franciſco continuing in the ſame manner with me. But on the fourth morning, after drinking chocolate, Mary told me, that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority deſired me to get up. Don Fran-

Franciſco ſaying nothing to the contrary, I obeyed, and left him in bed. I thought this was now to give me ſome new comfort, but I was very much miſtaken; for Mary conveyed me into a lady's room not eight foot long, which was a perfect Priſon; and told me this was my room and this young lady my bed-fellow, and without ſaying any more, ſhe left me there.

What is this, dear Lady, ſaid I! Is it an enchanted place, or hell upon earth? I have loſt father and mother, and what is worſe, I have loſt my honour, and my ſoul for ever. My new companion, ſeeing me like a mad woman, took me by the Hands, and ſaid, *Dear ſiſter, for this is the name I will henceforth give you, forbear to cry and grieve; for you can do nothing by ſuch extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourſelf a cruel death; your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece; you ſuffer nothing that we have not ſuffered before you; but we dare not ſhew our grief for fear of greater evils; pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will ſurely deliver us out of this helliſh place; but be ſure you ſhew no uneaſineſs before Mary, who is the only inſtrument either of our Torments or Comfort: Have patience till we go to bed, and then I will tell you more of the matter, which I hope will afford you ſome comfort.*

I was in a moſt deſperate condition; but my new ſiſter Leonora prevailed ſo much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before Mary came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had for three days before.

After dinner another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one for us both; after ſhe had gone out and locked up the door, *Now my dear ſiſter (ſaid* Leonora*) we ſhall not be diſturbed again till eight at night; ſo if you will promiſe me upon your hopes of ſalvation, to keep ſecret, while you are in this houſe, all the things I ſhall tell you, I will reveal all that I know.* I threw myſelf at her feet, and promiſed all that ſhe deſired: upon which, without further Ceremony, ſhe began as follows:

My dear Siſter, you think your caſe very hard; but I aſſure you, all the Ladies in this houſe have already gone thro' the ſame; in time you ſhall know all their ſtories, as they hope to know yours. I ſuppoſe Mary has been the chief Inſtrument of your fright, as ſhe has been of ours, and I warrant ſhe has ſhewn you ſome horrible places, tho' not all, and that at the only Thought of them, you were ſo much troubled in your mind, that you have choſen the ſame way we did, to redeem yourſelf from death.

By what has happened to us, we know that Don Franciſco has been your Nero; for the three colours of our cloaths are the diſtinguiſhing tokens of the three Holy Fathers; the red ſilk belongs to Don Franciſco, the Blue to Guerrero, and the Green to Aliaga: for they always give the three firſt of theſe colours to thoſe ladies that they bring hither for their uſe. We are ſtrictly commanded to make all demonſtrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady comes firſt here, as we did with you, and you muſt do with others: but afterwards

we

we live like priſoners, without ſeeing any living ſoul but the ſix maids, and Mary who is the houſe-keeper. We dine all of us in the hall three days in a week.

When any one of the holy Fathers has a mind for one of his Slaves, Mary comes for her at Nine of the clock, and carries her to his apartment; but as they have ſo many, the turn comes it may be but once in a month, except for thoſe that happen to pleaſe them more than ordinary, and they are ſent for often.

Some nights Mary leaves the door of our rooms open, and that is a ſign that one of the fathers has a mind to come that night; but he comes ſo ſilent, that we do not know whether he is our patron or not.

If one of us happens to be with child, ſhe is removed into a better chamber, and ſhe ſees no-body but the maid till ſhe is delivered. The chi'd is taken away, and we do not know where it is carried.

I have been in this houſe ſix years, and was not fourteen when the Officers took me from my father's houſe: I have had one child here. We have at preſent fifty-two young ladies, and we loſe every year ſix or eight; but we do not know where they are ſent. We always get new in their places; and ſometimes I have ſeen here ſeventy-three ladies at once.

Our continual torment is to think, that when the holy fathers are tired of one, they put her to death; for they never will run the hazard of being diſcovered in their villainy: So tho' we cannot oppoſe their commands, yet we continually pray to God to pardon thoſe ills we are forced to commit, and to deliver us out of their hands; ſo my dear ſiſter, arm yourſelf with patience, for there is no other Remedy.

N° XIX.

This diſcourſe of Leonora prevailed on me to appear outwardly eaſy before Mary. I found every thing as ſhe told me. And in this manner we lived together eighteen months, in which time we loſt eleven ladies, and we got nineteen new ones.

I knew all their ſtories, which are too long to tell you to-night; but if you will ſtay here this week, you will not think your time loſt. I promiſed to ſtay with a great deal of pleaſure, but begged her to finiſh her own ſtory, which ſhe did as follows.

After eighteen months, one night Mary came in, and ordered us to follow her down ſtairs, where we found a coach waiting, into which ſhe forced us to go, and this we thought the laſt night of our lives; however, we were carried to another houſe, and put into a worſe room than the former, where we continued, till we were miraculouſly delivered by the French officers.

Mr. Faulcant, happily for me, opened the door of my room, and from the moment he ſaw me, ſhewed me great civility; he took Leonora and me to his own lodgings, and, after hearing our ſtories, for fear things ſhould turn to our diſadvantage, he dreſſed us in Men's cloaths for the greater ſafety, and ſent us to his father's. So we came to this houſe, where I was kept for two years, as the old man's daughter, till Mr. Faulcant's regiment being broke, he came home, and two months after married me.

Leonora was married to another officer; they live in Orleans, which being in your way to Paris, I hope you will pay her a viſit; my husband is

now at court, ſolliciting for a new commiſſion; he will be very glad of your acquaintance. Here the lady concluded her adventures in the inquiſition.

What a ſhocking reflection muſt this ſtory produce in the mind of the reader! to think that there are wretches ſo baſe as, under the ſanction of religion, not only to rob their fellow-creatures of their exiſtence in the moſt tormenting manner; but what is ſtill dearer to them—their honour.—From ſuch diabolical principles, Good God deliver us!

As charity has ever been deemed one of the moſt ſhining ornaments of the Chriſtian Life, and is ſo ſtrongly recommended by the command and example of the great author of our religion; the following extract will point out to the impartial reader how far that religion deviates from the principles of the goſpel, which inculcates and encourages ſuch damnable practices.

The pope's dreadful curſe: being the form of excommunication of the church of Rome; taken out of the ledger-book of the church of Rocheſter, now in the cuſtody of the dean and chapter there written by Ernulfus the biſhop.

BY the authority of God Almighty the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, and of the holy canons, and of the undefiled virgin Mary, the mother and patroneſs of our Saviour, and of all the celeſtial virtues, angels, arch-angels, thrones, dominions, powers, cherubims and ſeraphims, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, and of all the apoſtles, and evangeliſts, and of the holy innocents, who in the ſight of the holy lamb, are found worthy to ſing the new ſong, and of the holy martyrs, and holy confeſſors, and of the holy virgins, and of all the ſaints, and together with all the holy and elect of God: we excommunicate and anathematiſe him or them, malefactor or malefactors—and from the threſhold of the holy church of God Almighty we ſequeſter them, that he or they may be tormented, diſpoſed, and delivered over with Dathan and Abiram, and with thoſe who ſay unto the Lord, *depart from us, we know not thy ways.* And, as fire is quenched with water, ſo let the light of him or them be put out for ever more, unleſs it ſhall repent him or them, and they make ſatisfaction. Amen.

May the father, who created man, may the Son, who ſuffered, for us curſe him or them: may the Holy Ghoſt, who was given to us in baptiſm, curſe him or them: may the holy croſs, which Chriſt for our ſalvation, triumphing over his enemy, aſcending, curſe him or them: may the holy eternal virgin Mary Mother of God, curſe him or them: may St. Michael, the advocate of holy ſouls, curſe him or them: may all the angels and arch-angels, principalities and powers, and all the heavenly hoſt, curſe him or them: may the laudable number of patriarchs and prophets, curſe him or them: may St. John, the fore-runner and Baptiſt of Chriſt, curſe

curſe him or them: May St. Peter and Paul, and St. Andrew, and all other Chriſt's apoſtles, together with the reſt of his diſciples, and four evangeliſts, who by their preaching converted the univerſal world, curſe him or them: May the holy and wonderful company of the martyrs and confeſſors, who by their holy works are found pleaſing to God Almighty, curſe him or them: May the holy choir of the holy virgin, who for the honour of Chriſt have deſpiſed the things of the world, curſe him or them: May all the ſaints, who from the beginning of the world, to everlaſting ages, are found to be the beloved of God, curſe him or them: May the heavens and earth, and all the holy things remaining therein, curſe him or them: May he or they be curſed, wherever he or they be, whether in their houſe or in the field, or in the highway, or in the path, or in the wood, or in the water, or in the church: May he or they be curſed in living, in dying, in eating, in drinking, in being hungry, in being thirſty, in faſting, in lying, in working, in reſting, in piſſing, in ſhitting, and in bloodletting: May he or they be curſed inwardly and outwardly: May he or they be curſed in the hair of his or their head: May he or they be curſed in his or their brain: May he or they be curſed in the top of his or their head, in their temples, in their forehead, in their ears, in their eye-brows, in their cheeks, in their jaw-bones, in their noſtrils, in their fore-teeth, or grinders, in their lips, in their throat, in their ſhoulders, in their wriſts, in their arms, in their hands, in their fingers, in their breaſt, in their heart, and in all the interior parts to the very ſtomach; in their reins, in their groin, in their thighs, in the genitals, in the hips, in the knees, in the legs, in the feet, in the joints, and in the nails: May he or they be curſed in all their joints, from the top of the head to the ſole of the feet: May there not be a ſoundneſs in him or them.

May the ſon of the living God, with all the glory of his majeſty, curſe him or them; and may heaven, with all the powers that move therein, riſe againſt him or them, to dam him or them, unleſs it ſhall repent him or them, or that he or they ſhall make ſatisfaction, Amen. Amen. ſo be it.

This curſe was re-publiſhed in the year 1746, to ſhew what was to be expected from the Pope, if he came to be ſupreme head of the church of this nation.

Having thus deſcribed the horrid perſecutions as well as the moſt *diobolical artifices*, committed by theſe *pretenders* to *religion*, on their fellow-creatures, we ſhall now proceed, agreeable to our promiſe, to inſert the lives of thoſe *eminent reformers*, to whom we are indebted for the enjoyment we now poſſeſs under the *proteſtant religion*.

The

The Life of JOHN HUSS, D. D. *Paſtor of a Church near Prague, in Bohemia: who having the Emperor's ſafe-conduct went to the Council of Conſtance, but was condemned by that Council for maintaining the Doctrines of the Reformation; and, as a Martyr for them, was burnt to death in the Year* 1415.

JOHN HUSS was born at Huſſinez, a village near Prague, in Bohemia, of religious parents; who though not in affluent circumſtances, took care to train him up early in religion and learning. He profited much at ſchool, and went to the univerſity of Prague, where he proved a famous preacher.

While he was a ſtudent at Prague, he read Wickliff's books; from which he was firſt enlightened, and took courage to defend his evangelical doctrines.

While the Wicklivites were perſecuted and diſperſed, the ſeeds of the reformation were more widely ſpread. Their doctrine was carried into Bohemia, where it took deep root.

What Doctor Wickliff was in England, Dr. John Huſs was in Bohemia: he with courage defended his doctrine againſt the papiſts, and was a martyr in the cauſe of religion.

Queen Anne, the wife of king Richard II. of England, was daughter to the emperor Charles IV. and ſiſter to Winciſlaus, king of Bohemia. She was a pious princeſs, and favoured Wickliff's doctrines. She died in 1394, and after her death ſeveral of Wickliff's books were carried by her attendants into Bohemia, and proved a means of promoting the reformation there.

The books of Wickliff's were likewiſe carried into Bohemia by Peter Payne, an Engliſhman, one of his diſciples; but Sbynko, the archbiſhop of Prague, ordered the members of the univerſity to bring him Wickliff's books: and he burnt two hundred volumes of Wickliff's works, very finely written, and adorned with coſtly covers and gold boſſes, for which reaſon they are ſuppoſed to have belonged to the nobility and gentry of Bohemia.

Peter Payne was principal of Edmund-Hall, in the univerſity of Oxford, where he was diſtinguiſhed for his great abilities, and his oppoſition to the friars. He was a good diſputant, and confuted Walden, a carmelite friar, about pilgrimages, the euchariſt, images and relicks; for which he was obliged to quit the univerſity, and fly into Bohemia, where he contracted an acquaintance with Procopius, and publiſhed ſome books wrote by Wickliff, which were greatly eſteemed by Huſs, Jerom, and the greateſt part of the univerſity of Prague.

Huſs has diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the univerſity, where he taught grammar and philoſophy. He had applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures and the Latin fathers.

Two godly noblemen built a church at Bethlehem, and in the year fourteen

teen hundred he was choſe paſtor thereof, and fed his people with the truths of the goſpel, and not with the pope's decrees and other human inventions.

In the year fourteen hundred and one he was choſen dean of the univerſity of Prague; and in four hundred and nine, by the conſent of all the univerſity, he was choſen rector of it. He continued in the exerciſe of his miniſtry with great zeal, diligence, and faithfulneſs, about twelve years, in preaching and inſtructing his people in the ſound principles of religion, which he confirmed by the holy ſcriptures, and adorned by a holy and exemplary life.

John Huſs heartily embraced the doctrine of Wickliff, and declared that the members of the univerſity had a right to read all ſorts of books without any moleſtation.

The archbiſhop of Prague informed pope Alexander the fifth, that the doctrine of Wickliff began to take root in Bohemia: upon which the archbiſhop obtained a bull, whereby the pope gave him a commiſſion to prevent the publiſhing of Wickliff's doctrine in his province.

The archbiſhop, by virtue of this bull, condemned the writings of Wickliff; proceeded againſt four doctors, who had not delivered up the copies of that divine, and prohibited them, notwithſtanding their privileges to preach in any congregation. Dr. Huſs with ſome other members of the univerſity, made their proteſtations againſt theſe proceedings; and on the twenty-fifth of June, fourteen hundred and ten, entered a new appeal from the ſentences of the archbiſhop.

This affair was carried before pope John XXIII, who granted a commiſſion to cardinal Colonna to cite John Huſs to appear perſonally at the court of Rome to anſwer the accuſations laid againſt him of preaching both errors and hereſies. Dr. Huſs deſired to be excuſed from a perſonal appearance, and was ſo greatly favoured in Bohemia, that king Winciſlaus, the queen, the nobility, and the univerſity, deſired the pope to diſpenſe with ſuch an appearance; as alſo that he would not ſuffer the kingdom of Bohemia to lie under the accuſation of hereſy, but permit them to preach the goſpel with freedom in their places of worſhip.

Three proctors appeared for Dr. Huſs before cardinal Colonna. They endeavoured to excuſe the abſence of Huſs, and declared they were ready to anſwer in his behalf. But the cardinal declared Huſs contumacious, and excommunicated him accordingly. The proctors appealed to the pope, who appointed four cardinals to examine the proceſs. Theſe commiſſioners confirmed the former ſentence, and extended the excommunication not only to Huſs, but alſo to all his diſciples or followers.

Then the popiſh clergy, and ſome of the perſons of diſtinction, oppoſed Huſs being thus excommunicated. And Winciſlaus, the king of Bohemia, baniſhed him; but he was entertained in the country, and protected at Huſſinez, where he preached in the pariſh church, and ſome places adjacent, a-

gainſt the pride, idleneſs, cruelty and avarice of the court of Rome and clergy, multitudes of perſons attending his miniſtry: he confuted the popiſh doctrine of works being meritorious. And ſometimes he went and preached at his church at Bethlehem

The great and noble Sir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, had ſpoken boldly in ſeveral parliaments againſt the popiſh corruptions in the chriſtian faith and worſhip, and had frequently repreſented to the kings Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, the great abuſes committed by the clergy.

This nobleman, at the deſire of Dr. Huſs, cauſed all the works of Wickliff to be wrote out, and diſperſed in Bohemia, France, Spain, Portugal, and other parts of Europe. But that good man, who had wrote ſeveral diſcourſes concerning a reformation of diſcipline and manners in the church, was forſaken by Henry V. and fell a ſacrifice to the cruelty of the Romiſh prieſts. He was condemned in fourteen hundred and thirteen, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, as an heretic, and at laſt ſent to the tower by the king, who had an affection for him.

He eſcaped from his confinement, and was concealed in Wales four years; and after many fruitleſs attempts of his enemies, was at laſt taken and brought to London. The clergy being then in great power, he preſently foreſaw what would follow.

St. Giles's fields was the place appointed for this dreadful execution; where he, as an heretic, was hung up in chains upon a gallows, and fire being put under him, he was burnt to death.

His behaviour was great and courageous; he exhorted the people to follow the inſtructions which God had given them in the ſcriptures, and admoniſhed them to diſclaim thoſe falſe teachers whoſe lives and converſations were ſo contrary to Chriſt, and repugnant to his holy religion.

England was filled with cruel ſcenes of perſecution, which extended as far as Germany and Bohemia, were theſe two eminent perſons, Dr. Huſs and Jerom of Prague, were marked out to ſuffer death in the cauſe of religion.

The council of Conſtance was aſſembled the ſixteenth of November, 1414, to determine the diſpute between the three perſons that contended for the papacy; their names were John, Gregory, and Benedict.

Conſtance is one of the moſt Southern towns in Germany, ſituated on the confines of Switzerland. Hither from all ports of Europe princes and prelates, clergy and laiety, regulars and ſeculars, flocked together. In the room of theſe three popes Martin was choſen. The next deſign was to apply remedies to the diſorders of the church.

By theſe diſorders nothing more was meant than Wickliff's hereſy, as they called it; and this affair took up a full moiety of the council's time. They condemned his tenets; they burnt his books; nay, they ordered his very bones to be dug up and conſumed to aſhes.

Dr.

Dr. Huſs was ſummoned to appear at Conſtance. The emperor Sigiſmond, brother and ſucceſſor to Winciſlaus, encouraged Huſs to obey the ſummons, and ſent two gentlemen into Bohemia, to communicate the affair to Huſs himſelf. Huſs directly anſwered, *That he deſired nothing more than to purge himſelf publickly of the imputation of hereſy; and that he eſteemed himſelf happy in ſo fair an opportunity of doing it, as the approaching council afforded.*

The emperor ſent him a paſs-port, with aſſurance of ſafe conduct, whereby he gave him permiſſion to come freely to the council, and return from it again.

It was on October 15, 1414, that John Huſs began his journey towards Conſtance, accompanied with two Bohemian noblemen, the barons of Clum, who were among the moſt eminent of his diſciples and followed their maſter merely through reſpect and love.

Huſs cauſed ſome playcarts or writings to be fixed upon the gates of the churches in Prague, wherein he declared that he went to the council to anſwer all the declarations that were made againſt him. He made public declarations in all the cities through which he paſſed, that he was going to vindicate himſelf at Conſtance, and invited all his adverſaries to be preſent.

The civilities, and even reverence, which he met with every where on his journey, exceeded his imagination. The ſtreets and ſometimes the very roads were lined with people, whom reſpect, rather than curioſity, had brought together.

He was uſhered into the towns with great acclamations; and it may be ſaid that he paſſed through Germany in a kind of triumph. He could not help expreſſing his ſurprize at the treatment he met with; *I thought*, ſaid he, *I had been an outcaſt. I now ſee my worſt enemies are in Bohemia.*

At Nuremburgh he was received with particular marks of diſtinction, the magiſtrates and clergy waited upon him in form; and being convinced of his innocence and integrity, aſſured him they had no doubt but they could diſmiſs him with honour.

Theſe inſtances of reſpect he met with are worth mentioning, not only as they ſhew the veneration in which Huſs was held, but as they ſhew likewiſe how well diſpoſed the Germans were, even at that early day, to a reformation. This ſcene was acted about one hundred years before the time of Luther, when in many places the evangelical doctrines of the reformation were openly profeſſed in Germany.

He arrived at Conſtance in three weeks, on the third of November; where no one moleſting him, he took private lodgings. Soon after Stephen Paletz came, who was employed by the clergy at Prague to manage the intended proſecution againſt John Huſs. Paletz was afterwards joined by Michael de Caſſis on the part of the court of Rome. They declared themſelves his accuſers, and drew up a-

a memorial againſt him, which they preſented to the pope and the prelates of the council.

Dr. Huſs, twenty-ſix days after his arrival, was ordered to appear before the pope and cardinals. It has been obſerved, that his appearing there was by the emperor's own requeſt; but notwithſtanding the ſafe-conduct, he was no ſooner come within the pope's juriſdiction, than he was arreſted, and committed priſoner to a chamber in the palace.

This violation of common law and juſtice was taken notice of by a gentleman, who urged the imperial ſafe-conduct: but the Pope obſerved, that he never granted any ſafe-conduct, nor was he bound by that of the emperor: the eighth ſeſſion was held May the fifth, 1415, when the doctrines of Wickliff were condemned as heretical in forty-five articles.

This council ordered the remains of Dr. Wickliff to be dug up and burnt, with this particular caution, *If they could be diſcerned from the bodies of other faithful people.*

His aſhes were caſt into the Swift; that brook conveyed them into the Avon; the Avon into the Severn; the Severn into the narrow ſeas; and they into the main ocean.

Thus the aſhes of Wickliff were the emblem of his doctrines, which are now received in many parts of the world.

Huſs was brought before ſome cardinals, upon his coming to Conſtance, to give an account of his doctrine: but he told them that he came to do it before the council; yet if he was forced to do it before them, *He doubted not but Chriſt wou'd ſtrengthen him to chooſe death, and enable him to ſuffer for his glory, rather than to deny the truth, which he had learned out of the holy Scriptures.*

After an examination they committed him to a filthy priſon, whereby he fell ſick and was in great danger of death: in the mean time his adverſaries preferred articles againſt him, wherein they had forged many things of their own heads, and perverted his godly and orthodox ſayings to a ſiniſter ſenſe, that they might have whereof to accuſe him: and thereupon deſired of the council that he might be condemned.

Dr. Huſs hearing of their cruel deſigns againſt him, moved that he might have an advocate, but that was denied him. While he was in priſon, and had in ſome meaſure recovered his health, he wrote ſeveral books.

He was afterwards removed by the biſhop of Conſtance to another priſon, a caſtle on the other ſide of the Rhine, where in the day he had fetters put upon his legs, and every night he was tied by his hands to a rack againſt the wall: hereupon many noblemen of Bohemia petitioned for his releaſe, at leaſt to be upon bail; but their petition was not granted.

The petition of the nobles ſignified: *That Dr. John Huſs freely and of his own accord came to Conſtance under the emperor's ſafe-conduct, and that againſt law and reaſon he hath been impriſoned before he is heard, and at preſent is greatly tormented with hunger, thirſt and*

Dr. Wickliffs bones burnt 41 years after his death (by order of the Council of Constance) & his Ashes cast into the River.

and fetters; though formerly at the council of Pisa, held in the year 1410, *those who were declared heretics, were allowed their liberty. But Dr. John Huss, though neither convicted nor condemned, nor so much as once heard, has been imprisoned: and though the king of Bohemia and nobles, here present, have most earnestly desired and required that his safe-conduct might not be violated, and that the said Dr. John Huss might be publickly heard, he being ready to tender a reason of his faith: but the said John Huss is greatly distressed with fetters, and irons, and so weakened with hunger and thirst, that his life is in great danger: wherefore we most earnestly desire, that for the honour of the safe-conduct granted him by the king, and for the preservation of the honour of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of your own also, you will be pleased to enter upon the affair relating to John Huss, his life being in great danger by his imprisonment if it be longer delayed.*

But notwithstanding this petition, his judges heard his enemies in his absence, and examined witnesses against him; they judged not his doctrine by the true touchstone of God's word, but by the popish canons.

But when the council would have condemned him without hearing, the emperor required that he should be first heard: and when he was brought before the council, they made a confused noise by railing at him, that he could not speak in his own defence. It is said when he was brought before them next day, there was a great eclipse of the sun, so that it was almost dark.

When Huss saw the cruelty of his judges, the wickedness of his accusers, the falsity of the witnesses, and the rage of the council against him, and that they breathed forth nothing but fire and faggot, he kneeled down, and commended his righteous cause to the Lord Jesus Christ, begging forgiveness for his enemies; and he earnestly requested with tears, that the council would convince him of any error, and he would willingly retract it: but nothing prevailed, for they proceeded to condemn and degrade him; whereupon he kneeled down, and said, *Lord Jesus Christ, forgive my enemies, by whom thou knowest I am falsly accused; forgive them, I pray, for thy great mercy's sake.*

Many articles, not fewer than forty, were brought against him. The chief of them were extracted from his books; and some of them by very unfair consequence.

The following opinions, among many others which gave offence, were esteemed most criminal.

That there was no absolute necessity for a visible head of the church.

That the church was better governed in the apostolic times without one.

That the title of holiness was improperly given to man.

That a wicked Pope could not possibly be the vicar of Christ; that he denied the very authority on which he pretended to act.

That liberty of conscience was every one's natural right.

That ecclesiastastical censures, especially such as touched the life of man, had no foundation in scripture.

That eccleſiaſtical obedience ſhould have its limits.

That no excommunication ſhould deter the prieſt from his duty.

That preaching was as much required from the miniſter of religion, as almsgiving from the man of ability; and that neither of them could hide his talent in the earth without incurring the divine diſpleaſure.

The biſhops appointed by the council, ſtript John Huſs of his prieſtly garments, degraded him, and put a cap of paper on his head, on which devils were painted, with this inſcription, *A ringleader of heretics.* And to juſtify their proceedings againſt him, becauſe the emperor had given him his ſafe conduct, the council declared, *That faith was not to be kept with heretics.*

Our martyr was calm and compoſed under theſe indignities, a ſerenity and joy appearing in his countenance, whereby it appeared that he was graciouſly ſupported, and looked for eternal ſalvation through Jeſus Chriſt.

The biſhops delivered Huſs to the emperor, who put him in the hands of the duke of Bavaria. His books were burnt at the gate of the church, and he was led to the ſuburbs to be burnt alive.

When he came to the place of execution he fell on his knees, ſang portions of pſalms, looked ſtedfaſtly towards heaven, and ſaid, *Into thy hands, O Lord, do I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O moſt gracious and faithful God.*

When the chain was put about him at the ſtake, he ſaid with a ſmiling countenance, *My Lord Jeſus Chriſt was bound with a harder chain than this for my ſake, and why ſhould I be aſhamed of this old ruſty one?*

When the faggots were piled up to his very neck, the duke of Bavaria was officious enough to deſire him to abjure. *No, ſays Huſs, I never preached any doctrine of any evil tendency; and what I taught with my lips, I now ſeal with my blood.* He ſaid to the executioner, *That out of the aſhes of the Gooſe (for Huſs ſignifies a gooſe in the Bohemian language) an hundred years after God would raiſe up a Swan, whoſe ſinging will make many to tremble.* This was fulfilled in Luther, that great reformer, an hundred years after.

The flames were then applied to the faggots, when the martyr ſang an hymn with ſo loud and chearful a voice that he was heard through all the cracklings of the combuſtibles, and the noiſe of the multitude. He continued ſinging till the wind drove the flame and ſmoke into his face. For ſome time he was inviſible.

When the rage of the fire abated, his body half conſumed appeared hanging over the chain; which, together with the poſt, were thrown down, and a new pile heaped over them.

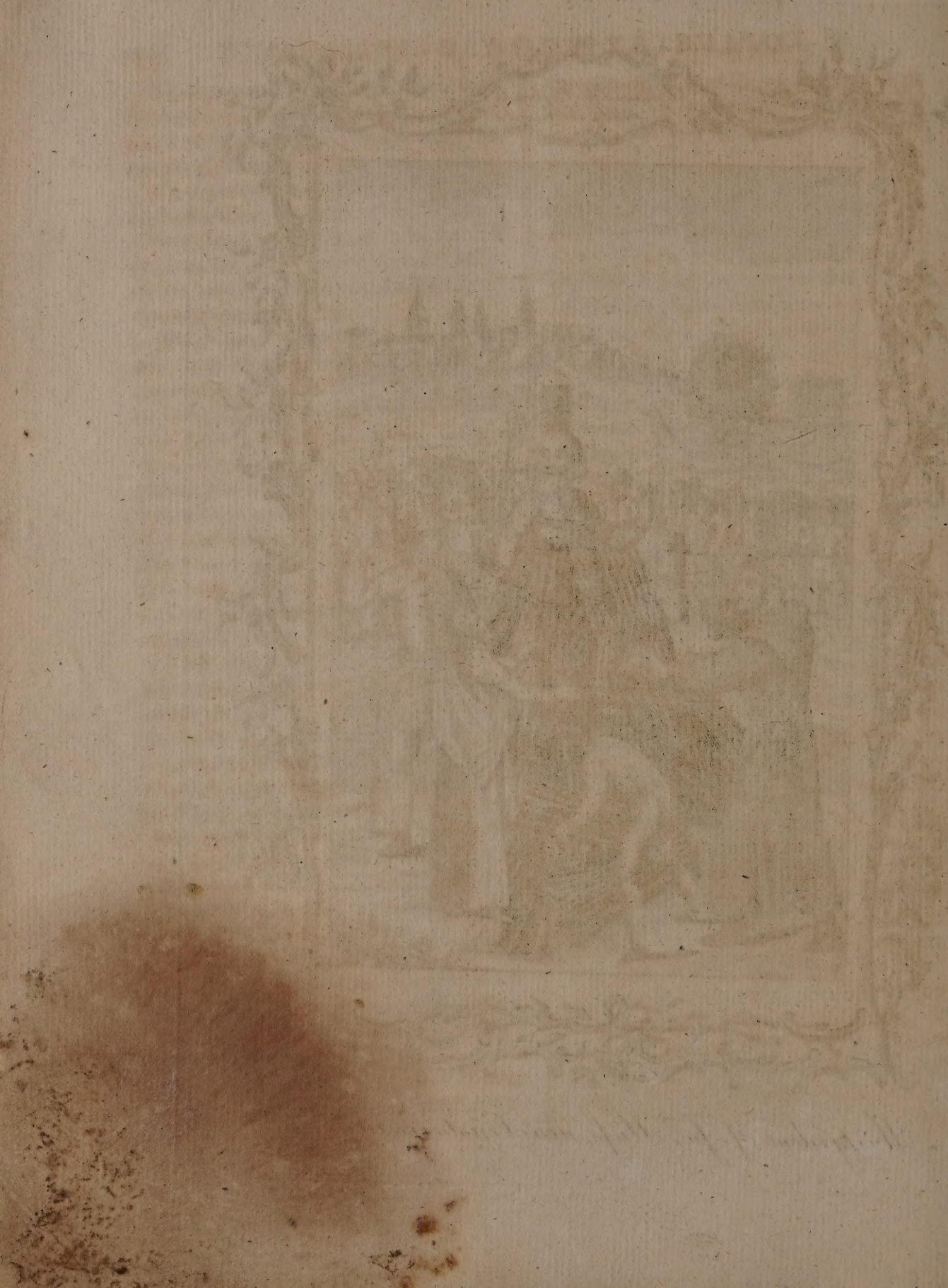
The duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner to throw all the martyrs clothes into the flames: after which his aſhes were carefully collected, and caſt into the Rhine.

After his death the Bohemians roſe in arms; their general was Ziſca, a ſtout and valiant man; and they had great ſucceſs againſt the emperor and the papiſts.

The

Engravd for Englands Bloody Tribunal.

Martyrdom of Jnº Hufs, near Constance, in Bohemia.



The memory of Dr. Huſs was much revered by the Bohemians, and the ſixth of July, the day of his martyrdom, was for many years obſerved among them.

While he was in priſon he wrote ſeveral treatiſes, and theſe were printed in one volume at Nuremberg, in 1558, as was alſo a ſecond volume, containing a harmony of the four evangeliſts; many ſermons and commentaries on ſeveral of the epiſtles in the New-Teſtament, &c.

This martyr, as well as his friend Jerom, may be conſidered, in ſome meaſure, as dying for the doctrines maintained by Wickliff, and tranſmitted to them from England.

JEROM *of Prague, the companion of* JOHN HUSS, *who was condemned by the council of Conſtance for maintaining the doctrines of the Reformation, and, as a martyr for them, was burnt to death in the year* 1416.

JEROM of Prague was the companion of Dr. Huſs, and may be ſaid to be co-martyr with him; to whom he was inferior in experience, age and authority; but is ſaid to be inferior to none of his time for abilities and learning.

Jerom was born at Prague, and educated in that univerſity, where he was admitted maſter of arts, and promoted the doctrines of Wickliff in conjuction with Huſs. Jerom ſought after knowledge in many of the conſiderable univerſities in Europe, particularly in thoſe of Prague, Paris, Heidelburgh, Cologn and Oxford. He was every where eſteemed for his happy elocution, which gave him great advantages in the ſchools, where he defended what Huſs had advanced.

At Oxford, which ſeems to have been the laſt ſeat of learning which he viſited, he became acquainted with the works of Wickliff, and being a perſon of uncommon application, he tranſlated many of them into his native language, having with great pains made himſelf maſter of the Engliſh tongue.

At his return to Prague he profeſſed himſelf an open favourer of Wickliff, and finding that his doctrines had made a conſiderable progreſs in Bohemia, and that Huſs was the great promoter of them, he became an aſſiſtant to him in the great work of reformation.

When Huſs went to the council of Conſtance, Jerom, we are told, very earneſtly exhorted him to bear up firmly in this great trial; and in particular to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly upon the corrupt ſtate of the clergy, and the neceſſity of a reformation: he added, that if he ſhould hear in Bohemia, that Huſs was over-powered by his adverſaries, he would immediately repair to Conſtance, and lend him what aſſiſtance he was able.

He promiſed only what he fully intended. He no ſooner heard of the difficulties in which his maſter was engaged, than he ſet out for Conſtance, notwithſtanding Huſs wrote very preſſing letters, inſiſting upon his putting off

off the design, as dangerous and unprofitable.

He arrived at Constance on the 4th of April 1415, about three months before the death of Huss. He entered the town privately; and consulting with some of the leaders of his party whom he found there, he was easily convinced, that he could be of no service to his friend. He heard that his arrival at Constance had taken air; and that the council intended to seize him.

As this was the situation of things, he thought prudent to retire. Accordingly the next day he went to Iberling, an imperial town about a mile from Constance.

From that place Jerom wrote to the emperor, and professed his readiness to appear before council if that prince would give him a safe-conduct. But Sigismond had the honesty to refuse him one. Jerom then tried the council; but could obtain no favourable answer.

In this troublesome situation he put up papers in all the public places of Constance, particularly upon the doors of the cardinals houses, in which he professed his readiness to appear at Constance, in the defence of his character and doctrine, both which he heard had been greatly defamed; and declared, that if any error should be proved against him, he would with great readiness retract it; begging only that the faith of the council might be given for his security.

These papers obtaining no answer, he set out upon his return to Bohemia. He had the precaution to carry with him a certificate signed by several of the Bohemian nobility then at Constance, testifying that he had used all prudent means in his power to procure a hearing.

But he did not thus escape. At Hirsaw he was seized hy an officer of the duke of Sultzsbach; who, though he acted unauthorised, made little doubt of the council's thanks for so acceptable a service. The duke of Sultzsbach having Jerom now in his power, wrote to the council for directions. The council expressing their obligation to the duke, desired him to send the prisoner immediately to Constance. The Elector-palatine met him, and conducted him in triumph into the town; himself riding on horseback, with a numerous retinue, who led Jerom in fetters, by a long chain, after him.

He was brought immediately before the council. Here a citation was read to him, which, it was said, had been posted up in Constance, in answer to the papers he had sent from Iberling: and he was questioned about his precipitate flight from that town. To this he answered, that he had waited a reasonable time for an answer to his paper, but had never heard of it, he would have returned to Constance, though he had been upon the confines of Bohemia.

The rectors of the universities of Cologn and Heidelburgh made great complaints of the heresies which Jerom had maintained in those places. Many voices burst out from ever quarter, *Away with him; burn him, burn him*

him. Jerom looked round the assembly with an air of serenity, and cried out aloud, *Since nothing can satisfy you but my blood God's will be done.* Thus ended his first hearing. He was carried from the assembly into a dungeon under the custody of a guard, till it could be determined how to dispose of him. He was afterwards conveyed to a strong tower, where his hands being tied behind his neck, he was left to languish in that painful posture, during the space of two days, without any aliment but bread and water.

These severities, and others, which were inflicted upon him, were intended to force a recantation from him; a point which the council exceedingly laboured. Nothing, in the way either of promising or threatening, was omitted, which, it was thought, might be effectual to that end.

His confinement brought on him a dangerous illness, and endeavours were used to bring him to a recantation: and immediately after the death of Huss, all the circumstances of that shocking affair were laid before him, in order to work upon him: but his resolute answers afforded them little hope of success. He was three times brought before the council, and retired master of himself to the horrors of his dungeon.

We are told that after he had been in prison a year, wanting seven days, he was brought before the council, on the twenty-third of September, who required him to make a recantation of the doctrines of Wickliff, and to assent to the condemnation of Huss; which it is said he did, by reading a paper before the council: partly for fear of death, and to be delivered from imprisonment, chains, hunger, sickness, and even torture, which he had endured through a succession of many months.

He was sent back to prison, and guarded by soldiers, but not so strongly chained as before. In May, in the year 1416, Jerom was again called before the council. He rejoiced at an opportunity of acknowledging that shameful dejection, which hung so heavy upon him. When he was brought before the council he was charged with adherence to the doctrines of Wickliff. He declared, with great eloquence, that fear only had induced him to retract doctrines which from his heart he maintained: that he had done injustice to the memory of these two excellent men, John Wickliff and John Huss, whose examples he revered, and in whose doctrine he determined to die. He concluded with a severe rebuke to the clergy; the depravity of whose manners, he said, was now very notorious.

Poggius, the Florentine, being a man of some eminence, and an adversary to the cause of Jerom, his testimony is to be the more regarded: in a letter to his friend at Rome he says, *To confess the truth, I never knew the art of speaking carried so near the model of ancient eloquence. It was amazing with what force of expression, with what fluency of language, and with what excellent reasoning Jerom*

anſwered his adverſaries; nor was I leſs ſtruck with the gracefulneſs of his manner, the dignity of his action, and the firmneſs and conſtancy of his whole behaviour. It grieved me to think ſo great a man was labouring under ſo atrocious an accuſation. For myſelf I enquire not into the merits of it; reſting ſatisfied with the deciſion of my ſuperiors. He ſaid, if that holy martyr John Huſs uſed the clergy with diſreſpect, his cenſures were not levelled at them as prieſts, but as wicked men. He ſaw with indignation thoſe revenues which had been deſigned for charitable ends, expended upon pageantry and riot. He had been confined three hundred and forty days in a dungeon; the ſeverity of which uſage he complained of, but in the language of a great and good man.

They proceeded to paſs ſentence upon him, by which he was condemned for having held the errors of Wickliff, and for apoſtatiſing. He was immediately, in the uſual ſtile of popiſh affectation, delivered over to the civil power. As he was a layman he had no ceremony of degradation to undergo. They prepared a cap of paper painted with red devils, and it being put upon his head, he ſaid, *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he ſuffered death for me, a moſt miſerable ſinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head, and I, for his ſake, will willingly wear this cap.*

In going to the place of execution he ſung ſome hymns; and when he came to the place where John Huſs had been burnt, he kneeled down and prayed fervently. He was bound to a poſt, where they had made an image of John Huſs. When the executioner went behind him to ſet fire to the pile, *Come here, ſaid the martyr, and kindle it before my eyes, for if I had been afraid of it, I had not come to this place, having had ſo many opportunities offered me to eſcape it.*

The city of Conſtance admired his conſtancy and chriſtian magnanimity in ſuffering death. At the giving up the ghoſt, he ſaid, Hanc animan in flammis offero, Chriſte, tibi. *This ſoul of mine in flames of fire, O Chriſt, I offer thee.*

From this account of the trial and death of Jerom, it ſeems as if the leading members of the council were determined, at any rate, to put him to death. We cannot otherwiſe ſee the reaſon of bringing him to a ſecond hearing. They had already obtained a triumph over him.

A ſecond trial made that again doubtful, which his recantation had decided in their favour. But it hath been the notorious practice of the church of Rome, in her dealings with thoſe they reckon capital offenders, to put them firſt to ſhame, and afterwards to death.

Wickliff, Huſs and Jerom of Prague and Sir John Oldcaſtle, Lord Cobham, ſuffered greatly for maintaining the doctrines of the goſpel, in order to deliver us from the darkneſs and tyrannical power of popery. Wickliff was firſt perſecuted, but the three laſt were burnt to death for the cauſe of religion.

The Wicklivites in England, and the

the Huſſites in Bohemia, were very numerous: there was little difference in their doctrine, and the ſeverity which the council of Conſtance had ſhewn to Wickliff, Huſs, and Jerom, greatly offended the majority of the people of both nations.

It is to be much lament'd that ignorance, impiety and a contempt of the goſpel prevail greatly at this day; particularly that thoſe in our iſland in proſperous circumſtances and high ſtations, give ſo bad an example to inferiors and to their own ſervants.

May God pour out his ſpirit and give an earneſt deſire to hear and attend to the goſpel, that it may be the power of God to their ſalvation thro' our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

The Life of MARTIN LUTHER, D. D. *the famous Reformer in Germany; who being an Auguſtine-Monk, ſeparated from the Church of Rome, about the year* 1517, *preached and wrote againſt their errors, and was the Founder of a general Reformation from Popery. He was born at Iſlebon, in Saxony, in* 1483, *and died there in* 1546, *aged ſixty-three Years.*

THE conduct of the dignified clergy throughout all Europe, had long given great ſcandal to the world. The biſhops are ſaid to have been groſly ignorant; they ſeldom reſided in their dioceſes, except to riot at high feſtivals: and all the effect their reſidence could have, was to corrupt others by their ill example.

They followed the courts of princes, and aſpired to the greateſt offices. And the abbots and monks, as hiſtory tells us, were wholly given up to luxury and idleneſs. We are told that the inferior clergy were no better; and, not having places of retreat to conceal their vices in, as the monks had, they became of more public notoriety.

We are alſo told, that all ranks of the clergy were ſo deſpiſed and hated that the world was very apt to be prejudiced againſt their doctrines, for the ſake of the men whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport them. And the worſhip of God was ſo defiled with much groſs ſuperſtition; that, without great inquiries, all ranks of men were eaſily convinced that the church ſtood in great need of a reformation.

This corruption was more evident when the works of the fathers began to be read; in which the difference between the former and latter ages of the church very evidently appeared. A blind ſuperſtition had come in the room of true piety; and when by its means the wealth and intereſt of the clergy were highly advanced, the popes had upon that eſtabliſhed their tyranny; under which not only the meaner people, but even the crowned heads themſelves had long groaned.

All theſe things providentially concurred to make way for the advancement of the reformation.

Wickliff, Huſs, and others, had ſowed the ſeeds of the reformation, which Luther nouriſhed with ſo much warmth

warmth, that they ſhot up with amazing vigour.

The ſcandalous extolling of the pope's indulgences and pardons, gave the firſt occaſion to Luther to inquire into the doctrines of the church of Rome, and the ſelling them in a public manner gave him ſo great offence that he publiſhed many propoſitions againſt them.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Iſleben, a town in the county of Mansfield, in the circle of Upper-Saxony, on the tenth of November, 1483. His father's name was John Luther, a refiner of metals; and his mother was named Margaret Lindeman; ſhe was eminent for her piety, for the fear of God, and for being much given to prayer.

His parents trained him up in the knowledge and fear of God, and ſent him to ſchool; and though at this time the darkneſs of popery had much obſcured the light of the goſpel, yet it pleaſed God to preſerve in the ſchools the catechiſms, containing the principles of religion, the uſe of ſinging pſalms, and ſome forms of prayer.

When Luther was fourteen years of age he was ſent to the public ſchool of Magdeburg, where he continued one year. When he had finiſhed his grammar ſtudies, he was ſent to the univerſity of Erfurt in Thuringia, where he was admitted maſter of arts in 1503, being then twenty years old. He chiefly applied to the ſtudy of the civil law, and intended to practice at the bar; from which he was diverted by an uncommon event. As he was walking in the fields with a friend, he was ſtruck by a thunderbolt, which threw him to the ground, and killed his companion: whereupon Luther reſolved to withdraw from the world, and enter into the order of the Hermits of St. Auguſtine. He made his profeſſion in the monaſtery of Erfurt, where he afterwards took prieſts orders.

After this Luther falling ſick, and being threatened with death, an old prieſt came to viſit him, and ſaid, *Sir, be of good courage, your diſeaſe is not mortal: God will raiſe you up to afford comfort to many others.* Which alſo came to paſs; who largely diſcourſed with him about juſtification by faith, and explained the articles of the creed to him, much to his edification.

He then perceived the meaning of St. Paul's words, where he ſays, *we are juſtified by faith.* He then conſulted the expoſitions of many writers upon that apoſtle, and ſaw through the vanity of thoſe interpretations which he had read before, and were taught by the ſchoolmen. He compared the ſayings and examples of the apoſtles; and alſo ſtudied Auguſtine's works, wherein he found the doctrine of juſtification by faith confirmed. He likewiſe read the books of Occam, which he preferred before thoſe of Thomas Aquinas and Scotus.

In 1508, the univerſity of Wittenburg, in the duchy of Saxony, was eſtabliſhed under the direction of Staupitius, whoſe good opinion of Lu-

Luther occaſioned him to ſend for him from Erfurt to Wittenburgh, where he taught philoſophy, and began to examine the divinity then taught in the ſchools.

Three years after he was ſent to Rome on an affair of the convents of the Auguſtines quarreling with their vicar-general, and Luther was choſen by the monks to maintain their cauſe at Rome, where he obſerved the behaviour of the pope, and the manners of the Roman clergy: He heard maſs ſaid by them at Rome in ſuch a manner, that he deteſted them; and at the communion-table he heard courteſans boaſt of their wickedneſs. Luther was ſucceſsful in his buſineſs at Rome, for which he was made doctor and profeſſor of divinity on his return to Wittenburg.

Staupitius was very deſirous that he ſhould take the degree of doctor: He ſaid to him, *that God had many things to bring to paſs in his church by him.* Luther was graduated doctor at the expence of Frederic elector of Saxony, who *had heard him preach, well underſtood the quietneſs of his ſpirit, diligently conſidered the vehemancy of his words, and had in ſingular admiration thoſe profound matters which in his ſermons he rightly and exactly explained.*

After this, he began to expound the epiſtle to the Romans and the Pſalms, where he ſhewed the difference between the law and the goſpel: He refuted the great error of juſtification by works, that was then predominant in the ſchools, and ſet forth in their ſermons: And his behaviour agreed with his doctrine; his words ſeemed to come from his heart, and not from his lips only. Then he began to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew languages, that, by drawing the doctrine from the very fountain, he might declare his judgment with more authority.

We come now to the tempeſtuous times between the Reformed and the Romaniſts. The year 1517 was the 356th from the reformation of religion in France by the Waldenſes; and 146th from the miniſtry of John Huſs, who oppoſed the errors of popery in Bohemia, and the 36th year from the condemnation of doctor Weſſalia, who taught at Worms. The papal power was very extenſive and ſeemed very ſtrongly eſtabliſhed, when on a ſudden ſuch a conteſt aroſe, as ended in a great part to Europe's ſeparating from the church of Rome, and afterwards in their proteſting againſt the errors and incroachments of that church.

Valdo was the founder of the Woldenſes abovementioned. He began to ſpread his doctrine at Lions in France, from whence he was baniſhed, and retired with his followers to the mountains of Savoy. They believed that prayers for the dead were uſeleſs and ſuperſtitious; they denied the authority of prieſts, and did not regard confeſſion. They led pure and holy lives, and aſſerted that they were the true church, and that the church of Rome held and taught a great number of errors.

The Romiſh prieſts called the Waldenſes heretics, and their prieſts were

perſecuted: Their poſterity now inhabit the valleys of Piedmont, called the Vaudois.

Pope Leo X. ſucceeded Julius II. in 1513. The magnificent church of St. Peter at Rome was begun by Julius II. and required very large ſums to finiſh it; but Leo was greatly deſirous of having it compleated, notwithſtanding he had contracted many debts before his pontificate, and the treaſure of the apoſtolic chamber was exhauſted.

To bear the expence of finiſhing that fine edifice, Leo had recourſe to ſome extraordinary means of raiſing money, which he was adviſed to do by ſelling indulgences; this method the court of Rome on former occaſions had experienced to be to her advantage, in raiſing troops and money againſt the Turks.

Leo therefore, in 1517, publiſhed general indulgences through all Europe, in favour of thoſe who would contribute any ſum to the building of St. Peter's church.

Several perſons were ſent into different countries to preach up, and put off theſe indulgences, and to receive money for them.

The collectors perſuaded the people, that thoſe who gave to the value of about ten ſhillings ſterling, ſhould at their pleaſure deliver one ſoul from the pains of purgatory: but, if it was leſs, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

The pope employed the Dominicans in this ſcandalous work in Germany, at which the Auguſtinians were ſorely diſguſted, and pretended that the office of retailing indulgences belonged to them. Tezelius a dominican openly ſold the pope's indulgences about the country.

Luther was greatly offended at the impious ſermons of this ſhameleſs dominican; and being zealouſly deſirous to maintain true religion, he publiſhed ninety-five propoſitions againſt indulgences, which ſo enraged Tezelius, that he declaimed againſt Luther, and publiſhed contrary propoſitions, and even burnt openly Luther's propoſitions and the ſermon he had wrote againſt indulgences. This cauſed the ſtudents of Wittenburg alſo to burn his propoſitions.

Some ſay, that Leo X. (whoſe forbid traffic, to which he reduced the diſtribution of indulgences, gave birth to Luther's reformation) ſpoke honorably of this Reformer at the beginning.

Tezelius compoſed fifty propoſitions about the authority of the pope, which he ſaid *was ſupreme and above the univerſal church, and a council: That there are many catholic truths, which are not in the holy Scriptures; that the truths defined by the pope are catholic; and that his judgment in matters of faith is infallible.*

Luther wrote with great moderation in the beginning of this important diſpute; but Tezelius treated him with much bitterneſs, as an hereſiarch or arch-heretic.

The former had great parts and knowledge: the latter was ſo ignorant that he could not write his own anſwer, which was ſaid to be drawn up for him by Conradus Wimpina, the divinity profeſſor at Francfort.

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Luther was protected by the elector of Saxony; but Tezelius had more authority by his offices, under the pope, of commiſſioner and inquiſitor; tho' he was a man of ſuch profligate morals that he had been condemned to die for adultery at Inſpruck, and was pardoned at the interceſſion of the elector of Saxony.

Tezelius ſtirred up the archbiſhop of Magdeburg, and others, againſt Luther, who boldly anſwered all their writings.

The emperor Maximilian, on the fifth of Auguſt, 1518, wrote to pope Leo X. and deſired him to ſtop theſe dangerous diſputes, by his authority; aſſuring him that he would execute in the empire whatever his holineſs ſhould appoint.

The pope ordered the auditor of the apoſtolic chamber to cite Luther to appear at Rome within ſixty days, that he might give an account of his doctrine to the auditor, and the maſter of the palace, to whom he had committed the judgment of the cauſe.

The pope, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, wrote a letter to the elector of Saxony, deſiring him to give Luther no protection, but to put him into the hands of cardinal Cajetan, his legate in Germany: aſſuring him that if Luther was innocent he would ſend him back abſolved; and if guilty, he would pardon him upon his repentance.

The elector of Saxony was unwilling that Luther ſhould appear perſonally at Rome; and the univerſity of Wittenburg interceded with the Pope, who conſented that the matter ſhould be tried before Cardinal Catejan in Germany. This prelate was a dominican, yet Luther met him at Augſburg, in the month of October. Catejan aſſerted the authority of the Pope, and ſaid that he was above a council. Luther denied it, and alledged the authority of the univerſity of Paris. Luther delivered Catejan a formal proteſtation, in the preſence of four imperial counſellors and a notary; wherein he declared, *That he had only ſought after truth, and would not retract, without being convinced he was wrong: that he was ſatisfied he had advanced nothing contrary to the holy ſcriptures, the doctrine of the fathers, decretals of the popes, and right reaſon: that he had advanced nothing but what was ſound, true and catholic: and that he would ſubmit himſelf to the great determination of the church.*

The legate threatened Luther with the cenſures of the church if he would not retract, and ſign his recantation. Luther knew that Catejan had orders to ſeize him, if he would not ſubmit; and, therefore, on the ſixteenth of October, he made an act of appeal, before a notary, wherein he vindicated himſelf, and declared, that he was oppreſſed and injured, and obliged to appeal from the Pope; for which purpoſe he demanded letters of miſſion; and proteſted he would purſue his appeal.

Luther told the legate, that as he had not deſerved his cenſures, ſo he diſregarded them; and then returned to Wittenburg, where he continued ſafe under the protection of the elector of Saxony; notwithſtanding the legate deſired that prince to ſend Luther to Rome,

Rome, or baniſh him out of his dominions.

But he was powerfully ſupported by the univerſity of Wittenburgh, where he continued to teach the ſame doctrines, and ſent a challenge to all the inquiſitors to diſpute with him there, under the ſanction of a ſafe-conduct from his prince, and the moſt reſpectable hoſpitality from the univerſity.

The Pope privately ſought the life of Luther, who had publiſhed the declaration of his meaning in the propoſitions againſt indulgences, which he dedicated to the Pope.

He alſo publiſhed ſermons concerning the virtue of excommunication, penance and preparation for the holy ſupper, with a meditation on our Saviour's paſſion. His doctrine ſpread, and gained new adherents every day; particularly, Zuinglius in Switzerland, Melanchthon, Coroloſtadius, and Eraſmus.

Melanchthon wrote to Eraſmus in theſe terms, *Martin Luther, who has a very great eſteem for you, wiſhes for your approbation.* The reputation of Eraſmus was ſo great, that if he had declared for Luther, he had carried almoſt all Germany with him: but Eraſmus neither accuſed nor defended Luther, though he acknowledged that he recommended very excellent things which he wiſhed had been done with more moderation.

Luther wrote to Eraſmus, *to acknowledge him as a brother in Jeſus Chriſt.* And Eraſmus wrote to Luther, that his books made a great noiſe at Louvain; and that by excuſing him he had made himſelf ſuſpected; he calls Luther, *deareſt brother in Chriſt*: and concludes his letter with a prayer to Jeſus Chriſt to communicate a lager portion of his ſpirit upon Luther, for his glory, and the good of mankind.

All this while Luther never thought of any alteration in any ceremonies; much leſs ſuch a reformation and ſcrutiny into ceremonies as followed. He offered to be ſilent, but his adverſaries continued to write againſt him, ſo that the diſputes daily increaſed inſtead of being ended.

The Franciſcans publiſhed two books againſt Luther, wherein they accuſed him of denying the ſupremacy of the Pope, and of maintaining that the Bohemians were better chriſtians. than thoſe in the church of Rome. Luther refuted them, and aſſerted that St. Peter and the Pope were not above the apoſtles and biſhops; ſince, according to St. Jerom, prieſts and biſhops were the ſame thing in their primitive inſtitution.

Frederic, elector of Saxony, was the patron and protector of Luther: but George, a prince of the ſame houſe, oppoſed Luther to the utmoſt of his power. The former deſired Eraſmus to give him his opinion concerning Luther; and Eraſmus gave it in a jocoſe manner: but gravely told the archbiſhop of Mentz, that the monk condemned many things in the books of Luther as heretical, which were eſteemed as orthodox in Bernard and Auſtin. Eraſmus wrote alſo to cardinal Wolſey, that the life and converſation of Luther were univerſally commended and it was no ſmall

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prejudice in his favour, that his morals were unblameable, and that no reproach could be faſtened upon him by calumny itſelf. *If I had really been at leiſure, ſays Eraſmus, to peruſe his writings, I am not ſo conceited of my own abilities, as to paſs a judgment upon the performances of ſo conſiderable a divine; though even children, in this knowing age, will boldly pronounce, that this is erroneous, and that heretical.*

Claude ſpeaks of Luther, and wiſhes he had been more temperate in his way of writing; and that, with his great and invincible courage, with his ardent zeal for truth, with that unſhaken conſtancy he ever manifeſted, he could have ſhewed a greater reſerve and moderation: but theſe faults, which are moſt commonly complectional, prevent not our eſteem of men, when in other reſpects, we perceive in them real piety and many virtuous qualifications, ſuch as were ſeen to ſhine in Luther: and, perhaps, there was ſome particular neceſſity, at the commencement of the reformation to employ the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, the better to awaken men from that profound ſlumber in which they had ſo long lain.

Eraſmus, in 1516, wrote to Melanchthon, that all the world agreed in commending the moral character of Luther; and wiſhed that God might grant him ſucceſs equal to the pains which he had taken. Melanchthon was always mild and moderate, and had a ſincere affection for Luther; but ſometimes could not refrain from complaining of his haughty and imperious temper, ſo that his beſt friends hardly knew how to bear with him at all times. However, Eraſmus entertained hopes, that the attempts of Luther, and the great notice which had been taken of them, might at length be ſerviceable to true chriſtianity.

Frederic of Saxony, one of the moſt virtuous and illuſtrious princes of the ſixteenth century, was a friend to Luther and the reformation; and the proteſtants ought to have great reverence for his memory: when he might have been choſen emperor, he declined it. Eraſmus wrote a letter to him, which was very favourable to Luther. Andrew Bodeſtine, from his native place called Cardoſtadius, defended the writings of Luther. Bucer was preſent when Luther maintained his doctrine before the Auguſtin friars at Heidelberg, and told Rhenanus, *that his ſweetneſs in anſwering was admirable, and his patience in hearing incomparable; that Luther reſembled the acuteneſs of St. Paul in reſolving doubts; ſo that he brought them all into admiration of him, by his conciſe and nervous anſwer taken out of the ſtorehouſe of the holy ſcriptures.*

Luther was honourably entertained at Heidelberg by Wolfgang, the count Palantine: Erich duke of Calemberg eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſhared in the danger and glory of all the undertakings of the emperor Maximilian, and was a great ornament to the houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenberg. The reformation was early introduced into the lower and upper Saxony by their reſpective princes.

A conference was appointed at Leipsic, to which Luther went, accompanied with Melanchton. The dispute was carried on betwixt Luther and Eckius; thirteen propositions were extracted out of the writings of the former; the last and principal of which was against the supremacy of the pope.

This conference continued fourteen days: Luther opened it to the world by publishing a tract, intituled, *Resolutions of the propositions disputed at Leipsic*; in which he said, that Eckius had no cause to boast of the dispute, and had acknowledged that no trust ought to be put in indulgences.

Zuinglius began about this time to write against pardons and indulgences. Luther wrote a book *Of Christian liberty:* which he dedicated to the pope. He also addressed another book to the nobility of Germany, wherein he shook three of the principal bulwarks of popery, by opposing the doctrine, *That temporal magistrates were subject to the spirituality; that the pope is the only judge of the Scripture; and that he only can call a council.*

Luther shewed what things should be considered in councils; and asserted, that the pope yearly drained Germany of three millions of florins. He pointed out the necessity of reforming schools and universities; declared that heretics should be convinced by scripture, and not awed by fire; imputed the troubles of the emperor Sigismund to his breach of faith with Huss and Jerom; and exposed the inconveniencies resulting from the council of Constance.

The writings of Luther were examined at Rome, in a congregation of cardinals. They condemned forty-one propositions taken out of his works; they ordered him to appear in person at their tribunal; and agreed that his writings should be burnt.

The pope's bull was dated the 15th of June, 1520, which condemned the forty-one articles extracted from the writings of Luther, as heretical, false, and scandalous. Indulgences, the papal supremacy, freewill, purgatory, and the begging friars, were the principal things vindicated in this bull; and all christians were forbid, under the pain of excommunication, to defend any of the propositions that were thus condemned: Luther was admonished to revoke his errors by some public act, and to cause his books to be burnt within thirty days; otherwise he and his adherents should incur the punishment due to heretics.

Luther answered this bull by publishing a book called, *The captivity of Babylon.* In which he absolutely rejected indulgences: and asserted that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon. He denied there were seven Sacraments. He affirmed, *That the Sacrament of the altar is the Testament of Jesus Christ, which he left when he died, to be given to all those who should believe in him: that this Testament is a a promise of the forgiveness of our sins, confirmed by the death of the Son of God: that it is only faith in this promise which justifies, and the mass is intirely useless without that faith. He declared that the effect of baptism depended alone upon faith in the promise of Jesus Christ, of which the outward baptism is only a sign,*

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ſupplied in infants by the faith of the church. He maintained that the remiſſion of ſins depends upon faith in the promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt. He wondered that confirmation and ordination ſhould be Sacraments, when they are no more than eccleſiaſtical ceremonies: neither would he allow marriage to be a ſacrament, becauſe there is no promiſe annexed to it, and the marriage of infidels is as binding as that of chriſtians. And he rejected the uſage of extreme unction, built upon the authority of the epiſtle of St. James, becauſe he thought there was not any promiſe annexed to that unction.

Luther was fully perſuaded of the neceſſity of juſtification by faith alone: which he looked upon as the foundation of the whole chriſtian religion. When he firſt preached againſt the indulgences he ſeems not to have intended a ſeparation from the church of Rome; but the violence of his adverſaries, and the heat of the controverſy, drew him ſo far into the diſpute, that he carried it on with unparelleled ſpirit: and came at laſt to fix upon thoſe doctrines which have been ever ſince adhered to by the Lutheran churches with little variation.

Charles V. was crowned emperor in October 1520, and the elector of Saxony had obtained an open hearing to Luther; which the emperor appointed to be held at Worms, in January, 1521.

The diet of Worms aſſembled on the day appointed, when Jerom Alexander, the pope's nuncio, exerted all his intereſt and eloquence to perſuade the emperor, and the princes of the empire, to put the bull againſt Luther into execution, without ſuffering him to appear, or hear his vindication. This diet however reſolved that Luther ſhould be ſummoned, and have a ſafe conduct; which was granted by the emperor.

The tragical end that John Huſs had met with at Conſtance in 1415, was remembered by the friends of Luther on this occaſion. But he anſwered thoſe who diſſuaded him from appearing, *that he would go, though as many devils ſhould oppoſe him, as there were tiles upon the houſes of Worms.*

He was accompanied from Wittenburg by ſome divines, and one hundred horſe: but took only eight horſemen into the city of Worms, where he arrived on the ſixteenth of April; and when he ſtept out of the coach he ſaid, *God ſhall be on my ſide,* in the preſence of a great multitude of people, whom curioſity had brought together to ſee the man who had made ſuch a noiſe in the world.

The young reader is deſired to remember that the diet is a convention of the ſtates, or princes of the empire; the ſame thing in Germany and Poland, as a parliament in Great-Britain.

Some perſuaded the emperor to deal with Luther as the council of Conſtance had done with John Huſs, but the emperor ſaid that the public faith was not to be violated.

Luther, while he continued there, was viſited by many princes, noblemen and divines. Eckius acted as prolocutor, and told Luther, that the emperor had ſent for him, *to know whether he owned thoſe books which*

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bore his name; and if he intended to tract or maintain what was contained in them. Luther replied, with conſtancy; *That in ſome he treated only of piety and morality, in ſuch a plain and evangelical manner, that his adverſaries acknowledged they were innocent, profitable, aad worthy to be read by all chriſtians; that in others he had wrote againſt popery; and in a third ſort againſt thoſe private perſons who oppoſed the truths which he taught; and he declared, that as a man he might err; and if any one could convince him by holy Scripture of any error, he was ready to revoke it, and burn his writtings.* Eckius inſiſted that Luther would give a plain and direct anſwer, whether he would retract, or not? Luther replied, *That he was not obliged to believe the pope or his councils, becauſe they erred in many things, and contradicted themſelves; that his belief was ſo far ſettled by the text of ſcripture, and his conſcience engaged by the word of God, that he neither could, nor would retract any thing; becauſe it was neither ſafe, nor innocent, for a man to act againſt his conſcience.*

Luther thus refuſed to recant at Worms, as he had done three years before at Augſburgh. The emperor ordered Luther to depart from Worms, and afterwards iſſued out an edict againſt him; but the elector of Saxony was reſolved to protect him from the proſecution of the emperor and pope. Luther was purpoſely ſeized on the road by a troop of horſemen, and carried as if by violence to the caſtle of Wartburg, near Eiſenach, where the elector concealed him ten months. Luther called this retreat his Patmos; and wrote ſeveral uſeful treatiſes there, while his enemies employed reputed wizards to find out the place of his concealment.

The univerſity of Wittenburg in Luther's abſence, applied to the elector of Saxony to aboliſh the maſs out of his dominions, ſhewing him the impiety of it, and that it was invented only four hundred years before, for the Pope's profit; to which, we are told, the prince gave them a very prudent and pious anſwer.

In the year 1522, Luther wrote to Melanchthon to provide him a lodging at Wittenburg; for he ſaid, *That the tranſlation of the bible would urge him to return:* he had tranſlated a conſiderable part of the bible into the German tongue, and it was neceſſary for him to confer with learned men, and to have their help and aſſiſtance about it. In 1522, he printed the New-Teſtament in the German tongue, which he had tranſlated while in his Patmos.

Luther laid aſide his frier's habit in 1524; and married Catharine Bore, a lady of noble deſcent, who had formerly been a nun. In 1529, he publiſhed both his catechiſms; the leſſer in January, and the larger in October following.

In 1530, the emperor ſummoned a diet at Augſburgh, and gave the public faith for the ſecurity all men that would come to the diet to ſet forth an account of their belief; and the elector of Saxony appointed Luther, Juſtus Jonas, Pomeran and Melanchthon, to write the doctrines, which

which the Saxon churches and those which agreed with them, did profess. Luther comprehended the sum of this doctrine in seventeen articles, which being revised and methodised by Philip Melanchthon, was afterwards called *The confession of Augsburgh*. Luther conformed to that confession, and founded an university at Koningsburh in 1544, that the protestant religion might be introduced and established in Prussia; and all the professors were to be Lutherans.

The disturbance in Germany increasing every day, the emperor called another diet, which was held at Spiers in 1526. The emperor's deputies were for executing the edict of Worms; but the elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, were for holding a general council, and laid the foundation of an union for the reformation. The reformers obtained the name of Protestants at this diet of Spiers, on account of the public protestation they made against the errors of the church of Rome, and of appealing from the decrees of the emperor Charles V. to a general council.

Luther set out in January 1546 for his native country at Isleben, in the county of Mansfield; and at Hall in Saxony he lodged at the house of Justus Jonas: and passing over the river with Jonas and his own three sons, they were in danger of drowning, whereupon he said to Jonas, *Think you not that it would rejoice the devil very much, if you and I, and my three sons should be drowned?* He was honourably received by the count of Mansfield, who sent an hundred horse to attend him to Isleben. He found himself very weak, but from January 29, to February 17, he preached sometimes in the church, and twice administred the Lord's supper; and ordained two to the work of the ministry: at his table he used holy conference, and was daily very fervent in his prayers.

The day before his death he dined and supped with his friends, discoursing of divers matters, and among the rest, gave his opinion that in Heaven we shall know one another, because Adam knew Eve at first sight. After supper his pain in his breast increasing, he went aside and prayed; then went to bed and slept: but about midnight being awakened with the pain, and perceiving his life was near an end, he said, *I pray that God may preserve the doctrine of his gospel among us; for the pope and the council of Trent have grievous things in hand.* After which he prayed thus, *O heavenly Father, my gracious God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee hearty thanks that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, whom I believe, whom I profess, whom I love, whom I glorify; whom the pope and the wicked persecute and dishonour. I beseech thee, Lord Jesus Christ, receive my soul. O heavenly father, though I be taken out of this life, and must lay down this frail body, yet I certainly know that I shall live with thee eternally, and that I cannot be taken out of thy hands:* God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that who-

whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life. "*Lord,* "*I render up my ſpirit into thy hands,* "*and come to thee.*" *And again,* "*Lord, into thy hands I commend my* "*ſpirit; thou, O God of truth, haſt* "*redeemed me.* And ſo, as one falling aſleep, and without any bodily pain that could be diſcerned, he departed this life, February 18, 1546, in the ſixty-third year of his age. The elector of Saxony cauſed his body to be conveyed in a magnificent manner to Wittenberg, where he was honourably interred.

Luther left a widow, three ſons, and two daughters. He was of a large ſtature; and had ſo ſharp a ſight that few could endure to look ſtedfaſtly upon him. He had a gentle and clear voice; was paſſionate, but ſoon appeaſed. He had an uncommon genius, a lively imagination, and was very pious: he was conſtant in defence of the truth, and from the confeſſion thereof he could not be removed by either promiſes or threatenings.

When he was preparing for his journey to Iſleben, he confeſſed to Melanchthon that he had gone too far in the ſacramentary controverſy; upon which Melanchthon perſuaded him to explain his mind by publiſhing a book on that ſubject: but he anſwered. *Hereby I ſhould bring a ſuſpicion upon all my doctrines as faulty; but when I am dead, you may do as you ſee cauſe.* This ſeems to be ſomething like retracting conſubſtantiation, which is the doctrine of the ſubſtantial preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the Lord's-ſupper, together with the ſubſtance of the bread and wine; this doctrine is ſtill maintained by the Lutherans.

Luther uſed to ſay, *that three things make a divine; meditation, prayer, and temptation. And, that theſe three things were to be done by a miniſter, to read the bible diligently, to pray earneſtly, and always to be a learner. And that they were the beſt preachers who ſpoke as to babes in Chriſt, in an ordinary ſtrain, popularly, and moſt plainly.* He ſaid alſo *that in the cauſe of God, he was willing to undergo the hatred and violence of the whole world.*

His private life was very exemplary: at dinner and ſupper-time he uſed often to dictate ſermons to others; and ſometimes to correct ſheets from the preſs.

He was very temperate both in eating and drinking: he uſed to faſt whole days together, and ſometimes to eat only a little bread and an herring. He avoided feaſts as much as he could, that he might not mis-ſpend his time.

One ſaith of him, *That it was a great miracle that Luther, a poor frier, ſhould be able to ſtand againſt the pope: And that he ſhould prevail againſt him was greater: And after all, to die in peace, having ſo many enemies, was the greateſt of all.*

And it is no leſs wonderful that he ſhould eſcape ſo many dangers; for when a Jew was ſuborned to kill him by poiſon, Luther had warning of it before-hand, and the picture of the Jew

Jew ſent him, whereby he knew him, and avoided the danger.

Luther writes concerning it thus, *There is here a certain Poloniſh Jew, that is hired with two thouſand crowns to poiſon me. This is diſcovered to me by letters from my friends. He is a doctor of phyſic, and one that dares undertake and perform any villainy; he is of extraordinary ſubtlety and dexterity.*

His favourite doctrine was juſtification by faith alone, and not by works moral, legal, or evangelical; but it is to be obſerved, that he perpetually inculcated the abſolute neceſſity of good works. And indeed Luther and other reformed Proteſtants, who maintain that fundamental doctrine of juſtification by faith alone, affirm that, where works are not to be found, there is certainly no true faith. True faith purifieth the heart, worketh by love, and over-cometh the world. Where true faith and real grace are in the ſoul, there will be good works; for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit.

He was powerful in prayer, and alſo in his ſermons; and was graciouſly aſſiſted by God in ſuch a manner, that his hearers thought that he ſeverally took notice of their particular caſes and temptations. His friends aſked him the cauſe of it. He ſaid *That his own manifold temptations and experiences were the cauſe of it.*

He wrote thus concerning his own works, *Above all things I requeſt the pious reader, and earneſtly intreat him to read my books with judgment, and even with much pity. I deſire him to remember that I was a frier and a mad papiſt, at firſt I was ſo much drowned in popiſh doctrines, that I was ready to have aſſiſted in killing thoſe who withdrew their obedience from the pope. I was ſerious in the cauſe, as one that trembled at the thoughts of the day of judment, and from my heart deſired to be ſaved.*

He was by no means willing that any ſhould be called after his name: for, ſaid he, *the doctrine I preach is none of mine; neither did I die for any man: And we are called chriſtians becauſe we profeſs the doctrine of Chriſt.*

Melanchton ſaid, *That Luther was a miracle among men: for whatſoever he ſaith, whatſoever he writes, pierces into the heart, and leaveth wonderful impreſſions on the hearts of men.*

He was of an excellent wit, of great courage, and of a magnanimous ſpirit. He preached God's word conſtantly and zealouſly. He ſpoke much againſt indulgences, and the pardons and bulls of the popes, ſold by Texelius.

His works are printed in High-Dutch, or Latin. He tranſlated the bible from the original into High-Dutch. He wrote ſeveral things againſt the pope and the uſe of indulgences.

Henry VIII. king of England, wrote againſt him in defence of the ſeven Sacraments; to which Luther wrote a reply. But his commentary on the epiſtle to the Galatians was his favourite work, which he uſed to call his wife.

He ſets forth therein, in a ſcriptural and evangelical manner, the important doctrine of juſtification by faith, that the ſinner is pardoned and accepted *only* on account of the righteouſneſs

teouſneſs of Chriſt imputed to him, and received by faith alone.

He there ſets forth the difference betwixt the law and the goſpel; that the one ſerves to accuſe and condemn, and is a ſchoolmaſter to lead the ſinner to Chriſt; and that the goſpel is the remedy which diſcovers a way of ſalvation through Jeſus Chriſt: *For the goſpel is the power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth.* And that Chriſt is the Saviour and Redeemer of true believers; and his ſurety-righteouſneſs, that is, his obedience and ſufferings are the foundation of their pardon and acceptance with God; for Chriſt ſatisfied divine juſtice, and fulfilled the law for his people. He bore the curſe for true believers, and he is *The end of the law for righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.*

It was an act of great imprudence to publiſh ſuch a collection as is in the Colloquia Menſalia; the ſubject of which is Luther's table-talk. Luther was not the author of that book, and the publication of it was the effect of an inconſiderate zeal.

The doctrine of this eminent divine, and great reformer, extended itſelf through Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries. In general it agrees with almoſt all the proteſtant churches, ſaving in ſome few particulars. He was very zealous in maintaining the doctrine of juſtification by faith: for he believed it to be a moſt important doctrine, and ſaid that it was an article that ſhewed a ſtanding or falling church. He reduced the ſacraments to two, namely, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. He maintained the maſs to be no ſacrifice, and exploded the adoration of the hoſt, auricular confeſſion, meritorious works, indulgences, the worſhip of images, monaſtical vows, and the celibacy of the clergy. He oppoſed the doctrine of free-will, and maintained the doctrine of predeſtination. His firſt deſign, as before ſaid, was only to preach and write againſt the uſe and abuſe of indulgences, which very much offending the court of Rome, he proceeded from one point of doctrine to another, till a great number of the nobility, clergy, and laity, joining with him, the reformation of whole electorates and kingdoms was effected.

The proteſtant churches are much indebted to Luther, the inſtrument in the hands of God, for delivering us from popiſh darkneſs and errors. John Huſs and Jerom of Prague were martyrs for the doctrines of the goſpel, and Luther, after many difficulties, was honoured with ſucceſs, in their being received and maintained in ſeveral countries.

May proteſtants be bleſſed with grace to value and improve the goſpel that was conveyed to them through blood and great oppoſition. Amen.

JOHN CALVIN.

THIS eminent Reformer was born on the tenth of July, 1509, at Noyon, a city of France, in

in the territory of Soiſſon, fifty-eight miles north-eaſt of Paris.

His parents were Gerard Calvin and Jane Francke, of good repute and competent eſtate, who beſtowed on him a liberal education. They intended him for the ſervice of the church, and ſent him from the grammar-ſchool to the college of La Marche in Paris, where he was inſtructed in the grounds of literature by Maturinus Corderius, who was one of the beſt grammarians and ſchoolmaſters in France; for he was a man of probity, and underſtood the Latin tongue well, and diligently applied himſelf to his function.

Calvin afterwards dedicated to him his Commentary upon the firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians. He was removed from under his tuition, and placed under the care of Hiſpanus, a Spaniſh maſter, in Montague-College, where he ſtudied logic and divinity.

As Calvin was deſigned for the ſtudy of divinity, his father early obtained for him a benefice in the cathedral of Noyon: and he had a curacy in Marteville, a neighbouring village, which he exchanged for the curacy of Pont l'Eveque, a village near Noyon.

He afterwards became acquainted with Robert Olivetan, his kinſman, and was inſtructed by him in the doctrines of the reformed religion.

His father changing his mind, choſe to bring him up to the law; ſo that after he had finiſhed his ſtudies at Paris, he was ſent to Orleans, where he ſtudied the civil law, under the direction of Peter l'Etoile, who was preſident in the parliament of Paris, and called in Latin, Petrus Stella.

Calvin made great progreſs in the civil law at Orleans, and was highly eſteemed by the profeſſors in that univerſity. He at the ſame time did not neglect the ſtudy of the holy ſcriptures, and was eſteemed ſo good a caſuiſt, that many who loved the doctrines of the reformation, came to him to be ſatisfied in their doubts, and were great admirers of his learning and his zeal for theſe doctrines.

He became acquainted with Melchior Wolmar, who was profeſſor of Greek at Bourges, and famous both for his religion and learning.

Calvin was ſome time at Bourges, and ſtudied with ſucceſs the Greek language under Wolmar. He afterwards dedicated to him his comment upon the firſt Epiſtle to the Theſſalonians to his Latin Maſter, Corderius.

While Calvin was ſtudying the civil law he neglected not that of divinity, and preached ſeveral ſermons in a neighbouring town called Liveria.

But his father dying in 1532, on that account he went to ſettle his affairs in his own country, and afterwards went to Paris, being in the twenty-third year of his age, with a reſolution to make divinity his principal ſtudy.

At this time he wrote an excellent commentary upon Seneca de Clementia. After a few months ſtay at Paris, he became acquainted with thoſe that profeſſed the reformed religion: and particularly with Stephen Forgeus, an eminent merchant, who afterwards ſealed the truth with his blood.

At the earneſt requeſt of many

godly perſons, who held their private meetings at Paris. Calvin laid aſide all his other ſtudies, and wholly applied himſelf to that of divinity, and was proſpered greatly therein. He was eſteemed in the French congregations as one of the moſt able and beſt qualified men to teach and defend the doctrines of the reformation, which had lately been introduced into that kingdom. Nicholas Cope was then rector of the univerſity of Paris, who had a ſpeech to make on the firſt of November, 1532, in which, by the advice and aſſiſtance of Calvin, he ſpoke about religion more purely and clearly than uſual.

This greatly diſpleaſed the members of Sorbonne and the parliament of Paris, inſomuch that the rector was ſummoned to appear before them, but he fled out of the kingdom to Baſil.

They alſo ſent to apprehend Calvin in the college of Ferteret, but he eſcaped out of the window by the help of the ſheets, and they ſeized his papers, among which were letters found that diſcovered ſevered of his correſpondents.

It pleaſed God to appeaſe this ſtorm againſt Calvin by the pious and prudent diligence of the queen of Navarre, the only ſiſter of king Francis I. a princeſs of extraordinary talents, and much eſteemed for her piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She married, in 1527, Henry d'Albert II. king of Navarre, and would gladly have introduced into his dominions the reformed religion. The reformers were protected under her patronage; and ſhe wrote a book in French rhime, called, *The mirror of the skilful ſoul*: which was cenſured by the college of Sorbonne. No mention was made in it either of male or female ſaints, merits, or any other purgatory than the blood of Jeſus Chriſt. Many of the reformed clergy were maintained in ſchools at her expence, not only in France but alſo in Germany. She took extraordinary care to preſerve and ſecure thoſe that were in danger for the proteſtant religion, and to ſuccour the refugees at Straſburg and Geneva. She ſent for Calvin to court, treated him with great reſpect, and heard him gladly.

This princeſs was poiſoned at Paris in 1572, a little before the bloody maſſacre in that city. Henry IV. of France was the ſon of this queen: this prince was a Calviniſt by profeſſion, which religion he loved: but temptation of a crown prevailed upon him to renounce the reformed religion, and to declare himſelf a Romaniſt.

Gratitude would not permit him to deſtroy the Calviniſts, to whom he was indebted for his crown, and therefore he cheriſhed and protected the poteſtants. It may not be thought improper to have given this ſhort account of the family of Navarre, who protected Calvin, and promoted the reformed religion as taught by him.

After Calvin eſcaped out of the window from Paris, as before related, he retired to Xaintonge, where he gained the friendſhip of Lewis du Tillet, canon of Angouleſme, at whoſe requeſt he compoſed chriſtian exhortations

tions, which were read as homilies in ſome pariſhes, to accuſtom the people gradually to ſearch after the truth. He went from Angouleſme to Poitiers, where he drew after him new diſciples, to whom he adminiſtred the ſacrament in caves and grottoes.

He paid Stapulenſis a viſit at Nerac in Gaſcony, and returned to Paris in 1534, at the time that Rouſſel and Coraldus were baniſhed that city, and orders were iſſued for apprehending the reformers. Servetus was then at Paris, where that unhappy man diſperſed his books againſt the ſacred trinity; in which he was oppoſed by Calvin, who agreed to meet him: but Servetus would not appear at the appointed conference, being afraid of the very ſight of Calvin.

Francis I. perſecuted the reformers, and commanded eight of them to be burnt alive in the four principal parts of Paris.

This perſecution made Calvin reſolve to quit France as ſoon as he had publiſhed a treatiſe at Orleans concerning the Pſychopannychia, againſt the error of the ſoul's ſleeping after leaving the body to the day of judgment.

He choſe Baſil for the place of his retreat, where he was accompanied by his brother, Anthony Calvin, and Lewis du Tillet.

He ſoon contracted a particular friendſhip with Grynæus and Capito, with whom he ſtudied Hebrew. He endeavoured to conceal himſelf, yet was forced to publiſh his inſtitutions; which work greatly contributed to his reputation, and was dedicated to Francis I. on Auguſt 1, 1536. It was afterwards tranſlated into many of the European languages.

When Calvin had publiſhed this book, he took a journey into Italy, to wait on the ducheſs of Ferrara, the daughter of Lewis XII. She was a princeſs of exemplary piety, and a favourer of the reformation.

Calvin endeavoured to confirm her in the truths of the goſpel; and on this account ſhe had a great eſteem for him all his life, and even after his death honoured his memory.

He ſoon ſet out for Baſil, and was obliged, on account of the war, to go through the duke of Savoy's dominions.

This ſeemed a particular direction of providence, that deſigned him for Geneva; where he was kindly entertained by William Farrel, who prevailed with him, with great difficulty, to continue there; for when Farrel ſaw that perſuaſions alone would not prevail, he ſaid to him, *Behold, I declare to you in the name of the Almighty God, that unleſs you will here become fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, his curſe will be upon you, as ſeeking your own, rather than the things of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Calvin being much affected with theſe awful expreſſions of Farrel, who was ſeconded by Viret, ſubmitted to the judgment of the preſbytery and magiſtrates, by whoſe votes, together with the hearty approbation and conſent of the people, he was choſen preacher and divinity profeſſor. He complied with the latter, and would have declined the former, but he was obliged

obliged to undertake both functions; which was in the year of our Lord 1536.

This year was also remarkable for a stricter league between Bern and Geneva, as also for the establishment of the gospel at Lausanne, where a free disputation was held between the Romanists and Protestants, at which Calvin was present.

Calvin was to the Geneveſe the father of their liberty, and the former of their church. The people solemnly agreed to a form of faith, and publicly renounced popery. He also compiled a short Catechism, which contained the principal points of religion, and was taught in Geneva; and he endeavoured to reconcile the principal families to one another, which had been divided into several factions.

Hooker, in his preface to his ecclesiastical Polity, gives a great character of Calvin, as head of the Genevan discipline: *A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French did enjoy, ſince it enjoyed him.*

His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much as by teaching others; for though thouſands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind; yet he to none, but only God, the author of that bleſſed fountain, the book of life; and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides: till being occaſioned to leave France, he fell at length upon Geneva, which city the biſhop and clergy thereof had a little before forſaken, as ſome do affirm; being of likelihood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for the aboliſhment of the popiſh religion.

At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continueth to this day; neither king, nor duke, nor noblemen, have any authority or power over them; but officers choſen by the people yearly out of themſelves, to order all things with public conſent. For ſpiritual government they had no laws at all agreed upon; but did what the paſtors of their ſouls could by perſuaſion win them unto.

Calvin conſidered how dangerous it was that the whole eſtate of that church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude, if it hath power to change whatſoever itſelf liketh.

Wherefore taking unto him two of the other miniſters, for more countenance of the action, albeit the reſt were all againſt him, they moved and perſuaded the people to bind themſelves by ſolemn oath, firſt, never to admit the papacy among them again; and ſecondly, to live in obedience unto ſuch orders concerning the exerciſe of their religion, and the form of their eccleſiaſtical government, as thoſe their true and faithful miniſters of God's word had, agreeably to ſcripture, ſet down to that end and purpoſe.

The doctrines of the gospel were now entertained, and popery renounced, in Geneva; but the profane courſes they had been indulged in by the popiſh clergy, and the factious ſpirit in the great families, were not removed.

Therefore Calvin, aſſiſted by his collegues Farel and Caroldus, declared that

that both their gentle admonitions and ſerious exhortations being diſregarded, they could not adminiſter the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to perſons at varience among themſelves, and ſo much averſe to eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

Moreover the church of Geneva made uſe of leavened bread in the communion. They had alſo removed the baptiſmal fonts out of the churches; and aboliſhed all feſtivals except the Lord's day, which was to be ſanctified according to the fourth commandment.

But the churches of the canton of Bern diſapproved of theſe three things; and by an act made in the ſynod of Lauſanne, required that the uſe of unleavened bread or wafers, the baptiſmal fonts, and the feſtivals, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in Geneva.

Calvin, and the miniſters of Geneva, were not willing to comply with theſe things, and deſired a ſynod might be called at Zurick.

The ſyndics or magiſtrates of Geneva, ſummoned the people in 1538, and Calvin, Farrel, and Courant, preſented themſelves before the council, offering to make good their confeſſion of faith. The ſyndics, being Romaniſts in their hearts, favoured the diſcontented party; and the council, under pretence of preſerving the privileges and liberties of the city; and becauſe Calvin and his two collegues would not conform to the cuſtom of Bern, in celebrating the communion, made an order to enjoin theſe three worthy ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt to leave the city in three days.

When this decree was brought to Calvin, he ſaid, *Truly, if I had ſerved men, I ſhould have had an ill reward: but it is well that I have ſerved him who doth always perform to his ſervants what he hath once promiſed.*

Calvin had no maintenance from the city, and lived at his own expence. He went to Baſil, and from thence to Straſburgh, where Bucer and Capito gave him many marks of their eſteem. He was alſo careſſed by Hedio, and other pious and learned men, who procured him permiſſion from the magiſtrates to ſet up a French church, of which he became the paſtor, and had a competent maintenance allowed him there. He was alſo made profeſſor of divinity, which fruſtrated the expectation of the ſee of Rome; as Calvin ſettled in a new place; and a new church was erected for the former ſubverted.

While Calvin was abſent from Geneva cardinal Sodolet, biſhop of Carpentras, wrote an eloquent letter to the inhabitants of that city, to exhort them to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church.

Calvin anſwered the letter in 1539; in which he manifeſted his affection for the church of Geneva, and diſappointed the views which the cardinal had in his fine artful letter to that ſtate.

The popes and eccleſiaſtics would have been ſo far from abandoning their beloved intereſts, founded upon ignorance and ſuperſtition, that they would have willingly eſtabliſhed a bloody inquiſition, not only in Italy and Spain, but in other countries, which would have tended to ſmother and extinguiſh

thoſe lights of the goſpel that began then to ſparkle.

But it pleaſed God that Lutheraniſm gained ſuch ſtrength and ſtability, that it prevented the tyranny of an inquiſition in Germany: and the reformation of Calvin ſecured the liberty of the other countries.

Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and other bright ſtars which ſhone in the reformed churches, were, by the bleſſing of God, made inſtruments of removing the darkneſs and ignorance of popery. The divines at Straſburgh deſired Calvin to aſſiſt at the diet the emperor had called at Worms and Ratiſbon in 1541, to ſee if it was poſſible to reconcile the differences in religion. He appeared there with Bucer, and conferred with Melanchthon, who called him his divine.

The time was now come wherein God deſigned to ſhew mercy to his church at Geneva by eſtabliſhing it, and by recalling Calvin. The Syndics who had promoted the decree of his baniſhment, were dead or baniſhed; and the people were not before ſo willing to be rid of their faithful and pious paſtor as they were now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and were unwilling to part with him, if ſerious and irreſiſtible ſolicitations had not been uſed.

One of the town miniſters, who ſaw in what manner the people were inclined for the recalling of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this ſort: *The ſenate of two hundred being aſſembled, they all deſire Calvin, that good and learned man, the miniſter of Chriſt.*

When Calvin underſtood this, he praiſed God, and judged it was the call of heaven. He ſaid, *It is marvellous in our eyes; for the ſtone which the builders refuſed, was made the head of the corner.*

And this ſcripture ſeems to have been fulfilled at that time, *When a man's ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him,* Prov. xvi. 7. In his abſence, he had perſuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that though he more approved of common bread to be uſed in the euchariſt; yet they ſhould rather accept the other, than cauſe any trouble in the church about it.

The people ſaw that the name of Calvin was revered every day more and more; and that, with his fame, their infamy was alſo ſpread, who had ejected him with ſuch raſhneſs and folly. *Beſides, as Hooker ſays, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways ſtand the poor town in great ſtead: as the truth is, their miniſter's foreign eſtimation hath been the beſt ſtake in their hedge. But whatever ſecret reſpects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned, as it had been another Tully, to his own home.*

He re-entered Geneva on the 13th of September 1541, to the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction both of the people and of the magiſtracy; for the ſenate acknowledged the wonderful goodneſs and mercy of God towards them, in reſtoring him to them again. And the ſenate of Straſburgh having decreed that after a time he ſhould return to them again, that of Geneva by their con-

conſtant application ſo far prevailed as to have the decree reverſed, yet that the penſion they had ſettled upon Calvin ſhould be continued; but he could never be perſuaded to receive it, for he ſeemed not to value the riches of this world.

He being thus reſtored to his church, and perceiving that the diſcipline agreeable to ſcripture was neceſſary, he intimated to them, that he could not comfortably exerciſe his miniſtry among them, unleſs, together with the doctrines of the goſpel, they would eſtabliſh the preſbyterian government for the well regulating of the church.

In that government the paſtor or miniſter of the church is the firſt elder, and others of the church are choſen to be lay-elders, and to have the government of the church in all matters of diſcipline. They alſo chooſe deacons, who are laymen: and their province is to take care of the poor of the church; and alſo to give their advice in the conſiſtory, ſeſſion or meeting of the church.

This model of church-government was drawn up and received by the church at Geneva, as agreeable to the holy ſcriptures.

After the ſame manner Mr. John Knox, an eminent miniſter of the goſpel, and of an heroic ſpirit, ſettled preſbyterian government in Scotland, which hath been wonderfully preſerved to this time, notwithſtanding the perſecution and oppoſition made to it from Scotch Epiſcopalians, who have been alſo enemies to the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

In Scotland the government of every particular church and pariſh is in the miniſter, lay-elders, and deacons, that ſit in general in the ſeſſion or conſiſtory; twelve pariſhes, more or leſs, conſtitute a Preſbytery, which is chiefly attended by the miniſters in that diviſion, but the lay-elders have a right to be preſent. Theſe meetings are commonly every month: five or ſix preſbyters, more or leſs, make a ſynod, which meets twice a year; and the national ſynod, or general aſſembly once a year. There may be an appeal from any of the three judicateries to the national aſſembly. There are near one thouſand miniſters in Scotland.

Calvin wrote a catichiſm in French and Latin, not much different from the former but larger, divided into queſtions and anſwers, which was well done, and met with ſuch approbation and entertainment abroad, that it was tranſlated into Engliſh, German, Dutch and Spaniſh, and even into Hebrew by Termelius, and into Greek by Henry Stevens.

He was a very diligent and labourious miniſter; every other Sabbath he preached twice. He read his divinity lectures on Monday, Tueſday and Wedneſday. Every Thurſday he aſſiſted in the conſiſtory, for the exerciſe of church diſcipline. On Friday he read a lecture for explaining ſome difficult places of ſcripture.

Moreover he wrote many commentaries on the holy ſcriptures, and anſwers to the adverſaries to the truths of the goſpel. He alſo wrote many letters of advice and directions in many

ny important affairs, ſo that we may wonder how one man was able to go thro' ſo much buſineſs.

Calvin was greatly pleaſed with his collegues Farel and Viret; for it was a very pleaſant ſight to ſee three men, ſo famous in the church, and agreeing in the work of the Lord, and yet ſo excelling in ſeveral gifts of the ſpirit.

Farel excelled in a certain greatneſs of mind, whoſe thundering ſermons were often heard with trembling, and whoſe ardent prayers would appear to lift a man up into heaven.

Viret excelled in ſweet eloquence, ſo that he ſeemed to chain his hearers to his lips.

Calvin was admired for his great judgment in divine things, whoſe grave and pithy ſentences made a deep impreſſion upon the minds of his hearers. Beza ſaid, *That the gifts of theſe three men meeting in one, would make a complete preacher.*

Beſides the above-mentioned labours of Calvin, he had the charge and care of a family, and of many foreign affairs; for God ſo bleſſed his miniſtry, that from all parts of the chriſtian world he was ſought to, partly for advice in matters of religion, and partly to hear him preach.

In his time there was in that city an Italian, an Engliſh, and a Spaniſh church, beſides the churches of Geneva, ſo that the city of Geneva ſeemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his ſake.

Both the miniſters and people of Geneva engaged themſelves to a perpetual obſervance of the form of diſcipline ſettled by Calvin; tho' he was oppoſed, yet by his conſtancy, joined with much moderation, he overcame all difficulties, and ſhewed that the true doctrine and church-diſcipline were to be taken from the word of God. He ſurmounted all oppoſitions at Geneva, and alſo governed the proteſtants in France, who almoſt all adhered to the doctrine of Calvin, and received miniſters from Geneva to preach in their congregations.

Calvin clearly rejected not only tranſubſtantiation, but alſo conſubſtantiation; the former is maintained by the papiſts, namely, that the body and blood of Chriſt in the Lord's ſupper are changed into Chriſt's real body and blood: the latter by the Lutherans, namely, that the body and blood of Chriſt are ſubſtantially preſent, together with the ſubſtance of the bread and wine.

Calvin aſſerts that the body of Jeſus Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially preſent in Heaven, and that it is united to us only by faith, in a ſpiritual manner, by the incomprehenſive working of the Holy Spirit. He affirms, that theſe words, *This is my body*, ought to be underſtood in a figurative manner, and that the ſign is there put for the thing ſignified, as when it is ſaid, "This rock is Chriſt, and the Lamb "is the paſſover, and circumciſion is "the covenant."

He did not differ much from Luther in other points of doctrine. He held the ſame principles as to the imputed righteouſneſs of Chriſt, and our juſtification by faith receiving and relying

lying upon Chriſt, his blood and righteouſneſs.

He alſo added, the impoſſibility of the faithful falling totally and finally from grace.

He likewiſe condemned more fully than the Lutherans the invocation of ſaints, the worſhip and uſe of images, celibacy of prieſts, holy-days, the ſacrifice of the maſs, the adoration of the euchariſt, indulgences, the ſacraments, except the euchariſt and baptiſm, and in general all ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies.

Calvin was intimidated at nothing, and ſettled the peace of Geneva. It would be difficult to believe, that in the midſt of violent agitations at home he could take ſo much care as he did of the churches abroad, in France, England, Germany and Poland; and write ſo many books and letters. But there are inconteſtible proofs of it; for he lived in continual action, and almoſt conſtantly with his pen in his hand, even when ſickneſs confined him to his bed, ariſing from his zeal for the continual good of the churches.

He was a man on whom God had conferred extraordinary talents, a great deal of wit, an exquiſite judgment, a retentive memory, an able, and indefatiguable and elegant pen, an extenſive knowledge, and a great zeal for the truths of the goſpel; but he could not eſcape ſlander abroad, nor oppoſition at home.

He was full thirty years old when he married Idolette de Bure, the widow of John Stordeur, a native of Liege, and was a means of her converſion. He married at Straſburgh in 1540, by the advice of his friend Martin Bucer. She had children by a former huſband, and alſo brought Calvin a ſon, who died before his father. She died in the beginning of 1543, to the great grief of Calvin, who continued a widower all the reſt of his life.

The year 1545 was rendered infamous by that cruel and abominable edict which the parliament of Aquitain iſſued againſt the pious Waldenſes, whereby the moſt unparalled barbarities were exerciſed upon thoſe poor religious people, without any diſtinction of age or ſex, even to the very burning of their towns.

The Waldenſes or Vaudois were founded by Peter Vaud or Vaido, a rich merchant of Lions in France, in 1160, who found out ſeveral errors in the church of Rome, and began a reformation. The clergy excommunicated him, and perſecuted ſome of his diſciples, which occaſioned them to quit Lions, and fly to the valleys of Piedmont, which have been ever ſince inhabited by their deſcendents, who ſtill adhere to their doctrine. We have mentioned them in Luther's life.

Calvin was greatly afflicted for the ſufferings of the Waldenſes, to whom he had wrote conſolatory letters a ſhort time before, and ſent them faithful paſtors for inſtructing them in the doctrines and precepts of the goſpel.

He wrote to the reformed in France to convince them that they acted in a pernicious manner; who pretended,

It was no ſin to be preſent at the popiſh ſervices, if they kept the true religion in their hearts. He told them, it was error condemned by the ancient fathers: and he ſtrengthened his own opinion with thoſe of Melanchton, Bucer and Peter Martyr.

The city of Geneva had been viſited by the plague, and very unhappy diviſions began there in 1546. Calvin preached againſt the wickedneſs of the people, and at all times did the duty of a faithful miniſter.

In 1548, he wrote his *Antidote againſt the ſeven ſeſſions of the council of Trent.* He alſo wrote *commentaries upon ſix of St. Paul's epiſtles.* When Calvin returned to Geneva, the ſenate publiſhed a decree, impowering the miniſters to require of every family an account of their faith: and they ordered that no holy-days ſhould be kept but that the ſabbath be religiouſly obſerved.

Servetus, a Spaniard, greatly diſturbed the proteſtant churches by two books which he wrote againſt the Trinity. He ſtudied the civil law at Toulouſe, in France, and it does not appear that there were any of his pernicious and blaſphemous opinions received in France, till he publiſhed his books. Calvin kept up a long correſpondence with Servetus whom he endeavoured to reclaim from his errors.

Servetus had many years diſturbed the churches by diſperſing his erroneous books: he came to Geneva, where he was impriſoned, proſecuted, and put to death.

His accuſer was Nicholas de la Fontaine: Servetus was brought to the bar, and thirty-eight interrogatories were exhibited againſt him. The trial was poſtponed, and the magiſtrates of Geneva ordered Calvin to extract ſeveral propoſitions to thirty-eight articles, which the miniſters of the church of Geneva declared to be full of impious blaſphemies againſt God, and of other mad and prophane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of God, and the orthodox principles of that church.

The Helvetian churches being conſulted, the Cantons declared that Servetus had revived the impious errors with which Satan formerly diſturbed the church, and that he was an intolerable monſter.

He was condemned to death, and to be burned alive with his books: which ſentence was executed, and he died without ſhewing any ſigns of repentance.

The number of ſtrangers viſibly increaſed in Geneva, and the Engliſh were allowed to found a church of their own nation in the city: but when queen Elizabeth came to the throne, and revived the proteſtant religion, the Engliſh thanked the magiſtrates for their protection, and returned to their own country.

In 1550 Galeacius Caracciola, the noble marquis of Vico, in the kingdom of Naples, left his eſtate and family, and withdrew to Geneva, on account of religion.

Before his arrival, ſome perſons ſpread a report that he came as a ſpy; but his great piety and exemplary behaviour gave an evident proof of the contrary.

Calvin

Calvin was afflicted with a quartan ague about the end of the year 1558, which continued about eight months: and this illneſs, and his indefatigable labours and ſtudy, ſo much weakened his body that he never intirely recovered his health again: yet he went on in his preaching and in his lectures, and was always employed night and day in dictating and writing letters; often ſaying, *That nothing was more troubleſome to him than an idle life.* At this time he publiſhed the laſt edition of his inſtitutions in French and Latin, and his excellent Commentary upon Iſaiah.

The number of youth, who came from all parts to ſtudy at Geneva, increaſed ſo much that the old ſchool was not large enough to contain them: the council therefore reſolved to erect a new college for ſeven claſſes, and three profeſſors of Hebrew, Greek, and philoſophy, beſides Divinity lectures, which Calvin read himſelf, to whom was joined the famous Theodore Beza.

In the year 1563 Calvin's diſeaſe increaſed; and it was ſurpriſing that his weak body, exhauſted with ſo many labours, and worn out with ſo many diſeaſes, ſhould yet retain ſo ſtrong and vigorous a mind.

He was often much employed in giving counſel to thoſe that ſought it, or in dictating to thoſe that wrote for him. He ſent two ſerious admonitions to the Polonians, to beware of thoſe blaſphemous perſons who denied the ſacred Trinity; and anſwers to meſſages from the brethren then met at the ſynod of Lions. And he tranſlated his Commentaries upon the books of Moſes out of Latin into French.

On the 6th of February 1563, Calvin preached his laſt ſermon. He was faint, thin, and conſumptive. When his ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg: then the cholic, and laſtly the ſtone, which he did not perceive till a few months before his death. Though he was greatly afflicted, yet he never uttered an unbecoming word.

On the 27th of March he was carried in his chair to the ſenate, when he preſented to them a new rector for the ſchool: He then uncovered his head, and thanked them for all their favours, and particularly for their great care of him in his ſickneſs: *For I perceive,* ſaid he, *this is the laſt time I ſhall come into this place.* His voice failed him as he ſpoke, and, with many tears on both ſides, they took leave of one another.

On the ſecond of April, being the Lord's day, he was carried to the church, where Beza adminiſtred the ſacrament to him. He made his will on the 25th; and after his will was confirmed he ſent to ſpeak once more to the ſenators, who came to him: *He thanked them for the many favours they had ſhewn him: and he declared that he had purely and ſincerely taught the word of God intruſted to him: and he was fully aſſured that his labours in teaching it had not been diſpleaſing to God.* And ſaid, *I teſtify this the more willingly, both before God and you, becauſe I doubt not but the devil, according to cuſtom, will ſtir up wicked and waver-*

wavering men to corrupt the ſincere doctrine which you have heard from me, &c.

After ſpeaking to them, he prayed to God to multiply his gifts and bleſſings upon them more and more, and to govern them by his holy Spirit, for the ſafety and good of the commonwealth. And giving his hand to every one of them they departed full of ſorrow, as from their common father, with many tears.

On the 28th of April the miniſters came to him, and he ſpoke to them: *Brethren, after my deceaſe, ſtand faſt in this work of the Lord, and be not diſcouraged, for the Lord will preſerve this church and commonwealth againſt the threatening of their enemies. As ſoon as I came to this city the goſpel was indeed preached, but affairs were very troubleſome, &c.* He gave his hand to each of them, who departed from him with much ſorrow and weeping.

On the twenty-ſeventh of May, being the day of his deceaſe, he ſeemed to ſpeak more ſtrongly, and with leſs difficulty; but this was but lightning before death. About eight o' clock in the evening certain ſigns of preſent death appeared; and Beza having then left him, ſome went to acquaint him; and he preſently returned, but found that he had yielded up his ſpirit to God, without the leaſt ſtruggling.

The night and the day following there was great weeping and lamenting all over the city. Many citizens and ſtrangers deſired to ſee him after he was dead, and among the reſt queen Elizabeth's ambaſſadors, who being ſent into France, were then at Geneva.

The next day his body was put in a coffin, and that evening he was buried. The ſenators, and almoſt the whole city followed the corps with many tears. He was buried in the common church-yard of the large palace, as he had deſired, without any pomp, or tomb-ſtone afterwards.

ULRICUS ZUINGLIUS, *the Reformer of Switzerland.*

ZUINGLIUS was a cotemporary of Luther, and an eminent inſtrument of God in the great work of the reformation. He was of a good family, and born on the firſt of January, 1487, at Wildehauſen, in the county of Tokenburg, which is a diſtinct republic in alliance with the Switzers or Helvetic Body.

He received the firſt rudiments of learning at Baſil, where he was made Doctor in 1505: and the next year began to preach with ſuch good ſucceſs, that he was elected paſtor of Glars, the chief town in the canton of that name.

He continued there till 1516, when the reputation he had acquired by his ſermons, occaſioned him to be called the Hermitage, a place famous for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary.

He was ſoon after invited to Zurick, the capital of the canton ſo called, to undertake the principal charge of that city, and to preach the word of God among the Inhabitants.

It was about the year 1517, that Luther

Luther began to be famous. Zuinglius shewed himself at first very favourable to Luther, and recommended his books to his auditors, though he would not preach them himself.

But a Franciscan Friar being sent by the pope to publish indulgencies at Zurick, Zuinglius then followed the example of Luther, by declaiming powerfully against the friar and his indulgencies.

Hugh, bishop of Constance, believed that Zuinglius was displeased only with the abuse of these things, and exhorted him to proceed under his patronage. But Zuinglius went farther, and solicited that prelate, as also the papal legate in Switzerland, to favour the doctrine he intended to settle, which he called evangelical truth. They refused his proposals, and he opposed the popish ceremonies from the year 1519 to 1523, when he found an opportunity of establishing his own doctrine, and of abolishing the superstition of Rome.

Zuinglius conducted the Reformation in Switzerland with as much progress as Luther did that in Saxony, though he carried himself with more moderation and prudence: he propounded his doctrine in his sermons, which he preached four years successively in Zurick; and thereby prepared the minds of the people for its reception: but he would not attempt to make any alterations in the divine worship, without the concurrence of the magistrates; for which purpose he caused an assembly to be called by the Senate of Zurick in January 1523, when he proposed several articles which were agreed to, some of which are as follow: *That the Gospel is the only rule of faith: the church is communion of saints: we ought to acknowledge no other head of the church but Jesus Christ: all traditions should be rejected: there is no other sacrifice but that of Jesus Christ upon the cross, and the mass is no sacrifice: we have need of no other intercessor with God, than Jesus Christ. The habits of Monks smell of hypocrisy. Marriage is allowed to all men, &c.*— with many more of the like nature, immediately levelled at the papistical errors.

It is easy to imagine, that after this, the doctrine of Zuinglius became general through the canton of Zurick; where also, after another assembly, the Reformation was carried still further: the Mass put down, relicks taken out of churches, and other inventions of Popery abolished; while by preaching, writing, and publishing, Zuinglius manfully defended the evangelical truth.

There was nothing in which Zuinglius differed so much from Luther, as in the matter of the Lord's Supper.

Luther, it is evident by his doctrine of Consubstantiality, could not wholly abstract himself from the Roman Catholic doctrine. Zuinglius was more disengaged; he ordered, *That the holy table should be covered with a white cloth, on which were to be set the patine full of leavened bread, and vessels filled with wine; that the minister and deacons should stand by the table, where*

they were to exhort the people to approach with reverence. After which one of the deacons should read the institution of the Lord's Supper, taken out of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and another should repeat a part of the 9th chapter of St. John: that the minister should then read the creed, and exhort all the communicants to examine their own consciences, that they might not be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, by receiving them unworthily: that the minister and people should then kneel and say the Lord's prayer: after which, the minister should take the bread in his hands, and deliver the words of the institution of the Lord's supper, with an audible voice; then give the bread and wine to the deacons, who should distribute them to the people, while the minister should read the discourse which our Saviour had with his disciples before his passion, as related in the Gospel of St. John.

This was the form of administering the Sacrament, which Zuinglius appointed to be used. He maintained, in his doctrine concerning the Sacrament, that these words of Jesus Christ, *This is my body, this is my blood*, are to be understood thus: This signifies my body and blood: this bread and this wine are a figure of my blood; this is a testimony and pledge, that my body shall be delivered up, and broken for you upon the cross, and that my blood shall be shed for you.

From whence it follows, that not only the bread and wine exist after consecration; but also that the real body and blood of Jesus Christ are not present in the Euchaist, and that the bread and wine are only a figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, communicated in a spiritual manner by faith.

Luther strongly opposed and wrote against this doctrine of Zuinglius, who answered him, and propagated his opinions very widely through Switzerland; opinions, which as they were more removed from, so were they far more offensive than those of Luther to the Papists.

In the year 1531, a civil war began in Switzerland, between the five Catholic Cantons, and those of Zurick and Bern.

The Zurickese were defeated in their own territories, with the loss of four hundred men. Zuinglius, who was desirous to let the world see he was ready to defend his doctrine as well by the sword as the pen, was killed in this action, at the head of a batalion, in the forty-fourth year of his age.

Great cruelty was shewn to his body, and it was attempted to be burnt. He was called the blessed servant and saint of God; and his doctrine was defended by his successor Henry Bullinger: but in 1538, by a treaty of accord, the disputes between the Lutherans and Zuinglians were concluded.

The works of Zuinglius, in four volumes folio, with an apology for his doctrine, were published by Rodolphus Gualterius, The Switzers paid the utmost regard to his memory, and his remains were interred with all the pomp of a Grecian funeral for a man who

who had devoted his life to the ſervice of his country. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius were more eſteemed by the learned men of their times, than any other of the reformers, becauſe they had more moderation. Eraſmus was threatened with an attack from Zuinglius; and he declared, that he feared not ten Zuinglius's. Yet he did not care to engage in combat with this one Zuinglius about the Euchariſt; and from the manner in which he ſpoke of the performance of Oecolampadius on that ſubject, it appears, that he thought it not ſo eaſy a matter to refute thoſe divines.

Very true it is, that the ſtruggles of the Reformers cauſed many diſorders and threw a terrible perſecution upon them and their ſucceſſors; but it was through the fault of that church to which Eraſmus wanted to remain united, and which would hear of no amendments. Nor is it to be forgotten, that Eraſmus could eaſily have embraced the ſentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his mother the church would have give him leave.

Zuinglius had good ſkill in muſic, and a love for it. He always ſtudied ſtanding, and was always a great ſtudent. He received a moſt courteous letter from Pope Adrianthe the Sixth, and might have had any favours, if he would have declared himſelf a friend to the ſee of Rome. But ſteady to truth and a good conſcience, he gave up all temporary emoluments; and his memory thereby is become dear to every lover of religion and liberty; which we and many other parts of Europe owe to the generous efforts of ſuch reformers as himſelf, who boldly ſtood in the gap, and defended that cauſe, which is, of all others, moſt important to rational beings.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

PHILIP Melancthon was born at Bretten, in the Palatinate upon the Rhine, on the ſixteenth of February, in the Year 1493. He was the ſon of George Schwartſed, * a famous armourer in the time of Maximilian, to whoſe favour he greatly recommended himſelf, by making that Emperor a ſuit of armour, in which he fought, and eaſily conquered, one Claudius Batarus, an Italian bully, who ſent him a challenge. The father of Melancthon died in the year 1508, and left him and a younger brother, whoſe name was George, to the care of their mother.

Melancthon gave very early marks of his great genius. The care of his education was chiefly committed to Beuterus, his grand-father's time being much taken up with the affairs of the Elector Palatines whom he

* This word in the German language ſignifies black earth, which is the meaning alſo of Melancthon in the Greek.

ſerved

ſerved as engineer and commiſſary of the artillery. He ſtudied firſt in the place of his nativity, at a public ſchool, and then under a private tutor.

It being publicly known that his maſter was afflicted with a ſcandalous diſtemper, he was ſent to Pfortſheim, a ſmall city in the Marquitate of Baden, where there was a famous college: at this place he lodged with a relation, who was ſiſter to the famous Reuchlin: this introduced him to the acquaintance of that learned man, whoſe eſteem he ſoon obtained, and ever afterwards preſerved.

From Pfortſheim he ſoon after went to Tubingen, and from thence to Heidelberg, where he was matriculated on the 23th of October, 1509. In this place he made ſuch a conſiderable progreſs, that he was appointed Preceptor to the ſons of Count Leonſtein, and was made bachelor, though under fourteen years of age.

But being affronted at their refuſing him the degree of maſter of philoſophy, upon account of his youth, and finding the air of Heidelberg did not agree with his conſtitution, he left that academy, and returned to Tubingen, where he continued ſix years.

During this time he gave many and ſurpriſing proofs of his extenſive capacity. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote a comedy, which he dedicated to Reuchlin, before whom it was acted, and met with general applauſe. He diligently attended the lectures of all the profeſſors, and publickly explained moſt of the claſſics.

He aſſiſted Reuchlin alſo in his quarrel with the monks, and applied himſelf greatly to the reading of the ſacred ſcriptures. At this place he publiſhed ſome works, as firſt fruits, from which it ſufficiently appeared what a crop might afterwards be expected.

He was ſo remarkable in 1515, that Eraſmus then ſaid of him, *Good God! what hopes may we not conceive of Philip Melancthon, who, as yet very young, and almoſt a boy, is equally to be admired for his knowledge in both languages! what quickneſs of invention! what purity of diction! what vaſtneſs of memory! what variety of reading! what modeſty and gracefulneſs of behaviour!* an encomium this, which Melancthon well deſerved. In 1518 he accepted the Greek profeſſorſhip in the univerſity of Wittenberg, which the recommendation of Reuchlin obtained for him from Frederic the Elector of Saxony. His inauguration ſpeech was ſo extremely elegant, that it removed the contempt to which his low ſtature and mein expoſed him, and gained him univerſal admiration.

In this univerſity he ſoon contracted an intimate acquaintance with Luther, who was profeſſor of divinity there. They went together to Leipſic, to diſpute with Eckius, in the year 1519.

Melancthon paſſed the following years under a complication of labours; writing many books, and making journies to aſſiſt in the founding of colleges, and viſiting churches; whenever his abſence interfered with the read-

reading of his lectures, he always refuſed to receive his ſalary: a noble inſtance this, of the diſintereſtedneſs and generoſity of his nature.

At this time there were many churches in Germany, where the Ethies of Ariſtotle took place of the refined morality of Chriſt Jeſus, and were read publicly every Sunday. This ſhameful cuſtom ſo much incenſed Luther, that he abſolutely rejected every part of Ariſtotle's philoſophy; and advanced, that they could not reaſon according to the principles of this pagan, without forſaking the maxims of Jeſus Chriſt. Melancthon treated the ſubject with much more moderation; and Gritzer, to combat the hatred which Luther expreſſed againſt the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, oppoſed Melancthon to him and quoted a paſſage from an oration of his in praiſe of Ariſtotle, wherein he ſays, *Now I will add ſomething concerning philoſophy, why I judge that of Ariſtotle, to be the moſt uſeful in the church; it is agreed by all; that his logic is moſt neceſſary for us in the church, becauſe Ariſtotle's method and order defines fitly, decides juſtly, connects aptly, judges and ſeparates monſtrous connections. Thoſe who are ignorant of this art, tear the ſubject whereof they treat, as puppies tear rags; for I like to uſe Plato's ſimilitude. Plato juſtly extols it, by calling it the fire which Prometheus brought from Heaven, to kindle a light in the minds of men, to enable them to judge rightly. But he no where gives the precepts of this art; we cannot therefore be without Ariſtotle's logic, as that of the ſtoics is not extant.* This quotation eminently ſhews the candour and moderation of his temper.

Melancthon profeſſed his ſtedfaſtneſs to Luther, in an epiſtle he wrote to Eraſmus, in anſwer to an apology he made for oppoſing Luther's doctrine, and never would forſake it. But as to the diſſertation of Eraſmus upon free-will, he, with his uſual moderation, obſerves, *We are not at all ſhocked at it: for it would be mere tyranny, to hinder any man from giving his opinion in the church of Chriſt, concerning any points of religion. This ought to be free to every man, who will deliver his ſentiments without paſſion and partiality; your moderation in that matter hath been applauded; and yet ſuffer me to tell you, that ſometimes you bite too hard. But Luther is not eaſily provoked as not to bear diſſent; and he promiſeth to obſerve the ſame moderation in his reply. It is alſo your duty not to bring an odium upon a cauſe which the holy ſcriptures evidently favour. As you yourſelf have not as yet condemned it, if you attack it with vehemence, you will wound your own conſcience: you know that we ought to examine, and not to deſpiſe prophecies.*

In 1525, we find Eraſmus complaining that Melancthon laboured under an inſomnia, or ſleepleſſneſs, a diſtemper common to ſtudious people: and in the ſame epiſtle he ſays, that Frederic of Saxony had lately bequeathed Melancthon a thouſand gold florins; a remarkable inſtance of the eſteem and reſpect in which this prince held him, and an honour almoſt peculiar to this great man, it being as uncommon for princes to

leave legacies to ſcholars, as for ſcholars to leave legacies to princes.

In March 1529, the emperor called the Dyet of Spires, where Melancthon attended among the other reformers, who had long diſputes about religion with the Romaniſts; and were ſupported by the Elector of Saxony, and ſome other princes.

In this Dyet they obtained the name of Proteſtants, ſo called from the proteſtation they made againſt the doctrines of the Romaniſts. This proteſtation was ſigned by all the princes of the reforming party.

While Melancthon was at Spires, he made a little journey to Bretten, to ſee his mother. This good woman aſked him, what ſhe muſt believe, amidſt theſe diſputes? ſhe repeated to him the prayers ſhe was uſed to make, and which contained nothing that was ſuperſtitious: *Continue*, ſays he, *to believe and pray as you have done hitherto, and never trouble yourſelf about controverſies.*

This, and many other ſayings of Melancthon, plainly ſhew, that religious diſputes were highly diſagreeable to him; and that nothing but a ſincere love of truth could have engaged him in them.

In June, 1530, the Dyet of Augſburgh was held. Melancthon was employed to draw up the Confeſſion of Faith, which is called the Augſburg Confeſſion. He drew up this confeſſion out of the memoirs ſent to the elector of Saxony. It coſt him much trouble to reduce them to a proper form. He divided it into two parts: the firſt contained twenty-one articles, upon the chief points of religion; as the unity of God, original ſin, incarnation, juſtification, the goſpel miniſtry, the church, the civil government, the day of judgment, free-will, the cauſe of ſin, faith, good works, and the adoration of ſaints.

The other part was concerning the ceremonies and uſuages of the church, which the Proteſtants ſaid were abuſed: ſuch as the communion in both kinds, the marriages of prieſts, confeſſion, abſtinence from meat, monaſtic vows, and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

This confeſſion, after having been many times reviſed and corrected by Melancthon, was at laſt approved by Luther, who, according to Seckendorf, declared that he was very glad this occaſion was offered, of letting the world ſee what he and his followers taught.

This confeſſion was ſigned by the proteſtant princes, and read before the Emperor, in a ſpecial aſſembly of the empire. It was afterwards delivered to the Romiſh divines, to be examined; but no agreement could poſſibly be made.

It was at laſt determined, that a ſmall number of perſons, on both ſides, ſhould be choſe, who might diſpute amicably together, and conſult if they could poſſibly find out ſome way of agreement.

Melancthon was one of thoſe choſen by the proteſtant party. They met, and agreed upon fifteen of the twenty-one articles of the Augſburg confeſſion. Melancthon, and the other Lutherans agreed to theſe points of doctrine, that men ſhould not be ſaid to be juſtified by

by faith alone, but by faith and grace: That good works are neceſſary: That reprobates are included in the church: That men have a free will: That the bleſſed Saints intercede for us, and may be honoured.

In the other ſeven articles they agreed, That the body and Blood of Chriſt are included in both elements; and that they would not condemn the laity, who would receive the Euchariſt only in one kind; that the uſual veneration ſhould be given to the holy Sacrament: That the public maſs ſhould be celebrated with the uſual ceremonies; and that they ſhould obſerve what is eſſential in the conſecration: That the faſts on the Vigils might be ſtill obſerved, and ſome holydays kept: That the biſhops ſhould hold their juriſdictions; and that Popiſh prieſts, preachers, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons ſhould ſubmit to them in ſpiritual matters; and that their excommunications ſhould not be contemned.

But the diſputes ran ſo high concerning the maſs, vows, and celibacy of prieſts, that the breach ſtill continued as wide as ever. Melancthon's ſtrong inclination to peace might have cauſed him to come nearer, had he been inveſted with full power; but the rigid Proteſtants had been diſſatisfied with his condeſcenſion, and ordered him to proceed no farther. An apology for the Augſbourg confeſſion was afterwards publiſhed by this learned divine, but met with little approbation from the Romiſh party.

Servetus about this time publiſhed a book againſt the doctrine of the trinity, for which he was afterwards burnt as a heretic. Melancthon, in 1533, wrote a letter to Joachim Camerarius, wherein he told him of Servetus and his books; and ſays, with great judgment and candor, *Good God! among poſterity what tragedies will this queſtion raiſe, whether the Logos, or word, be an hypoſtaſis, ſubſtance, or perſon; and whether the ſpirit is ſo likewiſe? For my part, I have recourſe ſolely to thoſe words of ſcripture, that command us to invoke Chriſt, by aſcribing the honour of divinity to him; which carries along with it a great conſolation to us; but it is of no advantage to examine the real and proper diſtinction of the hypoſtaſis, or perſon.* Advice this, which all thoſe, who pretend to enter into the mode of the Deity's exiſtence, would do well to follow.

Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, much deſired to ſee and converſe with Melancthon; his learning, piety, and moderation being highly celebrated throughout all Europe; but neither of theſe Monarchs ever ſaw him.

The Lutherans could not agree with the Zuinglians, concerning the Sacrament, at the ſynod of Conſtance, in 1534: nor at Baſil and Eiſenach, in 1536.

After this, there was a project of *A form of their union*, drawn up by Melancthon ſignifying that they acknowledged the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt were truly and ſubſtantially preſent, given and received in the Sacrament, with the bread and wine; though there was no tranſubſtantiation or incloſing the body of Jeſus Chriſt in the bread, nor any durable union of

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the body of Jesus Christ and the bread, when it is not used: for in giving the bread, it is the body of Jesus Christ by a sacramental union: so that, in distributing the bread, the body is present and given; yet, when it is not in the use, but the bread is in the pyx, or is carried in procession, the body of Jesus Christ is not there. That the sacrament has no dependence on the worthiness of the minister: and that the body and blood of Christ are truly given to the unworthy, and received by them. To what absurdities were these wise and good men reduced, by endeavouring to make the most unreasonable doctrine reasonable.

In 1541, Melancthon assisted at the conference of Spires and Ratisbon, when the controversies between the Romanists and Protestants were warmly disputed.

At the former the Romanists chose Eckius, and the Protestants appointed Melancthon, to confer about the points in controversy: but after disputing three days, on Original sin, the conference was dissolved by order of the emperor.

In 1543, Melancthon went with the elector of Cologne, to assist him in introducing the reformation into his diocese: but this proved ineffectual. Melancthon had much of his time taken up by that affair of the Interim: he attended seven conferences upon this subject, in 1548, and wrote all the pieces that were presented there, as also the censure of that Interim.

About this time, Melancthon was again expected in England by King Edward VI. Upon hearing this, Bishop Latimer said in one of his sermons before the King, *I hear say master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither: I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year: the King should never want it in his coffers at the year's end.*

Melancthon was one of the deputies whom Maurice elector of Saxony was to send to the council of Trent, in the year 1552. He waited some time at Nuremberg for a safe conduct: but he returned from thence to Wittenberg on account of the war, which was ready to break out. His last conference with the doctors of the Romish religion, was at Worms, in 1557.

This great and good man, wearied out with labour, and languishing under a weak state of body, breathed his last at Wittenberg, on the 9th of April, 1560, which was the sixty-third day of his sixty-fourth year: he was honourably buried in the church of the castle, and his funeral oration was spoken by Winslemius, a doctor of physic and professor of the Greek tongue.

Some days before he died, he wrote on a piece of paper, in two columns, the reasons why he ought not to be sorry for leaving this world; one of the columns, contained the blessings death would procure him; the other contained the evils from which death would deliver him.

The first column had six heads;

First, that he should come to light.

Secondly, that he should see God.

Thirdly, that he should contemplate the Son of God.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That he ſhould underſtand thoſe admirable myſteries, which he could not comprehend in this life.

Fifthly, why we are created ſuch as we are.

Sixthly, what is the union of the two natures in Jeſus Chriſt.

The ſecond column had only two articles;

Firſt, that he ſhould ſin no more.

Secondly, that he ſhould no longer be expoſed to the vexations and rage of divines.

Melancthon had two ſons and two daughters, by a daughter of a Burgomaſter of Wittenberg, whom he married in 1520, and buried in 1557. His daughter Anne was married to George Sabinus of Wittenberg, in 1536, when ſhe was only fourteen years old.

Sabinus was one of the beſt poets of his time; and Eraſmus, in 1534, had highly recommended him to Melancthon.

Sabinus and his wife, who was very handſome, and learned, underſtanding Latin extremely well, retired into Pruſſia, in 1543, to the great grief of Melancthon; and ſhe died at Reniſberg in 1547.

The temper of Sabinus and Melancthon did not well agree; the one was deſirous to obtain civil employment, the other was fond of learned retirement: this raiſed ſome diſputes between them. Melancthon's paternal affection appears very ſtrong from the following ſtory: a Frenchman found him one day holding a book in one one hand, and rocking a cradle with the other; Melancthon ſeeing him ſurprized at this, made ſuch a pious diſcourſe to him concerning the duty of a father, and the ſtate of grace which children are in with God, that this ſtranger went away much more learned than when he came in.

His learning, moderation, and piety are highly to be applauded. He ſpent the greateſt part of his time in ſtudy, and wrote many books; the number of them is prodigious: a chronological liſt of them was publiſhing in 1582 by Rylius; and large extracts were made from his theological writings by Chriſtopher Pezelius; this work, containing eight volumes in octavo, has been ſeveral times publiſhed at Neuſtat.

Melancthon finiſhed few pieces, and publiſhed many imperfect; he found his writings were profitable to the youth, and he rather choſe to print many of them, than to perfect a ſmall number, as he preferred the advantage of the public to his own glory. And we may believe, that the happy genius wherewith he was naturally endowed, gave him ſome aſſurance, that his works would be eſteemed, though unfiniſhed.

His Latin verſes much pleaſed Julius Scaliger; and his Latin catechiſm and his poſtiles were tranſlated into the German by Gaſpar Bruſchius, poet laureat to Ferdinand king of the Romans. Luther wrote one day upon his table, "Res & verba Philippus; verba ſine rebus Eraſmus: ris ſine verbis Lutherus; nec res nec verba Caroloſtadius."

His moderation was but ill ſuited to the time in which he lived, when

each party hated the other with the most bitter hatred; yet his candor seems to have blunted the edge of severe rancour, since he held the professor's chair forty years, without ever being assured, as he himself declares, that he should not lose it before the end of the week.

His piety and resignation appears from what he said, in answer to the menaces his enemies made, to drive him out of his country. "I am not dejected, says he, at the cruel clamour of my enemies, who have threatened they will not leave me a footstep in Germany; but I commit myself to the son of God; if I am driven away alone, I am determined to go to Palestine; and in those lurking places of Jerom, by calling upon the Son of God, to write clear testimonies of that divine doctrine, and in death, to recommend my soul to God."

In a word, he seems to have been, if not the greatest, the best man of his time, from the humanity of his temper, the candour of his sentiments, and the exemplary holiness of his life.

MARTIN BUCER,
the MODERATE REFORMER.

THIS reformer was born at Schelestadt, a town of Alsace, in the year 1491. At the age of seven he took the religious habit in the order of St. Dominic, and, with the leave of the prior of his convent, went to Heidelberg to learn logic and philosophy.

Having applied himself afterwards to divinity, he made it his endeavour to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew. About this time some of Erasmus's pieces came abroad, which he read with avidity. Meeting afterwards with certain tracts of Luther's, and comparing the doctrine there delivered with the sacred scriptures, he began to entertain doubts concerning several things in the popish religion.

His uncommon learning and his eloquence, which was assisted by a strong and musical voice, together with his free censure of the vices of the times, recommended him to Frederic, the elector palatine, who made him one of his chaplains.

In 1523, he was admitted into the number of the reformed preachers in Strasbourg, and subscribed a book with them, which they published in 1524, setting forth the reasons, which induced them to renounce popery; but he wrote some tracts in 1527, in defence of the Zuinglians against Brentius and Pomeranus, who were Lutherans.

He assisted in the year 1529, as deputy of the church of Strasburgh, in the conferences of Marpurg, where they endeavoured to pacify the dissentions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians.

The Sacramentarians presented their confession of faith at the diet of Augsburgh in 1531. It was drawn up by Bucer and Capito, and approved by the senate of Strasburg: they held that men are only justified by the merits of Jesus Christ, and faith; but that

that faith ought to be attended with charity; and they allowed only of two ſacraments, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

About this period the Lutherans and Zuinglians were divided with reſpect to the Lord's Supper, and ſeparated on that account. The former denied having any union with the ſacramentarians; nor were theſe able to bear the opinion of Luther: but there was a third party gathered out of both, who were ſenſible that they were not obliged to hold up their diviſions, and alſo perſuaded them that their opinions were not ſo different, as was commonly thought, and that they might eaſily unite. Bucer, then a miniſter at Strasburgh, was at the head of his party, and undertook, purely out of a deſire of reconciling the Lutherans and Zuinglians, to draw up ſuch a confeſſion of faith as both ſides might approve.

The taſk was difficult to perform: Luther, and his followers had always aſſerted that the body and blood of Chriſt were really with the bread and wine, in the euchariſt. Zuinglius and his adherents on the contrary held, that the bread and wine were only ſigns of the body and blood of Chriſt.

Though theſe two propoſitions were thus directly contrary, Bucer found out a medium, which he thought might ſatisfy both parties; namely, that the bread and wine remained the ſame ſubſtance that they were before conſecration, without any change: but, that by receiving them the ſubſtance of the real body and blood of Chriſt were ſpiritually, and by faith received: he made uſe of the ſame kind of expreſſions as were employed by the four imperial cities Strasburg, Conſtance, Memminghen, and Landau, and preſented by them to the diet of Augsburg. He alſo made the ſame declaration to Luther, to perſuade him that the Sacramentarians were not of a contrary opinion to him about the euchariſt; but Luther knew the opinion of the Zuinglians, and gave no credit to Bucer's aſſertion, accordingly he wrote a very ſevere letter to the ſenate of Francfort on the occaſion: in which after clearly ſhewing the difference between his own doctrine and the Zuinglian, he charges the Zuinglians with equivocation and diſingenuity: adding, that if any one knows his miniſter to be a Zuinglian, he had better remain his whole life without the Sacrament than take it at his hands.

To this letter the miniſters of Francfort returned an apology, wherein they applied the expreſſions uſed by Bucer, and affirmed that believers receive the true body and blood of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper, and do really eat and drink it for the nouriſhment of their ſouls: that though the bread and wine are not changed in their own nature: yet it cannot be ſaid that there is nothing in the Lord's Supper except them: but that it is the Sacrament of the true body and blood which God has given us for the nouriſhment of our ſouls.

The Zuinglians on the contrary ſuſpected that Bucer was departed from their opinion; this ſuſpicion he was forced to remove by aſſuring them, that

that he was of the ſame opinion which he maintained at Bern: he added, that he certainly knew, and could prove, that the doctrines of Luther and Zuinglius differed only in terms; and that the preſence of the body of Jeſus Chriſt, which Luther aſſerted in the Lord's Supper, was not contrary to the opinion of Zuinglius.

The miniſters and magiſtrates of the reformed Swiſs cantons met at Baſil, in January 1536, to draw up a confeſſion of faith. Bucer and Capito went thither, and propoſed an union with the Lutherans, aſſuring them that Luther was much relaxed with regard to the Zuinglians, and deſired nothing more than to come to an agreement with them; and therefore he prayed them, ſo to moderate the expreſſions of their confeſſion of faith, which they were about to draw up, eſpecially in the articles reſpecting the euchariſt, and the efficacy of the ſacraments, as that they might forward the union by omitting ſuch words as might occaſion a conteſt.

This they partly obtained of the miniſters from the confeſſion of faith which they had compoſed. They owned that the ſacraments of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper were not mere ſigns, but compoſed of ſigns, and things ſignified: that water was the ſign in Baptiſm, and the thing ſignified was regeneration and adoption: that in the euchariſt, the bread and wine are the ſigns, and the thing ſignified is the communion of the body of Chriſt received by faith: that the body and blood of Chriſt are offered to the faithful in the Lord's Supper, that Jeſus Chriſt may live in them, and they in him; not that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are naturally united to the bread and wine, or included in the elements, or carnally preſent: but becauſe they are ſymbols by which we have a real communion with the body and blood of Chriſt to nouriſh the ſoul ſpiritually.

This confeſſion of faith was alſo approved in a ſecond aſſembly of the magiſtrates and miniſters of the proteſtant cantons, held at Baſil in March the ſame year.

Upon theſe declarations it was agreed, that an anſwer ſhould be ſent to Luther, which was drawn up and read two days after in the aſſembly. The Switzers were very careful it ſhould be expreſſed, that in their joining with Luther, they would not change their opinion of the Lord's Supper; for they declared they did not enter into that union, till they were aſſured by Bucer and Capito, that Luther approved their confeſſion of faith made at Baſil, with the expoſition which they had given of it; and becauſe he had declared to them that Jeſus Chriſt was at the right hand of his Father, and did not come down in any manner into the Lord's Supper; and that he did not grant any preſence of Jeſus Chriſt in the euchariſt, nor any manducation contrary to the chriſtian faith.

They alſo declared, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt were received and eaten in the Lord's Supper, but only ſo far as they were truly taken and received by faith: and that they would not recede from their opi-

opinion of faith, and their declaration: that as Luther was of the same opinion, they were filled with extreme joy that they might live in peace and union with him, and keep up this agreement, avoiding all discord.

Bucer, on all occasions, spoke more strongly than the other ministers upon the merit of good works; and if he varied from himself in that point, it is to be imputed to the difficulties which he met with in the matter, or to the improvement he made as he grew old.

He gave this last reason in excuse of himself, when he found that some people were offended that he was not sufficiently uniform in his works. Reason and charity require to believe that he acted in all this according to his own persuasion, and not out of policy.

His commentary on the second Psalm is sufficient to shew, that the Protestants and Romanists might easily agree on the subject of good works, would they but banish scholastic chicanery and party animosity.

Bucer, in his discourses and writings, always made profession of Lutheranism, accommodated to the new opinion of England. It was a false assertion that he made a separate sect. He continued always united with one of the protestant communions; tho' the stricter sort of each part did not approve his moderation, or remissness, as it was termed.

The friends of Calvin accused him of introducing a new kind of popery, which they called Buceriſm, in opposition to Calviniſm. This consisted principally in his approving episcopacy. But Calvin denied that he ever laid it to Bucer's charge; and only wished that he would not give a handle for calumny, while he followed the middle way, which was manifest from all his writings; especially from the form of reformation prescribed to Herman, archbishop of Cologne, and what he wrote for the reformation in England.

As Bucer came nearer to the church of Rome than Luther, Calvin departed farther from it than Luther; so that there arose two denominations besides Lutheraniſm; viz. Buceriſm and Calviniſm.

Calvin confessed that Buceriſm was more tolerable than Calviniſm, if the matter was not to be tried by the scriptures; and that Bucer studied peace too much; whereas he himself measured all things by truth. These are his words to Bucer: "You have no occasion to make any excuse to me that you are not erecting a new popery: but I would have your integrity so well known to all the world, as that no room might be left for suspicion. It is also unnecessary for you to endeavour not to take in any thing of Calviniſm. If we might vary from the scripture, I know very well how much more tolerable Buceriſm is than Calviniſm."

Calvin, by letter, exhorted Bucer to order matters in such a manner, as that the reformation of England might be well purged of all remains of popery: letting him know, that if he neglected pains, he would never be able to wipe out the ill suspicions which several had conceived of his inclin-

inclining to both ſides. "This particularly I recommend to you, ſays he, that you free yourſelf from envy, which you know you labour under without cauſe, among ſeveral perſons; who always are calling you the author and approver of indifferent councils. I know that this ſuſpicion is ſo deeply rooted in the minds of ſome people, that you will ſcarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing; and ſome there are who ſlander you, not out of miſtake, but mere malice."

"In ſhort, this evil is, as it were, deſtined for you, and you will hardly be able to eſcape it; you muſt, however, be cautious not to give the ignorant occaſion to think ill of you, nor a handle to the wicked to reproach you."

It does not appear how far Bucer availed himſelf of theſe admonitions: yet Calvin teſtifies, that he expected great things from him, had not death taken him away too ſoon.

Archbiſhop Cranmer, who had ſettled Bucer at Cambridge, wrote to him for his opinion upon the point in diſpute between his grace, and Dr. Hooper, who had accepted the king's nomination to the biſhopric of Glouceſter, yet refuſed to be conſecrated in the epiſcopal habit, without which Cranmer objected to perform the ceremony.

Bucer's anſwer, in which Peter Martyr joined him, ſatisfied Hooper; for though, they told him, in the buſineſs of religious rites they were for keeping as cloſe as poſſible to the holy ſcriptures and the moſt uncorrupt ages of the church, yet they could not apprehend the ſubſtance of religion was affected by the cloaths we wear; which they thought were things of a nature wholly indifferent, and left to our liberty by the word of God.

Bucer died of a complication of diſorders on the 27th of February, 1551, aged ſixty-one years, and was buried at St. Mary's in Cambridge, with great funeral ſolemnity. He was a plain man both in perſon and apparel, and was therefore, at his own requeſt, privately created doctor without any ſolemnity. Boſſuet ſays he was pretty well learned, of a flexible ſpirit, and more fertile in diſtinctions than the moſt refined ſcholaſtics: a fine preacher, ſomewhat heavy in his ſtyle, but reſpected for his ſtature and the ſound of his voice.

Biſhop Burnet, in his hiſtory of the reformation, informs us, that "Bucer was a very learned, judicious, pious, and moderate perſon; perhaps inferior to none of all the reformers for learning; but for zeal, true piety, and a moſt tender care of preſerving unity among the foreign churches, Melancthon and he, may, without any injury done to the reſt, be ranked a party by themſelves." And even Cochlæus, though an antagoniſt in religious controverſy, acknowledged, that Bucer and Melancthon were very learned.

In order the better to know that moderation which procured Bucer his ſurname of, The Moderate Reformer, his writings ſhould be conſulted, as printed in Germany: not the Geneneva

neva editions, as they have been invidiouſly corrupted.

His works, according to Voſſius were very moderate; and we are told, that he uſed (as often happens among learned men as long as they live) to reviſe his lucubrations; and add or take away, and even retract ſome things.

Five years after his death, in the reign of queen Mary, his body was dug up and publicly burned, and his tomb demoliſhed; but it was afterwards ſet up by order of queen Elizabeth. His firſt wife was a nun, by whom he had thirteen children; ſhe dying of the plague he married another, and, according to ſome, on her death took a third wife.

A liſt of his numerous writings may be ſeen in Moreri, to whom we beg leave to refer our readers, deſirous of further ſatisfaction reſpecting this celebrated man.

HUGO GROTIUS.

HUGO GROTIUS, or GROT, which is his proper name, was born at Delft, the 10th of April 1583. He was the ſon of John de Grot, doctor of laws, burgomaſter of Delft, and curator of the univerſity of Leyden, and of Alida Averſchrie, of a family of the firſt diſtinction. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions. Nature beſtowed upon him great penetration, a ſolid judgment, and a wonderful memory. His father forgot nothing which might cultivate theſe good qualities. He was himſelf his governor: and gave equal attention to the forming his underſtanding and his heart.

His intention was much leſs to make him a learned than a good man. The preceptor he choſe (named Luſſon) was chiefly employed to ſecond him in the laſt particular; and this man had ſufficient underſtanding and virtues to teach him, at the ſame time, the divine and human ſciences.

At the age of eight years, Grotius gave ſtriking proofs of his progreſs in the Belles Lettres, by ſome very pretty elegiac verſes; and a vigorous and conſtant application gained him an infinite ſtock of learning.

On his arrival at Paris, our learned youth found he was advantageouſly known there before. He was ſought after by all men of letters, and by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction.

Grotius took the advantage of his ſtay in France to get himſelf created doctor of law; and, after having ſeen there the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons, for their rank and learning, he returned to Holland, well pleaſed with his journey.

On his return to France, while the ſtudy of law and poetry employed one part of his time, he ſpent the other in publiſhing the works he had prepared for the preſs.

The moſt learned critics, many of whom were good verſifiers, agreed that Grotius excelled in poetry. Caſaubon being informed that Grotius had written ſome verſes on the death of Theodore Beza, ſays, that he heard, with infinite pleaſure, that ſo great

great a man had his elegy written by ſo great a poet.

At this time he thought only of following the bar, and becoming an able advocate: he had pleaded his firſt cauſe at Delft, when but ſeventeen, with that univerſal applauſe, which he ever maintained whilſt he continued in the profeſſion.

His ardor, however, for the ſtudy of the law, ſoon abated. He was even upon the point of quitting it, when he was nominated advocate-general of the fiſc for Holland and Zealand.

He took poſſeſſion of this important office in 1607, and filled it with ſo much reputation, that the ſtates augmented his ſalary, and promiſed him a place in the court of Holland.

At the time of his marriage he was employed on a work of great importance, which was not publiſhed till the year following. This was his freedom to the ocean, on the trade of the Dutch to the Indies: dedicated to all the free nations in Chriſtendom; in which he proves it to be unjuſt in the Portugueze to appropriate to themſelves the excluſive right to trade in the Eaſt-Indian ſea, under a pretence that they were the firſt who ſailed thither; ſhews, that by the law of nations, navigation is free to all the world; that the ocean is immenſe and common to all mankind; that it is abſurd to imagine that thoſe who firſt navigate a ſea, ſhould be judged to have taken poſſeſſion of it; that by the law of nations, the commerce between nations is free, and cannot be prohibited without injuſtice; and laſtly that the pope could not grant the Portugueſe an excluſive trade to the Indies. This work was printed without his knowledge and publiſhed againſt his conſent.

Being raiſed to the moſt eminent poſts in the republic, our philoſopher was obliged to pay attention to the glory and intereſts of his fellow-citizens.

He had, on this account, ſome quarrels with the Engliſh, reſpecting the fiſhery in the North ſea. He even went to England to confer with the miniſtry upon it, who did not give him the ſatisfaction he expected: however he had reaſon to be pleaſed with the politeneſs of king James, who, Caſaubon informs us, gave Grotius a moſt gracious reception, and was charmed with his converſation.

On his return to the ſtates, Grotius was obliged to diſcuſs a point reſpecting privateers, as delicate as important, which greatly took up his attention.

Amidſt all the affairs, and multiplied avocations with which his place as penſionary was attended, Grotius lived a very quiet life; diſcuſſions of temporal matters, generally terminating without rage and violence. It is not ſo in religious matters.

Grotius unluckily engaged in a controverſy wherein he appeared to favour Arminius, and on his death in 1609, made his elogium in verſe. By this means he was involved in the ſcheme of revenge formed by the implacable adverſary of the deceaſed: the affair was full of events, and one cannot read in the hiſtory of Holland without

without extreme ſurprize, the vaſt diſturbances it raiſed in that republic.

Maurice, prince of Naſſau, entertained a mortal enmity againſt the grand penſionary, who took arms and lighted the flame of civil war. His troops were victorious. He cauſed Barnevelt and Grotius to be tried by perſons devoted to his intereſt. The former was beheaded: the king of France interfered without ſucceſs in his favour, but a deaf ear was given to his ſolicitations.

After this ſentence, the malecontents proceeded againſt Grotius: he was detained in priſon at the Hague, and treated very roughly. His wife petitioned for leave to ſtay with her huſband till the end of the proceſs; or at leaſt to ſee him when he was ſick; or laſtly, even to ſpeak to him in the preſence of his guards: all this was inhumanly refuſed her.

His eſtate alſo was confiſcated, and himſelf carried to the fortreſs of Louveſtein, in South-Holland; this was done on June 6, 1619.

Twenty ſols per day were allotted him for his maintenance; but his wife declared ſhe had fortune ſufficient to ſupport her husband, and choſe, therefore, to do without any aſſiſtance, which renders a man ſuperior to the greateſt adverſities.

He devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of morality; he extracted from the beſt Greek authors their fineſt ſentences: adding to this employment, a diligent reading of treatiſes on the truth of the chriſtian religion.

The commandant of Louveſtein going to Hueſden to raiſe recruits, Grotius's wife made a viſit to his lady, and told her, that ſhe was deſirous of ſending away all her husband's books, for that he was in ſo weak a ſtate of health, it gave her great uneaſineſs to ſee him ſtudy with ſuch application. After this, that people might not be ſurprized at not ſeeing him, ſhe ſpread a report of his being really ill.

Having thus prepared the commandant's wife and the guards;---on March 21, 1621,---a day ever memorable for the glory of the fair ſex---in concert with their valet and maid, who were in the ſecret, ſhut him in the cheſt: two ſoldiers carried it: one of them finding it heavier than uſual, ſaid, "There muſt be an Armenian in it;" a kind of proverb then in uſe. Madam Grotius, who was preſent, anſwered with great coolneſs: "Indeed there are ſome Armenian books in it."

The cheſt was then brought down on a ladder with great difficulty; the care which was firſt taken to prevent any accident, and the extraordinary weight of the cheſt made one of the ſoldiers ſuſpect ſomething: he therefore demanded to have it opened; and upon being refuſed the key, he went and complained to the commandant's lady: but, whether ſhe was willing to wink at the thing, or through negligence, ſhe told him that Grotius's wife had aſſured her there was nothing but books in the cheſt, and that they might carry it to the boat. It is affirmed that a ſoldier's wife, who was preſent ſaid there were more than one exam-

ple of priſoners making their eſcape in boxes. The cheſt, however, was put into the boat, as ordered, and Grotius's maid followed it.

When it came to Gorcum they wanted to put it on a ſledge, but the maid telling the boatman there were ſome brittle things in it, and begging of him to take care how it was carried, it was put on a ſtand, and brought by two chairmen to the houſe of Mr. David Dazelaer, a friend of our author. When every body was gone, the maid opened the cheſt. Grotius had felt no inconvenience in it, though its length was not above three feet and an half. He got out, dreſſed himſelf like a maſon, with a rule and a trowel, and went, by Dazelaer's back door, thro' the market-place, to the gate that leads to the river, and ſtepped into a boat, which carried him to Valvic, in Brabant.

There he hired a carriage to Antwerp, taking the neceſſary precautions not to be known by the way. He alighted at Antwerp at the houſe of Mr. Grevincovius,---who had been formerly a miniſter at Amſterdam, to whom he made himſelf known.

In the mean time it was believed at Louveſtein that Grotius was ill; and to give him time to get off, his wife gave out that his diſorder was dangerous; but as ſoon as ſhe learned by the return of her maid that he was in Brabant, and conſequently in ſafety, ſhe told the guards the part ſhe had acted.

They immediately informed the commandant, who haſtened to our author's apartment; where on his threating Mrs. Grotius, ſhe fairly related the matter. The commandant in a rage went to Gorcum, and acquainting the magiſtrate with his priſoner's eſcape, both came to Dazelaer's, where they found the empty cheſt.

Deſperate at not being able to recover his charge, the commandant, on his return to Louveſtein, confined Mrs. Grotius more cloſely; but on April 5, 1621, ſhe preſented a petition to the ſtates general, for her enlargement, which was granted. On the 30th, Grotius wrote to the ſtates a juſtification of his conduct and departure from priſon.

He arrived at Paris on April 13, 1621. The king was then at Fontainbleau. M. Boiſſire, who had been ambaſſador extraordinary in Holland at the time of Barnevelt's trial, M. de Vic, and the preſident Jeanning, received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip, and recommended to him the conduct he ſhould preſerve at court. The learned men and the miniſters ſtrove who ſhould ſhew him the higheſt civilities.

Our philoſopher ſhared with his lady the ſatisfaction which all theſe favours procured him. Mrs. Grotius arrived at Paris ſoon after him.

There is room to believe he would have paſſed the reſt of his days in that capital, could his enemies have been cautious enough to conceal their hatred to a man, who enjoyed the moſt eminent diſtinction throughout all Europe.

The ſtates-general being informed of the reception he met with in France ordered their ambaſſadors to do him the worſt offices, and the latter executed

cuted their orders with the utmoſt zeal.

The only revenge he took was by ſpeaking of his country like a good citizen; and by ſeeking every occaſion to ſerve her. This gained him the applauſe of the king who could not help admiring the greatneſs of his proceeding.

This moderation did not diſarm the ſtates general, whoſe embaſſadors continued vigilant in their machinations againſt our illuſtrious author. They ſhamefully and barefacedly calumnized him: and they found at court but too many attentive hearers. Grotius felt the effects of their chicanery in the ſuſpenſion of his annual allowance.

To complete this misfortune, M. d'Aligre, who then had the ſeals, was diſgraced, and ſucceeded by M. Mavillace, an implacable enemy to the proteſtants. This was another diſagreeable circumſtance to Grotius.

Though he liked Paris, and the acquaintance he had formed there, he could not think of ſtaying any longer; accordingly he went immediately to Holland, where prince Maurice being dead, he hoped to be well received by the new Stodtholder, and prince Frederic Henry, who had a great regard for him. But the event did not anſwer his expectations.

The utmoſt his friends could do, was to obtain a reſtitution of his effects, which, on account of his being a burgeſs of Delft, could not be ſeized.

Grotius finding ſo much oppoſition, judged it proper to quit Holland. He ſet out for Amſterdam, March 17. 1632, on his way to Hamburg. Here his wife joined him, his great conſolation under all his troubles and calamities. Salvius, vice chancellor of Sweden, a great ſtateſman, and a man of letters, was then at Hamburg.

Grotius made an acquaintance with him, and ſaw him frequently. M. Salvius conceived a great eſteem for him and made ſo favourable a report of his great merit to the lord high chancellor Oxenſtiern, as determined the latter to invite Grotius to come to him.

The king his maſter had an affection for men of learning; he had read the treatiſe of The right of war and peace, with the higheſt admiration; it gave him the moſt favourable opinion of the author, whom he regarded as the firſt man of the age.

He was perſuaded that one who could write ſo well on the law of nations, muſt be an able ſtateſman: in ſhort he reſolved to gain him; and, accordingly, he conferred with the high chancellor upon the ſubject, whom he found of the ſame opinion with himſelf.

Guſtavus was on the point of putting his deſign in execution, when he was ſlain, Nov. 6. 1632, in a famous battle againſt the Imperialiſts, in which the Swedes gained a complete victory. A little before his death, as if foreboded of his end, this great prince, amongſt other things, ordered that Grotius ſhould be employed in the Swediſh miniſtry.

Accordingly he left Hamburgh, and ſet out for Francfort, where that miniſter

miniſter then reſided; wholly ignorant for what employment he was deſigned.

The ſubject of this embaſſy was of the greateſt importance; namely, to engage France to declare war againſt the emperor Ferdinand II. who had gained conſiderable advantages over the Swedes; and by this diverſion and her aſſiſtance, to re-eſtabliſh the affair of Sweden.

Grotius made his public entry into Paris, March 2, 1635. All the inhabitants of that city ſaw him with pleaſure in ſo honourable a department, tho' little ſuited to a philoſopher who ſhunned ſplendor and honors. Only the ambaſſador of Holland was chagrined at it.

He wrote to the ſtates general to know in what manner he ſhould behave. They anſwered him, that they intended he ſhould ſhew the ſame regard to Grotius, as to the ambaſſadors of other powers in friendſhip with them.

During the courſe of his ambaſſy, Grotius ſupported himſelf in France with great dignity. The nobleneſs and rectitude of his conduct gained him the friendſhip of the other ambaſſadors, and the veneration even of his enemies.

Cardinal Richlieu was perhaps the only one who did not do him juſtice. However he did not make the leſs court to the king, who always gave him gracious audience.

Our philoſopher had divers opportunities of diſplaying to the courtiers the vaſt extent of his genius. In theſe he ſhewed how much a man of ſtudy is ſuperior, in the management of affairs, to men of unſettled minds.

The cardinal was forced to carry it fair with him in public; he even engaged our author to mediate in ſome quarrels between the kings of France and England. Grotius executed his commiſſion to the advantage of the French, and the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh.

He expected ſome acknowledgement from the cardinal, but he was paid with ingratitude. The wiſeſt conduct, the moſt extenſive underſtanding, and the moſt ſignal ſervices could not conciliate the regard of his eminence in his favour, or ſhut the mouth of his enemies. They continued to ſtir up againſt him freſh and fatiguing broils. He could much have wiſhed to be freed from the honorable burden of his embaſſy. "I am ſatiated with honour, ſays he, in a letter to his father, I love a tranquil life, and ſhould be well pleaſed to employ the reſt of my life only for God, and in what might be of advantage to poſterity."

But the intereſt of Sweden required that he ſhould not leave France: and he had them too much at heart to forſake them. Notwithſtanding this, queen Chriſtina ſent to Paris a ſort of adventurer, named Ceriſant, who had gained credit ſufficient to procure him to be nominated an agent, and afterwards vanity and weakheadedneſs enough to diſguſt every body.

Grotius was highly diſſatisfied: his patience was at length worn out. He wrote to the queen to beg a recall; and the

the queen granted his requeſt. Accordingly he left Paris, and ſet out for Sweden. He paſſed on to Holland, where he was extremely well received, after which he went to Stockholm.

Leaving Stockholm (the queen being then at Upſal) he went to a ſeaport about two leagues diſtant, in order to embark for Lubec.

They had ſcarcely ſet ſail when the ſhip was overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which greatly troubled our traveller, obliged him to put in, (on Aug. 17.) four miles from Dantzic.

He then ſet out in a covered waggon for Lubec; but on coming to Roſtoc in Mekelbourg, he found himſelf ſo ill that he was obliged to ſtop there.

He then ordered a phyſician, who declared that his indiſpoſition proceeded from weakneſs and fatigue, and that with reſt and reſtoratives he might recover; but, on ſeeing him next day, and finding his weakneſs increaſed, with a cold ſweat and other ſymptoms of exhauſted nature, he judged his end was near.

Grotius then aſked them for a clergyman: one came, who, not knowing him, made uſe of the common expreſſions uſed to the lower ſort of perſons---Grotius, to cut ſhort this kind of exhortation, ſaid to him: "I am Grotius."---"What! anſwered the miniſter, are you the great Grotius?" This fine paſſage in the life of our philoſopher is related by M. Menage; but ſuſpected by Mr. Burigny.

The miniſter who cloſed his eyes was John Guiſtorpius. He came to ſee him at nine in the evening, and finding him at the point of death, repeated a prayer ſuitable to his condition: he then aſked Grotius from time to time whether he underſtood him: to which, having frequently anſwered yes, he added: "I heard your voice, but found it difficult to underſtand what you ſaid."

Theſe were his laſt words: ſoon after which he expired juſt about midnight, or rather in the morning of Aug. 29, 1645, aged ſixty-two years. His body was delivered to the phyſicians; who took out his bowels: after this his corpſe was carried to Delft and depoſited in the tomb of his anceſtors. He wrote for himſelf the following modeſt epitaph:

Grotius hic Hugo eſt, Batavum captivus et exul,
Legatus regni, Suecia magna, tui.

Grotius had the precaution to make his will at Paris, on March 27, 1645, a little before his departure. He had a very agreeable perſon, a good complexion, an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, and a ſerene and ſmiling countenance. He was not tall, but very ſtrong and well built.

THEODORE BEZA.

THIS great man was a miniſter of Geneva, and one of the chief pillars of the reformed church, being one of it's moſt zealous promoters and defenders.

He was nobly deſcended by both his parents; and was born on the 24th of June, 1519, at Vezelai, a city of Burgundy in France, where his family was held in great eſteem.

His father was Peter de Beza, and was bailiff of Vezelai. His mother's name was Mary Bourdelot. He was ſent to Paris very young, where he was tenderly educated under the care of his uncle Nicholas de Beza, counſellor of the parliament at Paris, till December 1528, when he was ſent to Orleans to ſtudy under Melchior Wolmar, a German, and profeſſor of the Greek tongue.

He lived ſeven years in Wolmar's houſe; with whom he made an extraordinary progreſs in claſſical and polite learning, and imbibed from him thoſe principles of the proteſtant religion, which afterwards ſo glorioufly diſplayed themſelves in his life and conduct.

His uncle intended him for the bar, and he accordingly began to ſtudy the law; but that not ſuiting his diſpoſition, he beſtowed moſt of his attention to the reading of the Greek and Latin authors, and the compoſing verſes.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner by his poetry, which made him careſſed by the moſt learned men of the univerſity, and highly extolled by the beſt poets of that time.

His uncle, the counſellor, died in 1532; but another uncle, who was abbot of Froidmont, had a like regard for this nephew, and intended to reſign his abbey to him, which was 15000 livres a year.

In 1539, Beza took his licentiate's degree, being then twenty-one years of age; and ſoon after went to Paris, where ſuch good preferments were provided for him, as he might well expect from the intereſt of his friends, his great talents, and uncommon reputation. "The allurements of pleaſure, the ſweets of fame and the hopes of the greateſt honour," as himſelf expreſſes it, gave him very pleaſing ſenſations, and combated for ſome time the reſolution he had taken to follow Wolmar, and make a public profeſſion of the reformation.

Beza publiſhed ſome poetical pieces which were eſteemed worthy even of the Auguſtan age. But ſome new pieces of his being cenſured as licentiouſly free and ſome envious perſons calumning his life, he quitted a priory, which he had at Lonjemeau, and retired to Geneva 1548, where he faithfully performed his promiſe by marrying Claudia Denoſſa, with whom he lived forty years lovingly and honorably; for ſhe was a lady of great merit; and her diligent attention, frugality, and particular care of her huſband, contributed in the moſt amiable manner to render their union happy.

The

The first piece which Beza published at Lausanne, and which soon rendered him very famous, was a French tragi-comedy, intituled, La Sacrifice d' Abrabam. Jacomet turned it in Latin in 1598. Almost at the same time James Bruno translated it into the same language at Amsterdam; and it has been reprinted several times. Pasquier thus speaks of it, "About this time was Theodore de Beza a brave French and Latin poet; he composed the Sarifice of Abraham in French verse; which was drawn in so lively a manner, that the reading of it has made tears fall from my eyes."

Beza frequently went to Geneva to visit Calvin, during the vacations. Calvin professed himself delighted with his poetry; but exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the service of the church, and particularly advised him to finish what Marot had begun, which was a translation of the psalms of David.

This advice Beza followed, and translated into French verse the hundred psalms which remained unfinished by Marot. "This translation of the remains of David's psalms, says Pasquier, in his Recherches de la France, l. vii. p. 615, shews what Beza could do, though he has not so happily succeeded as Clement Marot in his fifty."

Beza continued to teach Greek for about ten years at Lausanne, and then returned and settled at Geneva, where he became a protestant minister.

Having settled here in 1559, he adhered to Calvin in the strictest manner, and in a little time became his colleague in the church and university. He succeeded Claudius Pontanus as minister; and composed his Confession of faith in Latin, which he had formerly wrote in French, to justify himself to his father, and with a view of converting the good old man; this he dedicated to his preceptor Wolmar, and published it in 1560.

Some time after this Beza went to Nerac, at the incitement of some great persons of the kingdom, to convert Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, and confer with him upon affairs of importance.

The protestant doctors spoke with great freedom, particularly Beza, whose extraordinary abilities had here a fine opportunity to display themselves.

Through the whole of this grand conference Beza behaved himself as a man of great capacity. But the assembly at last separated without coming to a conclusion; the catholics not being disposed to made concessions in any one article.

On his return to Geneva he succeeded Calvin in the ministry: here he wrote an apology for the Latin translation of the New Testament which had been censured by Castalio, whom Beza charges with openly endeavouring, in a preface on the perversion of the sacred books, to destroy the sufficiently evident authority of the divine word.

It seems there had been a book of German theology translated into Latin, which translation Beza was persuaded was the work of Castalio; yet he would not affirm it in a public work, before he

he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good proofs of it in case Castalio should deny it; a necessary and wise precaution; for Castalio did deny, before the ministers of Basil, that he had any share in that book: though the truth of the fact, as charged on him, is confirmed by a letter which St. Aldegonde wrote to Beza, assuring him, that Castalio was the real translator of that dangerous performance.

The religious war in France breaking out, thousands were destroyed on both sides; Beza returned again to that kingdom in 1571, to assist at the national synod in the Rochelle, of which he was elect moderator.

The papists had broken the peace 1568, by the massacre of Paris in 1571, in which above thirty thousand protestants were murdered; and the king of Navarre, with the young prince of Conde, the only two persons saved, were compelled to abjure the reformed religion.

No sooner had this war, in a degree, subsided, than it was re-commenced by the Huguenots with great animosity. Beza, in 1572, assisted at the synod of Nismes, where he opposed the faction of John Morel, who had designed to introduce a new discipline.

The royal army besieged Rochelle which was so gallantly defended by the protestants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when the prince of Conde sent for Beza to Strasburg that he might carry on a negociation with prince John Casimir, administrator of the Palatinate; a circumstance which shews that the extensive talents of Beza carried him farther than the ability of writing lectures and the study of books.

This was well known and understood by the prince of Conde; under whose embassy Beza succeeded so well, that Casimir brought an army from Germany to assist the Huguenots, who obtained a peace upon terms more advantageous than any of the former.

In 1586, some gentlemen having left France for the sake of religion, and fled to Montbelliard in the Franche-Comte: the count of that district in compliance with their desire, requested the canton of Bern to nominate deputies, in order to confer with the divines of Wirtemberg; and also intreated the republic of Geneva to send Beza to the conference.

Accordingly Beza came to Montbeliard, with Anthony la Faye, as deputies from Geneva: Musculus and Huberus, on the part of the Swiss; and James Andreas, and Luke Osiander, were the chief deputies of Wirtemberg. The dispute was left wholly to Beza and Andreas, a divine of Tubingen. Beza desired this controversy might be held by arguments in form; but was obliged to recede in compliance with his adversary, who was unwilling to be confined by rules of syllogism: Andreas accordingly used a long and declamatory method, which Beza was obliged to follow. The dispute was not, however, cleared up, though it lasted many days: yet

yet each party boasted a victory, and published an account of their success.

This conference was held, as it is judged, rather for political than theological reasons. The count of Montbeliard had been an Ubiquitarian till he heard Beza's sermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the above refugees: but his chief aim in holding this conference was to clear himself from the suspicion of Calvinism, that the emperor might favour his succession to the duchy of Wirtemberg.

Beza lost his excellent and most amiable wife in 1588, but this domestic affliction did not keep him from the synod of Bern, where the doctrine of Samuel Huberus, relating to our justification before God, which, he said, consisted in an inherent quality, was condemned.

Beza was now near seventy, and the same year after his first wife's death, he married again to Catherine de la Plane, a widow, who was also tender and careful of him till his death.

In 1590, he published his treatise, de Excommunicatione & Presbyterio against Thomas Erastes; and some time after he examined Saravia's book de Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus.

The infirmities of old-age beginning to fall heavy upon him in 1597, he could seldom speak in public. In that year a report was spread throughout Italy, Germany, and Holland, that he had renounced his religion before the senate, and had exhorted the magistrates to reconcile themselves to the church of Rome; and that, by a special order from the pope, the bishop had absolved him.

This falshood was easily confuted by the ministers of Geneva, who published two pieces, the one in Latin, the other in French, attended with all the authenticity necessary to the refutation of so foolish a lie.

Beza himself contradicted it in a letter to William Stuckius: and Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, drew a shower of satyrical verses on himself in particular, and on his order in general, which Beza's muses, old as they were, made very formidable.

The last time that Beza preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the 85th psalm, "Thou Lord! hast made peace with thy people."

The last verses he composed were a Votiva Gratulatio to Henry IV. after a kind reception from that monarch near Geneva, in December 1600. This king had been obliged to embrace the Romish religion in 1593; but in 1598, he published an edict at Nantz, to quiet the minds of the protestants, by securing to them the free exercise of their religion.

He concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins, and then attacked the duke of Savoy, whose dominions he had almost conquered, and lay incamped at St. Catherine's fort, about two leagues from Geneva; he received the deputies at Luysel, a quarter of a league from the fort. Dr. Spon relates the speech which Beza made to that prince, and the king's answer.

Beza praiſed the piety of Henry, in reſcuing the churches of God from oppreſſion; and contented himſelf with ſaying, and applying to human things, what Simeon ſaid of divine; "Now Lord! let thy ſervant depart in peace, according to thy word; ſeeing that mine eyes have beheld, before I die, not only the deliverer of us, but of all France, and of the faithful in general." The king anſwered, "Father, theſe few words, which ſignify much, are worthy the reputation you have acquired." He then granted the deputies what they deſired, which was the demolition of St. Catherine's fort. And Thuanus ſays, that the king made Beza a preſent of five hundred crowns; but Collier ſays it was five hundred piſtoles, for the good ſervice he had done his father and mother.

He preſerved his good ſenſe to the laſt. His memory was ſo very good as to things he had learned during the vigour of his mind, that he could repeat all the pſalms in Hebrew, and all St. Paul's epiſtles in Greek, by rote: but it was very bad as to things preſent.

He continued in this condition almoſt two years: and Cauſaubon affirms, that in point of erudition, Beza ſhewed himſelf in the latter years of his life ſuch as he had appeared twenty years before.

He converſed ſo clearly upon ancient hiſtory, that it ſeemed as if he had juſt been reading Plutarch, and the like authors; but after having amply diſcourſed of the new king of England, he would frequently aſk in the ſame converſation, whether it was true that queen Elizabeth was dead?

His ſtrength viſibly declined for ſome weeks, and there was nothing ſudden or unexpected in his death: he expreſſed great ſentiments of piety with his laſt breath, which he yielded up on the 13th of October, 1605, at the age of eighty-ſix years, three months, and nineteen days.

He was interred in the cloiſter of St. Peter's at Geneva; and dying without ever having had any children, left his wife, Catherine de Plane, ſole heireſs of his eſtate, and a truly exemplary character of conjugal care and fidelity.

Beza was a man of extraordinary merit, and one who did great ſervices to the proteſtant cauſe, having been very zealous, and inſtrumental in conducting the reformation. He was eſteemed chief of the proteſtants of France and Switzerland. The romaniſts commonly called him, "The Huguenot pope;" and pope Sixtus V. cauſed two conferences to be held, at which he was preſent, to deliberate about the means of depriving the proteſtant party of the great ſupport they had in the perſon of Beza.

They would have aſſaſſinated or poiſoned him, if it had been poſſible that any enterpriſe againſt him could ſucceed. What more can be ſaid to the honour of this miniſter, than the repreſenting him as a man, who made the pope and cardinals in Junto uneaſy, as to affairs of ſtate.---For there was no controverſy in the caſe in queſtion?

Beza wrote a great number of books, beſides

beſides thoſe already mentioned, particularly the Icones of illuſtrious perſons, who aſſiſted in the reformation; and the "Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the Reformed Churches."

This laſt work is very curious, and extends from 1521 to the peace of the 13th of March, 1563.

A more particular account of his writings may be met with in Anthony la Faye's catalogue, at the end of his work, De Vita et Obitu Theodori Beza.

His poems, intituled, Juvenilia, have raiſed a great noiſe and clamour. They were printed at Paris in 1548, by Badius, with a privilege of the parliament for three years. He dedicated theſe poems to his profeſſor, Melchior Wormar. They conſiſted of ſylvæ, elegies, pictures, icones, and epigrams: they have been thought; and, perhaps, cannot be denied, to contain verſes too free, and not well ſuited to the chaſtity of a chriſtian muſe.

He himſelf, however, afterwards expreſſed grief for the publication of them, and placed them amongſt thoſe errors of his youth, for which he aſked pardon of God and the world; this, together with the age of twenty nine, at which he wrote them, ſhould methinks, have been a ſufficient excuſe with even thoſe cenſorious perſons, who afterwards made a poor handle of this performance, to calumniate and detract him, in his more advanced years.

The Life of JUSTIN MARTYR.

THIS great reformer, was a native of Paleſtine in Syria, being born at Neapolis in the province of Samaria, about the year one hundred and three.

He was one of the moſt learned of all the early writers of the Eaſtern church, having had a very liberal education beſtowed upon him by his father, whoſe name was Priſcus, a Pagan.

In his youth he travelled into foreign countries, for increaſe of knowledge; and, being of a very inquiſitive diſpoſition, he applied himſelf for inſtruction to each of the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers of thoſe times.

His firſt teachers were the Stoics, with whom he was ſoon diſatisfied, and went from them to a Peripatetic tutor, whoſe covetouſneſs quickly gave him ſo much diſguſt, that he departed from him and applied himſelf to a Pythagorean; but being diſappointed in his expectations there likewiſe, he, laſtly, went among the Platoniſts, with whom he continued ſome time, being much pleaſed with their notions, as eſteeming them the only way to true happineſs, and giving himſelf up, in conſequence of his conjunction with that ſect, to ſtudy and contemplation.

As he was walking one day in a private place by the ſea ſide, he was met by an ancient man of a venerable aſpect, (it is conjectured by ſome that this

this was an angel) who entered into converſation with him concerning the excelency of philoſophy in general, and of Platoniſm in particular.

In the proceſs of their diſcourſe the ſtranger endeavoured to convince him of his miſtake in eſteeming the Platoniſts to be the only guides to true happineſs, and informed him, "That long before his admired philoſophers exiſted there were certain holy and bleſſed men called prophets, who were true lovers of God, and, moreover, divinely inſpired, in conſequence of which they had foretold events which afterwards came to paſs; that theſe alone had underſtood the truth, and declared it to the world; whoſe books being ſtill extant, they would inſtruct any one in what it was proper for a philoſopher to know: that the accompliſhment of their prophecies, together with the miracles which they wrought, had put their teſtimony beyond all poſſibility of exception: that they magnified God, the great Creator of the univerſe, and publiſhed his Son, Chriſt, as the Saviour of mankind." He concluded his diſcourſe with adding, "And as for thyſelf, above all things, pray that the gates of light may be ſet open to thee, for theſe things are not diſcerned and underſtood by any, unleſs God and Chriſt grant to a man the knowledge of them." Having ſaid this, he immediately departed from him.

The diſcourſe of this perſon having made a very ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Juſtin, he ſet himſelf very ſeriouſly to examine the Chriſtian religion, in conſequence of which he was ſoon convinced of the truth thereof. He declares, that he found it to be the only certain philoſophy, and that he could not but commend it, as containing in it a certain majeſty admirably adapted at once both to terrify and perſuade thoſe who were out of the right way, and to beget the ſweeteſt peace and ſerenity in the minds of thoſe who were in it.

Nor were the exemplary conduct and heroic conſtancy of the Chriſtians of thoſe times without their ſhare of influence in the converſion of this great man, of which himſelf takes notice to the emperor: (happy times of Chriſtianity! when the lives of it's profeſſors pleaded thus powerfully the cauſe of their Maſter) "For my own part," ſays he, "being yet detained under the Platonic inſtitutions, when I heard the Chriſtians traduced and reproached, and yet ſaw them fearleſsly ruſhing upon death and venturing upon all thoſe things which are moſt dreadful to human nature, I concluded with myſelf, that it was impoſſible for theſe men to wallow in vice; for who that is a ſlave to pleaſure can chearfully bid death welcome, and would not rather endeavour to prolong his life, and conceal himſelf from the Magiſtrate inſtead of offering himſelf to a public execution."

It was in the year 133, and the thirtieth of his age, that Juſtin was converted to the Chriſtian faith; and, as before that happy event, he appears to have been no leſs a ſincere lover of, than a diligent enquirer after the truth, ſo, afterwards, he became a very eminent example of diſtinguiſhed

guiſhed virtue and elevated piety. He was endowed with good natural parts, which were improved by a large ſtock of learning.

He loved his Creator ſincerely, and earneſtly endeavoured to promote his glory. His temper was remarkably kind, even towards his moſt inveterate enemies; the excellency of his diſpoſition, will, in ſome meaſure, appear from the few following lines from his own writings: Apology to the emperor, &c. "It is the voice of reaſon, and ever attended to by men truly pious, that truth alone is the thing to be had in the higheſt honour, and to hold the firſt place in our affections. The ſame right reaſon dictates alſo---that a lover of the truth muſt, by all means, ſquare his words and actions by the rules of juſtice, coſt him what it will. For it is a maxim among us Chriſtians, that we cannot ſuffer any real hurt, if we cannot be convicted of any crime. "You may kill, indeed, but you cannot hurt us! It is in our power, at any time, to eſcape your torments, by denying the faith when you queſtion us about it; but we ſcorn to purchaſe life at the expence of a lie; for our ſouls are winged with a deſire of a life of eternal duration,---and of an immediate converſation with God the Father and Maker of all things."

Some of the moſt conſiderable of the Gentiles being much concerned at the loſs of ſo extraordinary a perſon as Juſtin from among them, he wrote an oration to the Greeks, in which he informed them, that he had not raſhly, and without deliberation, departed from their religion, but becauſe he could find nothing in it really ſacred and worthy of the Deity.

"The matters among you," ſays he, "as your poets have ordered them are monuments of nothing but madneſs and intemperance, and if a man apply even to the moſt learned of you for inſtruction, he will be entangled in a thouſand difficulties, and become the moſt confuſed perſon in the world."

After which he proceeds, with a great deal of wit and eloquence, to expoſe the folly and abſurdity of the pagan notions, concluding with the following exhortation: "Come hither, O ye Greeks, and partake of a moſt incomparable wiſdom, be inſtructed in a divine religion, and acquaint yourſelves with an immortal King,---become as I am, for I was once as ye are. This is the doctrine which expels all corrupt affections out of the ſoul, from which being freed, it enjoys a ſtate of tranquillity, and mounts up to its Creator."

About the year 150, Juſtin went to Rome, where he undertook to defend the Chriſtian religion againſt the oppoſers of thoſe times, and particularly againſt the heretic Marcion, who taught that there were two Gods, the one good, and the other evil; and the Chriſtians being very ſeverely dealt with at that time by Antoninus Pius, the Emperor, Juſtin ſet himſelf to plead their cauſe; accordingly he publiſhed an Apology, inſcribed to the Emperor and Senate of Rome, in which he defended his brethren with great ſtrength of reaſon againſt the com-

common objections of their enemies, ſhewing, at the ſame time, the divinity of their faith, and urging, moreover, the unreaſonableneſs and injuſtice of proceeding againſt them after the then uſual method.

This addreſs had it deſired effect, and wrought ſo powerfully in their behalf, that the emperor publiſhed a letter, in which he ſtrictly commanded, that the Chriſtians ſhould not be any more moleſted merely on account of their religion, unleſs they were alſo found guilty of ſome crime againſt the ſtate.

A ſhort time after this, Juſtin removed from Rome, and went to Athens, where he became acquainted with the celebrated Jewiſh Rabbi Tarphon, or Trypho, a man of great eminence among his own people; with him he entered into a diſpute concerning religion which laſted two days, in which he moſt admirably defended the Chriſtian cauſe againſt Judaiſm; and the iſſue was, that the Jew declared himſelf highly pleaſed with his diſcourſe, acknowledging, moreover, that he had urged ſtronger arguments in behalf of Chriſtianity than he expected to have heard, and requeſted that he might enjoy his friendſhip, in what part of the world ſoever he was.

After Juſtin had continued ſome time at Epheſus, he returned back again to Rome, and meeting there with a philoſopher named Creſcens, he had frequent debates with him concerning religion.

This man was in conſiderable repute at Rome; he was a Cynic by profeſſion, and, according to the genius of that ſect ſurly and ill-natured, proud and conceited, a philoſopher in appearance, but at the ſame time, a notorious ſlave to vice and wickedneſs of every kind; he endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to render the Chriſtians odious, though he was utterly ignorant of their principles, and ſought to procure the death of Juſtin (which he length accompliſhed) for his free reproofs of him for his abominable wickedneſs.

In the year 167 ſome Chriſtians at Rome having been put to death for the profeſſion of their faith, Juſtin preſented a ſecond apology to the Emperor Marcus Antonius, in which he urges the injuſtice and cruelty of taking away men's lives merely on account of their religion, he anſwered, moreover, the objections uſually made againſt the Chriſtians, and requeſted, that, after they had conſidered the affair, they would prefix his apology to their own determination, and publiſh them together to the world, that all mankind might have an opportunity of judging of the juſtice of their cauſe.

This zeal and activity of Juſtin in behalf of his brethren awakened afreſh the malice of his adverſary Creſcens againſt him, who, as he was not able to confute what he had wrote, reſolved to attack him a more effectual way; an event which Juſtin himſelf had before looked for, and accordingly had told the Emperor, "He expected that Creſcens, or ſome other of their titular philoſophers, would lay ſnares to get him tormented or crucified:" nor was

was he at all miſtaken in his conjecture: for the envious wretch at length procured him to be caſt into priſon, where, it is ſaid, he underwent divers torments, after which he (together with ſix other Chriſtians his companions) was carried before Ruſticius the Prefect of the city, who endeavoured to prevail with him to obey the gods, and comply with the imperial injunctions.

He returned for anſwer, "That no one could juſtly be found fault with who obeyed the commands of Chriſt his Saviour."

The Governor then demanded of him, "What kind of education he had?"

He replied, "That he had made it his buſineſs to underſtand the opinions of all the ſeveral ſects of philoſophers, but had finally embraced the Chriſtian doctrine, how little ſoever it was eſteemed by thoſe who were immerſed in errors and falſe opinions."

"Wretch that thou art," ſaid the Prefect, "art thou, then, wedded to thoſe notions?"

"I am," anſwered he.

"What is the doctrine which you hold," ſaid the Prefect?

He replied, "The doctrine which we piouſly profeſs is this---We believe the one only God to be the Creator of all things, viſible and inviſible, and confeſs our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God,---and the Saviour of all thoſe who are duly inſtructed by him, and that he ſhall come hereafter to be the Judge of mankind."

The Prefect next asked, "Where do the Chriſtians uſually aſſemble?" and being told that the God whom they worſhipped was not confined to a particular place, he enquired farther, where it was that Juſtin was uſed to inſtruct his diſciples? on which Juſtin informed him where he dwelt, and told him that he there preached the Chriſtian doctrine to all that came to him.

The Governor then began to examine, ſeverally, the companions of Juſtin, and having concluded with them, he addreſſed himſelf again to him in the following manner: "hear thou that art noted for thy eloquence, and thinkeſt that thou art in the truth, if I cauſe thee to be ſcourged from head to foot, doſt thou think that thou ſhalt go to heaven?"

He replied, "That, although he ſhould ſuffer the before-mentioned puniſhment, he hoped to enjoy the portion of all true Chriſtians, as knowing that the divine favour was extended to ſuch and would be ſo to the end of the world."

Being again asked, "Whether he ſhould go to heaven and receive a reward?"

He anſwered, "That he did not only think ſo, but knew, and was certain of it."

The Governor finding that it was to no purpoſe to argue, commanded both him and the others to go together and ſacrifice to the gods, to which Juſtin replied, "No man in his right mind will deſert the true religion to fall to impiety:" and being threatened that, unleſs they complied, they ſhould

ſhould be tormented without mercy."

He anſwered, "there is nothing that we more earneſtly deſire than to endure torments for the ſake of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for this will promote our happineſs, and procure us confidence before that dreadful tribunal of our Lord and Saviour, at which, by the divine appointment, the whole world muſt appear."

To this anſwer the reſt aſſented likewiſe, adding, moreover, "Diſpatch quickly what thou haſt a mind to do, for we are Chriſtians, and cannot ſacrifice to idols."

The Prefect, on hearing this, immediately pronounced the following ſentence: "They who refuſe to ſacrifice to the gods, and to obey the imperial edicts, let them be firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded, according to the laws."

After which they were led back again to priſon, rejoicing and bleſſing God that they were appointed to ſuffer for his ſake; and the ſentence upon them was executed accordingly.

Such was the manner in which this famous apologiſt for Chriſtianity finiſhed his courſe in the year 167, and of his own age the ſixty-fourth: his remains, together with thoſe of his faithful companions, were taken away by the brethren and properly interred.

REFUTATION

REFUTATION

OF THE

ERRORS of POPERY, &c.

THE Romiſh church having uſurped the title of Catholic, and affirmed that out of her communion there is no ſalvation; to convince the unprejudiced and inſtruct the ignorant reader concerning the juſt claim ſhe has to ſuch pretence, we now propoſe, according to promiſe, to conſider how far her doctrines and practices correſpond with the word of God, the only rule by which we can poſſibly judge in all matters of revealed religion.

To accompliſh this deſign, it will be neceſſary in the firſt place to lay down an Abſtract of the Roman Creed, and then conſider each particular article by itſelf, making the ſacred ſcriptures the ſole guide of our reſolves with reſpect to their truth and foundation.

Abſtracts of the Roman Creed.

Article 1. I moſt ſtedfaſtly admit, and embrace the apoſtolical, and eccleſiaſtical traditions, with the reſt of the conſtitutions and obſervations of the Roman Church.

2. I alſo receive the holy ſcriptures according to that ſenſe, which the holy Mother Church, [whoſe ſole right it is to interpret] hath held and doth hold nor will ever underſtand, or interpret them otherwiſe, than according to the unanimous conſent of the fathers.

3. I profeſs, that there are ſeven true and proper ſacraments of the new covenant, inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and neceſſary to ſalvation, (though not all of them neceſſary to every man) viz. Baptiſm, Confirmation, the Euchariſt, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony; all which do confer grace, and whereof Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Orders cannot be repeated without ſacrilege.

4. I likewiſe receive and admit all the received and approved rites of the Catholic church in the ſolemn adminiſtration of all the aforeſaid ſacraments.

5. I profeſs, that in the maſs is offered to God, a true, proper, and propitiatory

pitiatory ſacrifice for the quick and the dead; and that in the moſt holy ſacrament of the Euchariſt, there is really and ſubſtantially, the body and blood, together with the ſoul and divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that there is a converſion made of the whole ſubſtance, of wine into his blood, which converſion, the Catholic Church calls Tranſubſtantiation.

6. I confeſs, that under either kind or ſpecies only, whole and entire Chriſt, and the true ſacrament is received.

7. I conſtantly hold, that there is a purgatory, and that the ſouls there detained, are helped by the ſuffrage of the faithful.

8. I believe moſt firmly, that the ſaints, who reign together with Chriſt are to be worſhipped and prayed to, and their relicks to be venerated.

9. I poſitively aſſert, that the images of Chriſt, of the bleſſed Virgin, and of the other ſaints, are to be had and retained to them.

10. I alſo affirm, that the power of indulgence was left by Chriſt to his church, and that the uſe of them is moſt ſalutary to chriſtian people.

11. I acknowledge the Holy Catholic, and Apoſtolic Roman church to be the mother and miſtreſs of all churches; and I promiſe and ſwear true obedience to the pope of Rome, who is Chriſt's vicar, and ſucceſſor to St. Peter, the prince of the apoſtles.

12. I alſo without doubt, receive and profeſs of all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the ſacred canon and councils, eſpecially by the holy Synod of Trent, and all things contrary to them, with all hereſies, condemned, rejected, and curſed by the church, I likewiſe reject, condemn and curſe.

Laſtly. This true Catholic Faith, without which no man can be ſaved, which at preſent I freely hold, and profeſs, I will (by God's help) conſtantly retain and confeſs, entire and inviolable, to my lateſt breath, and take care to the utmoſt of my power, that the ſame ſhall be taught, held, and profeſſed by all under me, and whoſe care ſhall belong to me in my office; ſo help me God, and the holy Evangeliſts.

This is a ſummary of the Roman faith, as ſet forth by the infallible authority of a pope and a council, and theſe are the points in controverſy between the Romiſh and Reformed churches, into the validity of which we are now to examine.

Traditions.

The church of Rome having deprived the laity of the bible, by forbidding them to look into thoſe ſacred writings, obliges all her diſciples to take for truth whatever ſhe teaches them, without permitting them to examine the ſame by the word of God, and by this means keeps out all light, and leads them wherever ſhe pleaſes.

Now, from the firſt article, the reſt naturally follow, as a firſt root of error, the admitting of traditions and human conſtitution as the foundation of faith.

This article is evidently repugnant to the whole tenor of ſcripture, which ſtrictly

ſtrictly enjoins us to build our faith upon no man's opinion, "to call no "man maſter (in ſpiritual concerns) "upon earth; to try the ſpirit; to "beware of falſe teachers;" intimating upon the whole, that we are not abſolutely to reſign up our judgment to any mortal creature, ſo as not to reſerve an implicit regard to the word of our heavenly Father; nor ſo blindly to follow the dictates of any guide or teacher, of whatſoever venerable name or authority, as all men are fallible and ſubject to error; but to bring all their declarations to the ſtandard of God's infallible word, and believe or diſbelieve them as they appear founded upon the ſame.

The Sacraments.

To the two ſacraments inſtituted by Chriſt, the Romiſh church has added five more, and to thoſe two of Chriſt's inſtitution ſhe has made great alterations and additions; for to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, in which Chriſt has appointed nothing but water, ſhe has added ſalt, oil or ſpittle, becauſe ſhe will not ſuffer none of Chriſt's inſtitutions to paſs without a mixture of her own inventions.

In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, ſhe has both added and diminiſhed, and has made very important alterations. Where Chriſt has commanded bread and wine to be received in remembrance of him; ſhe forbids the cup to all, but her clergy.

The laity have only the bread adminiſtered to them, and even that, not after the manner ordained by Chriſt, who broke bread and gave it his diſciples; inſtead of which the church of Rome adminiſters to her members not bread, but a wafer, and that not broke, but put whole by the prieſt into the mouths of the communicants.

The wafers that are made for this uſe, are much ſmaller than thoſe taken by the prieſt, who with it drinks the ſacramental wine alone, to which the reſt of the congregation have as good a right from the inſtitution of our bleſſed Lord, who ſaid, "Drink ye "all of this, Matt. xxvi. 27.

The Sacrifice of the Maſs.

In the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, which according to the appointment of our Saviour, is to be done in remembrance of him; and as St. Paul obſerves, to "ſhew forth the Lord's death untill he come;" they pretend to ſacrifice to him afreſh, and to offer up the Son of God, a true, proper, and propitiatory ſacrifice to God the Father for the living and the dead, therein contradicting all St. Paul's arguments in his Epiſtle to the Hebrews, Chapters ix. and x. wherein he ſhews the perfection of the ſacrifice of the death of Chriſt, above thoſe that were offered by the Levitical prieſthood, which were continually repeated becauſe of their weakneſs and inſufficiency, whereas the death of Chriſt, was a full and complete ſacrifice, "In "which he hath by one offering, "perfected forever them that are ſanc-

"tified,"

" tified," and who, being both prieſt and ſacrifice, did through the eternal ſpirit, " offer himſelf without ſpot to " God," and whom no prieſt on earth either did or can offer; no other prieſt being capable of offering him, but himſelf alone, " who is a prieſt forever " after the order of Melchizedec, and " who being raiſed from the dead di- " eth no more."

Tranſubſtantiation.

To this falſe doctrine of the ſacrifice of the maſs, they have added that of tranſubſtantiation, in which they pretend, that under the forms of bread and wine, is contained the true and real body of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame that was born of the Virgin Mary, was crucified for us, and now ſitteth at the right hand of God: this very body they teach, is contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of conſecration are pronounced by the prieſt, yet not ſo as to be viſible, but deceiving the ſenſes and conveying under thoſe forms, the bleſſed Son of God into their mouths and ſtomachs.

Their whole argument for this monſtrous doctrine is founded on thoſe words of our Saviour, " This is my " body;" which words they affirm muſt be taken in a literal ſenſe, tho' at the ſame time it is plain and undeniable, that our Saviour upon this very ſubject uſes another expreſſion full of figures, where he ſays, " This cup is " the New Teſtament in my blood," where if any ſubſtantial change is made, it muſt be of the cup, and not the wine, and that not into blood, but into a teſtament in blood, which if they can explain without a figure, will be very extraordinary, though with a figure, nothing can be more eaſily underſtood, according to the common forms of ſpeech.

If the proteſtants could once ſee the cup ſwallowed down by the Communicant, they might then be induced to believe this doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation;---But why are thoſe particular words, " This is my " body," to be taken in a literal ſenſe, any more than thoſe concerning the cup? our Saviour ſays, " I am the " true Vine, I am the Door," and St. Paul ſays, " Put on Chriſt," and there are many ſuch figurative expreſſions uſed in ſcripture.

Does not the ſame Apoſtle ſay, " Our Fathers did all eat the ſame " ſame ſpiritual meat, and did all " drink the ſame ſpiritual drink, for " they drank of the rock that follow- " ed them, and that rock was Chriſt; " for we being many, are one bread, " and one body.

Can we from hence infer that the natural bodies of Chriſtians are tranſubſtantiated into bread as they would perſuade us the natural body of Chriſt is? does not St. Paul ſpeak of the myſtical body of Chriſt and his church, who are all one bread and one body?

St. Paul writes to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. iii. 9. that " He had fed them " with milk;" can that be taken literally? Col. i. 20. he ſays, " Chriſt " made our peace through the blood " of his croſs?" do they underſtand that

that material piece of wood, on which our Saviour ſuffered death, to have poured out blood? in ſhort are not the ſacred writings full of theſe figurative expreſſions? and in the common forms of ſpeech in ordinary converſe, do we not uſe them? what then can be more abſurd, than forcing ſuch a literal ſenſe upon our Saviour's words, "This "is my body," contrary to the common ſtile of ſcripture, and the moſt obvious ſenſe and meaning? this doctrine therefore from the whole tenor of ſcripture, the ancient and modern modes of writing, and general acceptation of words, appears without prejudice to be a groſs error, and one of the moſt palpable abſurdities, and contradictions, that could be deviſed by the invention of man.

But the moſt concluſive and material argument againſt this doctrine is derived from the end and deſign of the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper; which is threefold.

1. By a viſible action to form ſocieties of Chriſtians into one body

2. As a means of grace, upon the due receiving the ſame, and

3. As a remembrance, to ſtir up men to bleſs God for that unſpeakable love, which in the death of Chriſt appeared to mankind.

Now to theſe three important ends, the corporal preſence is of no effect, becauſe they are all ſufficiently anſwered by a myſtical preſence.

Why therefore muſt we ſtrain paſſages of ſcripture, or interpret our Saviour's words in a literal ſenſe, when the meaning is both clearer and more natural, when taken in a figurative one as well as exactly correſpondent with other parts of ſcripture, where the like figures are uſed?

The caſe is this; the church of Rome in the dark ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition blundered into this monſtrous error, and now to ſupport her uſurped precedence, ſhe is obliged to maintain it; for having aſſumed to herſelf not only ſupremancy but infallibility, ſhe cannot by any means confeſs that ſhe has erred, but is bound to uphold every doctrine ſhe has broached, without ſo much as examining into its truth and validity, arguing in this childiſh manner; the Holy Mother Church ſaith it is ſo, ergo it muſt be ſo.

Purgatory.

The Romiſh church by this doctrine, hath traced out a path to Heaven, not marked in the word of God, framing a table of a place where ſouls are cleanſed after death from the ſtains and imperfections of this mortal life.

Strange, that the imperfection of their faith and repentance ſhould be ſupplied by their own ſufferings, and that what (according to their doctrine) the blood of Chriſt did not compleatly effect, ſhould be wrought for them by the torments they are to undergo in this purgatory, in order to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven! this church, ſuppoſing that many die, that are neither good enough for Heaven, nor bad enough for Hell, hath provided this intermediate ſpace

for them; and instead of assuring her members, that, as the tree falleth, so it lyeth, and that there is no device, nor invention in the grave whither they go, and that therefore they should give all diligence to make their calling and election sure, and work whilst they have the day before the night of death overtake them, in which no man can work: causes them to hope, that by passing through this purgatory they cannot fail to arrive at Heaven, it being very easy to get there, and avoid going to Hell by passing through this middle state.

Their pretended warrant from scripture for this doctrine are the words of our Saviour Mat. v. 25, 26, and Luke xii. 59, "Agree with thine adversary "quickly whilst thou art in the way, "&c. lest thou be cast into prison, "verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt "by no means come out thence till "thou hast paid the last mite," and also the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 15. "He shall be saved, yet so as by "fire."

By paying this last mite or uppermost farthing, they understand satisfying the remainder of God's wrath by their sufferings in purgatory; for they think the death of Christ delivered only from eternal, but not this temporary punishment, that he paid but part of the debt, and left the other to be satisfied by the sinner.

But this notion is very derogatory to the fullness of the satisfaction made by Christ, who is able to save, to the uttermost those who come unto God by him.

As no sufferings that man can undergo, can pacify the wrath of God, or make satisfaction to his justice; by paying the last mite must rather be understood, the remaining for ever in prison, as never being able to pay it, for which reason may that warning be given, to agree with the adversary whilst in the way, to prevent being cast into prison, whence there is never any coming out.

But their greatest stress is laid upon the other text, 1 Cor. iii. 15. though unless they can prove that the terms, wood, hay, stubble, &c. are to be taken in a literal sense, they cannot prove that the fire is not to be understood allegorically as well as the other.

The gold and silver, wood, hay, and stubble and also the fire are all metaphors, signifying what different superstructures may be raised upon the sure foundation of the Christian faith.

Some build upon it the pure works of faith unfeigned, precious as gold tried in the fire, and as silver refined from dross, such as will be able to abide the day of his appearing.

Others may build upon the same sacred and sure foundation unprofitable works and superstitious errors, of no avail in God's account; which works may suffer loss, and miss of the expected reward; though themselves may be saved, and it nearly concerns the members of the Romish church to consider whether this text, of which they make so much use, be not a warning to them, and whether great part of their services, in which they place so much perfection, are not composed of this hay and stubble, to be con-

consumed when the day comes that shall be revealed by fire.

Indulgences.

Admitting the doctrine of purgatory to be true, how inconsistent must it be with that of Indulgencies? for if, according to the Romish doctrine, there are defaults unexpatiated by the blood of Christ, and left for the sinner to satisfy in his own person; how can they be taken away by any other? If the blood of Christ did not not take away this debt; if the Saviour of the world has left this score unpaid; how can masses, penance, prayers for the dead, and the application of the merits of saints by indulgencies, remove it; or free the miserable sinner, before he has paid the last mite?

Therefore these two doctrines of Purgatory and Indulgencies, that may belong to, and depend on each other, are manifestly contradictory to, and inconsistent with each other.

Penance.

To countenance this pretended sacrament, by making the ignorant believe that it receives conformation by scripture, Romish translators have in several parts of the New Testament rendered the Greek word, which signifies Repentance, penance; thus for instance, in Matt. iii. their version has, "Do penance and live." Substituting their penances, which are an exercise of bodily service, corporal mortifications and pagan austerities, instead of real repentance and renovation of life, which is the thing that God requires, who has commanded that we should "rend our hearts and not our garments," and would, that "through the spirit we should "mortify the deeds of the body," and not by slavish and abject penances abuse the body, instead of being "renewed in the spirit of the mind."

Extreme Unction.

To confirm this pretended sacrament, the church of Rome affirms, that it was instituted by St. James, in the fifth chapter of his epistle, verse 14, where he writes, "Is any sick "among you; let him call for the "elders of the church, and let them "pray over him, anoint him with "oil, in the name of the Lord."

This ceremony they perform by anointing the bodies of dying persons, the small of the back, arms, hands, noses, &c. and that only as near as they can at the very last extremity and point of death. Hence it is called the Extreme Unction, being performed not in order to their recovery, but to make their death safe and comfortable.

Whereas the apostle speaks of the use of it as in order to recovery, which is evident from the fifteenth verse, "And the prayer of faith shall save "the sick, and God shall raise him "up." But this is in no respect suitable to their purpose, who use the

the ceremony with a quite different view.

Whatever might be the uſe of oil in thoſe days, whether it was only a ceremony accompanying the miraculous gift of healing in thoſe apoſtolic times, or whether it might have a natural uſe in thoſe hot countries, as we find, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15. when Pehah, king of Iſrael, had taken ſo many of the people of Judah captive, at the word of the prophet, they cloathed them, fed them, and alſo anointed them. And Luke x. 34. the Good Samaritan taking care of the wounded man, poured oil into his wounds.

In either of theſe caſes it was uſed as a means of reſtoring life, and not a preparation for death. Beſides, as it is not on any other occaſion mentioned or commanded, it appears not to be of any obligation now that no ſuch miraculous gifts of healing remains not in the church, nor do the Papiſt themſelves pretend to uſe it to that end.

Matrimony.

This is another of their Sacraments, and yet though they hold it to be a ſacrament, they hold it not neceſſary for all; as if ſacraments which are ſeals of a covenant between God and man were not neceſſary to all who are capable of entering into that covenant---an abſurdity in the nature of things.

Orders.

Eccleſiaſtic orders are with the church of Rome a ſacrament, and juſt what they pleaſe without either proof, warrant, or example from ſcripture, but as their diſciples take all upon truſt; the authority of the church may impoſe what they think proper.

Confirmation.

The Romiſh church has no more authority for their pretended ſacrament, than for the other four, which together with this they have added to the two inſtituted by Chriſt.

They can produce no rule given to practiſe it, or any fœderal rite belonging to it; as there is for Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper.

We find the apoſtles laying hands on ſuch as were baptiſed, and praying that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt, and accordingly that they did receive the Holy Ghoſt; but thoſe extraordinary effects being ceaſed, there is no pretence for uſing that ceremony now, any otherwiſe than as the Proteſtant church uſes it; which is to have their baptized perſons, who have received that ſacrament in infancy, when they come to age, ratify and confirm it as their own act and deed, preſenting themſelves ſolemnly in the congregation for that end, before the biſhop, who there prays for them, laying his hand upon their heads. Thus much for the ſacraments.

Image

Image-Worſhip.

This is an article of Roman faith, by which their Church hath filled the Temple of God with idols, and ſet up idolatry, which is an abomination in the ſight of the Lord of Hoſts.

She pretends to no ſcripture authority for this; but only obſerves, that images are uſeful for teaching the ignorant, and are the books of the unlearned; but will not own that ſhe worſhips them, though it is an expreſs article of their creed.

Under this head may be properly ranked the idolatry of the maſs, where the conſecrated wafer or hoſt, as they call it, is held up by the prieſt to the view of the congregation, who all fall down and worſhip it, and in Roman countries it is carried about with great pomp in their ſtreets in proceſſion, where all that meet it kneel down and adore it, as the Iſraelites did their calves of gold, figures which they made to themſelves, and for which they were ſo ſeverally reprimanded by Moſes, the choſen ſervant of God.

It is to be wiſhed that Proteſtant profeſſors would ſeriouſly reflect upon an abominable cuſtom of the Papiſts relative to the frequent uſe of the maſs: this they inſolently preſume to offer in honour of ſaints and angels.

Can impiety itſelf exceed this method of profanely offering the ſon of God in honour of a creature? what a preference do they give to a creature, and that once a ſinful one too, when they thus offer the all-glorious Saviour a victim, and deſtroy Chriſt ſacramentally in honour of a ſaint? what can be more derogatory to the honour of our bleſſed Lord and his ſacrifice, than this horrid, yet conſtant doctrine and practice of the church of Rome? may the pious reader contemplate this ſubject, till it excites his juſt indignation.

Creature-Worſhip.

Another article of the Romiſh faith is the idolatry of Creature-worſhip and invocation of ſaints and angels; making them joint interceſſors with Chriſt, exalting them into a kind of partnerſhip with the beloved Son of God, whoſe office it is alone, to be mediator between God and man, there being, as but one God, ſo but one Mediator.

Nor do they for this, any more than for their image-worſhip, pretend much authority from ſcripture; but only that they think it to be a part of the communion of ſaints; and that as we deſire our friends on earth to pray for us, ſo we ſhould deſire thoſe in Heaven to do the like; and that as in the courts of earthly princes, we ſhould be glad to uſe the help of ſome favourite courtier to introduce us into the preſence of the prince, and to aſſiſt us in preſenting our petitions, and procure his favour towards us; ſo, thinking God to be altogether ſuch a one as themſelves, and becauſe a finite, moral creature cannot attend

to many things at once; but muſt uſe the intermediate officers of his miniſters, to convey to him the requeſts of others of his ſubjects; therefore they vainly conclude it to be the ſame, with the infinite and omniſcient God, who knows our thoughts afar off, and from whom no ſecrets are hid; who being a God abundant in goodneſs and mercy, has promiſed to his faithful people, that before they can ſpeak, he will be ready to hear them, and who having declared himſelf to be a God hearing of prayer, hath required that to him, all fleſh ſhould come: notwithſtanding all this, do they boldly and impiouſly dare to addreſs their devotions to creatures, and ask of them thoſe things, which are ſolely in the gift of God, and which he diſpenſes to thoſe who ask in his Son's name.

Prayers to the Virgin Mary.

In all the Romiſh worſhip, the bleſſed Virgin is a principal object of devotion. She is ſtiled, Queen of Heaven, Lady of the World, the only hope of ſinners, queen of angels, patroneſs of men, advocate for ſinners, mother of mercies, under which title, they deſire her by the power of a mother to command her ſon.

In ſome of their prayers, they deſire of God to bring them to Heaven by the merits and prayers of the perpetual Virgin Mary and all her ſaints, and that they may enjoy perpetual ſoundneſs both of body and mind, by her glorious interceſſion.

In ſome prayers in the Roman breviary are theſe words; "Let every thing be excuſed which we bring unto God by thee; and let us obtain whatever we ask with a faithful mind; accept that we offer, give that we ask pardon what we fear becauſe thou are the only hope of ſinners. We hope for the pardon of our offences by thee, and in thee is the moſt bleſſed expectation of our reward.

"O Holy Mary, ſuccour thoſe that are miſerable, uphold thoſe that are faint hearted, comfort thoſe that weep, pray for the people."

In another place they ſay to her, "By thee the Holy Trinity is ſanctified, and the precious croſs celebrated and adored throughout the world."

From ſuch exalted ſtrains, it might be imagined, that they had found the ſcriptures deſcribing the bleſſed Virgin as equal to Jeſus Chriſt, and no leſs a Saviour of the world.

A Papiſt, that ſhould read the bible might expect to find it full of the mention of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that Mary was as much ſpoken of in ſcripture as Jeſus, whereas on the contrary, there is little ſaid of her, as if it was purpoſely deſigned to give them no colour for ſuch a practice, and to leave them without excuſe.

We do not find Chriſt in any part of ſcripture called the Son of Mary, nor that he at any time calls her mother; and though we read he was ſubject to his parents; as he was in all things a perfect pattern of righteouſneſs; yet the anſwer he gave to Mary, when ſhe ſpoke to him at the Marriage at Cana, John ii. 4. "Woman, what

what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come;" ſhews that ſhe had no intereſt in what concerned his office, wherein he acted all things according to the eternal purpoſe of his father's will, and to finiſh the work he gave him to do.

His anſwer likewiſe to the woman who cried, "Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee and the paps, which thou haſt ſucked; yea rather bleſſed are they that hear the word of God and keep it," plainly ſhews that he allowed not any prerogative to the relation in the fleſh; but that ſhe who had the honour to be the mother of his human nature was bleſſed, not ſo much from that cauſe, as from believing in his divine nature, and from keeping his words, as it is ſaid ſhe did, "pondering them in her heart," Luke ii. 19.

Nor does our Saviour own any relation but that of a diſciple; as where his mother and brethren ſtood without, deſiring to ſpeak with him, and the Jews ſaid to him, "Behold thy mother and thy brethren ſtand without, deſiring to ſpeak with thee;" this anſwer ſeems to carry a reproof with it, where he ſays; "Who are my mother and my brethren? and, looking round about upon his diſciples; he ſaith, behold my mother and my brethren; for whoſoever ſhall do the will of my father which is in Heaven, the ſame is my brother, ſiſter and mother."

Prayers to Saints.

Of the like ſtrain are alſo the prayers of the Romiſh Church to other ſaints and angels, by whoſe merits and interceſſions they deſire to be helped.

On the feſtival of St. Joſeph, the husband of the bleſſed Virgin, they have this prayer: "We pray thee, O Lord, that we may be helped by the merits of the ſpouſe of thy Holy Mother, that what our weakneſs cannot obtain, may be given unto us by his interceſſion."

In ſome of their prayers they ask of the ſaints, and for the merits of the ſaints alone, thoſe bleſſings and graces, which are only derived to Monro thro' Jeſus Chriſt.

In ſome they join Chriſt and the ſaints together, as on the feaſt of St. Nicholas, they ſay, "God, who haſt graced St. Nicholas the biſhop, with many miraculous graces, we beſeech thee that we may be delivered from Hell-fire by his merits and prayers, through Chriſt our Lord."

Likewiſe they pray to St. Michael, St. Gabriel, &c. "Help us, pray for us, &c.

Thus doth this church blaſphemouſly derogate from the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and transfer his offices to others, making them joint interceſſors, and authors with him of that ſalvation purchaſed by him, and conferred upon the account of the merit of no other, nor any other interceſſion, but his alone.

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This therefore is a manifeſt tranſgreſſion of the law of God, as well as flagrant violation of the abſolute right of the ever-bleſſed Redeemer, and nothing leſs in fact, than a ſharing of God's honour with his creatures, and giving his praiſe to brazen images.

The Romiſh church ſeems to be conſcious of this idolatry, from their ſuppreſſing as much as poſſible the ſecond of the ten commandments.

In many of their little catechiſms and manuals, they leave it quite out, and in others they contract it; pretending, that as it is not a diſtinct commandment, but only a part of the firſt, it is needleſs to ſet it at full length, give any diſtinct explanation of it by itſelf, or make it ſignify more than what is comprehended in the firſt, Thou ſhalt have none other Gods but me. So that while they believe but one God, and uſe images only as helps in their devotions to him; if they do not take thoſe images to be every one a god itſelf, they are in no danger of idolatry in worſhipping them; for the worſhip which they direct to God by an image, has God alone for its ultimate object and terminates upon him.

But of this the circumſtance of the golden calf in the wilderneſs is a ſufficient refutation; for it is plain that Aaron and the Iſraelites, did not pretend by that to worſhip any other God, but the ſame one only true God, the Lord Jehovah, who had brought them out of the Land of Egypt; and that in the abſence of Moſes, while he tarried on the mount they would have ſome ſymbolical repreſentation of the Divine Preſence to be a help to their devotion, by ſome viſible object to direct their adorations to the Supreme God, upon whom alone they ſhould ultimately terminate.

That this was the caſe, will be evident to all that will but conſult the hiſtory of Jeroboam, and his ſucceſſors the kings of Iſrael, where they will find that the idolatry of the calves, was not a worſhip of any other God, but only the God of Iſrael, and was a diſtinct from the worſhip of Baal and other abominations of the Heathen.

Certainly the Lawgiver himſelf ſhould beſt underſtand his own commands, and beſt able to explain them; and if he has ſignified his meaning to be, that he will have no images uſed in his ſervice, nor any ſimilitude made of his remembrance: it is therefore reaſonable to believe him upon his own declaration, that he will be offended and avenged of all ſuch, as ſhall thus provoke him to jealouſy, for daring to pollute his ſervice with idols, upon any ſpecious pretences of piety, in oppoſition to his ſtrict commands, and ſuch ſevere denunciations and examples of his wrath againſt it.

Ave Mary.

Another corruption in the Romiſh church is that of vain repetitions, inſomuch that they have a ſtring of beads, by which to keep account in order to know when they have done.

The ſalutation of the angel to the bleſſed Virgin, and of her couſin Elizabeth to her is by them uſed as a prayer to her, and as ſuch to be ſaid ten

ten times following, and then the Lord's prayer or Paternoſter, and this round again and again, according to the length of the ſtring, which uſually is five or elſe ten Pater-noſters, and accordingly fifty or one hundred Ave-Maries.

This ſaying their beads is a brief part of their private devotion, and as it happens that their rules direct, or as they find themſelves diſpoſed, ſo their beads are ſaid ſo many or ſo many times.

In one of their books of devotion which they call the Jeſus Pſalter, the name of Jeſus is repeated, Jeſu, Jeſu, Jeſu, thirty times together.

Now this is evidently contrary to the uſe and deſign of prayer, which as St. Paul directs, is "to make our requeſts known unto God," and according to the examples of Holy men in ſcripture to uſe words properly ſetting forth petitions, according to our ſeveral wants and neceſſities.

Latin Prayers.

Similar to what was laſt obſerved is the Latin ſervice: performing the public worſhip of God in an unknown tongue to the common people, contrary to the rule laid down by the apoſtle that all things ſhould be done to Edification.

Ceremonies.

Another corruption of the Romiſh church is, the number of rites and ceremonies, wherewith they have clogged the worſhip of God, and rendered religion no longer a reaſonable ſervice; but a collection of carnal ordinances, and an exerciſe of external performances, bringing Chriſtian profeſſors back again to the non-age of the Jews, on whom carnal ordinances of typical ceremonies were only impoſed till the time of Reformation by the glorious miſion of the Son of God: The law of Moſes being but a Schoolmaſter, Gal. iii. 24. to bring us to Chriſt.

The blood of bulls and goats, and the aſhes of an heifer, the meats and drinks and divers waſhings, &c. Heb. ix. Being of no other uſe, nor inſtituted to any other end, than to ſignify the great ſacrifice of atonement to be made by the death of Chriſt, through whom by the Eternal Spirit, the conſciences of thoſe that believe in him ſhould be purged from dead works, to ſerve the living God, Heb. ix. 10.

Celibacy and abſtaining from meats.

The forbidding to marry, and commanding to abſtain from meats, is a great abuſe, and directly repugnant to ſcripture, where we are told, "that "the kingdom of God is not meat "and drink," 1 Cor. viii. 8. And that, "meats commend us not to "God," neither is it that "which "goeth into the mouth that defileth "the man." Yet this commandment to abſtain from meats, together with the forbidding to marry, is what the

Papiſts much value themſelves upon, and at the ſame time a plain proof of the apoſtacy of the times; the law of God laying no ſuch reſtraints upon men, neither as to the one or the other.

With reſpect to the forbearing to marry, though the ſcriptures mention ſome who have avoided wedlock in order to follow with leſs interruption the concerns of their ſouls; the ſcripture likewiſe declares, "That "all men cannot receive this ſaying, "ſave thoſe to whom it is given." The church of Rome nevertheleſs has laid this reſtraint indifferently upon the whole order of thoſe men who are to miniſter in holy things.

Theſe are obliged to vow a ſingle life, however unable they may be to keep it; and none are admitted to ſerve at their altars, nor ſuppoſed to attain to the perfection of the chriſtian life, neither men nor women, but ſuch as are devoted to perpetual celibacy. Though we are told in ſcripture, that "marriage is honourable "to all," and the "bed undefiled." And it is recorded of Enoch, Gen. v. 22. that "he walked with God, and begat ſons and daughters."

It appears from the New Teſtament that St. Peter was a married man; St. Paul giving directions about the wives and children of the clergy, evidently proves that theſe vows of celibacy were not in uſe in thoſe days, and it is very ſtrange that any authority ſhould be pretended to introduce them ſince.

Nor can it be found in any part of ſacred writ, that the perfection of godlineſs conſiſts in ſuch or ſuch a ſtate of life, or in eating or forbearing this or that ſort of meat, but that every man "in that calling, where-"in he is called, therein ſhould a-"bide with God. He that is called "in the Lord, being a ſervant is the "Lord's freeman; and he that is "called, being free, is" Chriſt's ſervant, 1 Cor. vii. 22. "Neither if "we eat are we the better, nor if we "eat not are we the worſe, 1 Cor. viii. 8.

Nor is faſting or eating, marrying or not marrying, better or worſe in themſelves, but as they ſerve more or leſs for the diſcharge of our duty both to God and man: there is therefore no religion in this boaſted practice of the Romiſh church, and for people to tie themſelves up with vows, to things which God has not commanded, and which for that reaſon they have no ground to expect he ſhould give them ſtrength to perform; to ſhut up ſo many in cells and cloiſters, is but to deprive the world of thoſe, who might in an active life, have been uſeful to it, to ſerve their generation after the will of God; and to place the height of piety and Chriſtian perfection in ſuch things as cannot be common to all orders and degrees of men and women in the world, as it is not conſiſtent with every ſtate, nor can be practiſed by every one in every rank, is very different from thoſe commands of Chriſt, who has in general required of all his followers, to "be perfect as their Father in Heaven "is perfect," and who has made no ſuch diſtinction, but that in all varie-

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ties of ſtation and condition it may be attained in a degree, by having a regard to the divine law, and practiſing the commands of God, from motives of genuine obedience.

Merits and Works of Supererrogation.

The former corrupt and ſlaviſh practices are upheld by the doctrines of merit and works of ſupererrogation: for theſe celibate or unmarried fraternities and virgin votaries are ſuppoſed by them to be perſons who can do more than work out their own ſavation; they arrogate to themſelves a redundancy of merit from theſe good works of theirs, which they aſſign over to be paid into the future rewards of eternal life to thoſe others who living in the world, are not capable of acting ſo meritoriouſly: and the great and juſt God, who according to his inſpired word is debtor to no man, is to pay this debt ariſing from the performance of more duties than required (as the term ſupererrogation ſignifies) to whomſoever his Holineſs the Pope ſhall pleaſe to aſſign it, by aſſociating them into the merits of theſe ſocieties.

Now all this is both abſurd and impious, contrary to ſcripture, and the great baſis and fundamental points of the Chriſtian faith, which prereemptorily ſet forth; that the ſalvation of ſinners is the free gift of God, thro' the merit of the redeemer's ſacrifice, and that our goodneſs extendeth not to him, but that when we had done our utmoſt, we muſt ſay in the words of the apoſtle we are but Unprofitable Servants and have done no more than was our duty to do, and muſt "count "all things but loſs, that we may "win Chriſt and be found in him, "not having our own righteouſneſs, "which is of the law, but that which "is through the faith of Chriſt, the "righteouſneſs which is of God by "faith."

But the nature of theſe good works in which ſo much merit is placed, and by which Heaven is bought and ſold, may be gathered from the preſent practice of their religious orders, and from the lives of their ſaints in their legends, thoſe libels againſt the honor of Chriſt's doctrine, which not only reflect diſgrace on chriſtianity, but even the reaſon of mankind, by repreſenting ſuch as ſaints, who ſeem not to poſſeſs the ſmalleſt degree of common ſenſe, and who, if the accounts of their ſilly legends are true, have been fitter to be confined for lunacy, than handed down to poſterity as examples of faith and piety.

Popiſh Reſtrictions.

We find throughout the whole ſcriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament that the rules of life there laid down to men, are alſo adapted to the ſtate and condition of ſuch as live in the world as ſuppoſing them to dwell in ſocieties, and not in ſolitudes and deſarts: accordingly we find the examples of the prophets and apoſtles, even of the Bleſſed Jeſus himſelf, are

or

of going about and doing good, always exercised in an active station, for the benefit and relief of others, in brief for the general good of mankind, promoting the welfare both of their bodies and souls.

Now in absolute contrariety to this, the church of Rome has framed her rules, making those only saints and holy ones, not who live in the world, and overcome it by their faith; but who run out of the world, shut themselves up from all civil society, and leave it to be governed by the worst of people; if those only are the best who are thus secluded in their cloisters; and these by the fantastic rules under which they live; the disguising habits which they assume, and the Pagan and barbarous austerities, with which they pretend to mortify themselves, most scandalously misrepresent the religion of Jesus, and instead of the "doctrine of God their Saviour, render it ridiculous" and odius to the unbelieving part of the world.

Thus miserably has the church of Rome changed the face of the Christian religion, and rendered it quite another thing, than what it is as instituted by Christ, by turning it into an outward bodily service, making it nothing but a system of vain opinions and a rubric of forms, placing it in the belief of a multitude of groundless and absurd opinions, and the observance of numberless superstitions and unprofitable services; and in short diverting the human mind from all that is noble and manly, spiritual and heavenly, and worthy of Beings created in the image of God.

Popery a complex System of Absurdity and Idolatry.

Because the Son of God was graciously pleased to take upon him our nature, to be born and die for man; the church of Rome has thought fit to exhibit these important truths to her people in divers ludicrous forms.

At the feast of Christmas in commemoration of the nativity of our Blessed Lord, she has in her churches a cradle with an image of an infant in it, which is rocked with great devotion by some of her pious congregation.

On Good-Friday they have the figure of our Saviour on the cross, and then they perform the service which they call, The Tenebres, having abundance of lighted candles, all of which they extinguish one by one, till they are all in darkness; and this is celebrating our Saviour's passion, and the darkness that was over all the land at the time of his crucifixion: after this, the body is taken down from the cross and put into a sepulchre and men stand to watch it; with much more of this kind that might be related, as if the Son of God came down from Heaven to furnish men with a subject for dramatic representation.

Amidst the whole of the Popish religion, there is a mixture of idolatry that goes throughout the whole, and makes up an essential part of her public and private worship.

Besides the pomp and idolatry of these ceremonies; there are as before ob-

obſerved, in their common devotion, that of maſs, creature-worſhip, and images.

The people go to church to ſee fine paintings and images, rich altars, and coſtly ornaments, to hear exquiſite muſic, prayers ſaid in Latin; but not to receive any truly Chriſtian inſtruction to their ſouls health; and can only ſtare, and gaze, and liſten, without finding any thing to help a rational and ſerious devotion, or means to hear the voice of God in his word, or being led to entertain any ſpiritual converſe with Heaven.

Circumſtances proving Popery a crafty Deſign.

The following doctrines and practices, if duly attended to will convince the unprejudiced mind, that the whole ſcheme of popery is a crafty deſign to eſtabliſh a dominion over the minds and conſciences, and over the perſons and purſes of its followers.

Prieſts power to forgive ſins, and neceſſity of confeſſion.

The doctrine of the prieſts power to forgive ſins and the trick of auricular confeſſion, obliging every ſoul among them to put his conſcience under the direction of a confeſſor and to diſcover to him the inmoſt thoughts of his heart, becauſe the ſmalleſt ſin if concealed from him may prove damnable; is well adapted to keep men's conſciences in awe and eſtabliſh the dominion and tyranny of their guides.

Papal Sovereignty ſupported by Purgatory.

Purgatory is a very neceſſary doctrine for ſupporting the papacy, as it ſerves to make people need indulgences, of which the Pope is ſovereign diſpenſer.

Now if of all that die, all ſhould be ſuppoſed to go only to Heaven, or to Hell, as the firſt would have no need of relief, ſo the laſt would be capable of none: hence aroſe the expediency of this fable of a third place, this priſon of purgatory, of which the Pope keeps the keys.

Our bleſſed Lord we know as he has told, Rev. i. 18. has the "keys "of Hell and death," and likewiſe "the key of David and openeth and "no man ſhutteth, and ſhutteth and "no man openeth," Rev. iii. 7.

But this place of purgatory that the pope himſelf hath built by the might of his power, and for the honour of his majeſty, and therefore he alone is maſter of it, and controuls it according to his will.

This purgatory according to the deſcription of ſome men, who pretend to have had viſions of it in their life time (though the ſcriptures are ſilent upon the ſubject) is a moſt dreadful place of torment.

There are, ſays they, in it three degrees of puniſhment, but in each the torment is exquiſite; inſomuch that a dying man who can be brought

to credit this fable, will give his whole fortune to the church from his heirs to purchaſe an exemption from it, or even have the time of his continuance in it ſhortened.

This is in the power of the Pope, who diſpenſes the indulgence, and commands the treaſury of merits, by which the pains are mitigated, and the deliverance haſtened.

For theſe ſufferers in purgatory his prieſts, monks and friars ſay maſſes, all of whom muſt be paid for their trouble; there being no penny, no paternoſter, by which bubble the church of Rome amaſſes great wealth.

Relicks.

Another ſource of riches is the noble treaſure of relicks with which that church abounds, and theſe are likewiſe to be bought, and are of great efficacy both for ſoul and body.

Our Saviour hath ſaid, "The fleſh profiteth nothing," John vi. 33. but here the fleſh profiteth all.

They have the finger of one ſaint, the tooth of another, the garment of another; ſome of the Bleſſed Virgin's milk, the linnen in which our Saviour's body was wrapt in the ſepulchre, a handkerchief with which he wiped his face, and left thereon the print of his fingers, afterwards beſtowing it as a gift upon St. Veronica, and theſe have multiplied themſelves into one or two more, which are kept as ſacred depoſita, from which they pretend to derive great virtue.

Thus doth the church of Rome cheat thoſe committed to her charge, giving them "a ſtone inſtead of bread and for fiſh a ſcorpion," the drift of all this trade being to enrich her clergy, and keep the people poor, maintaining ſwarms of lazy Monks and Friars upon their ſpoil.

Religious Orders and Mendicants.

The ſeveral orders of their religious, as they term them, are ſo many burthens upon thoſe countries where they live; the Mendicant ones eſpecially, who devote themſelves to perpetual beggary, and under a pretence of charity, from the practice in the apoſtles time, of "having all things common, and diſtributing to every one "according to their needs," and our Saviour's trial of the young man's ſincerity in ſaying, "If thou will be "perfect, ſell that thou haſt and give "to the poor," give away all their eſtates, and ſome there are who never had any; but as a ſtate of greater perfection, they enter themſelves into this order of Mendicants, and live all their lives upon the labour of others, contrary to that rule of the apoſtle, that "if any would not work, neither ſhould he eat."

Thus the whole frame of the Romiſh church appears to be one continued ſcene of fraud and tyranny, and every way deſtructive of the liberties and welfare of mankind.

One would think it almoſt impoſſible, that perſons who know any thing of the Chriſtian religion, and the

the foundation of its doctrines, could ever admit things so contrary to it.

Several Popish objections to the Protestants considered.

The Papists often urge upon the Protestants, that they say in the creed, they believe the Holy Catholick church, for which they reckon they are self condemned, if they do not own the Romish church, and submit their belief to hers.

But surely it by no means follows, that because they believe a Catholic church, the church of Rome must be that church, and that all she teaches is true.

The word Catholic is used to signify Universal or General, and so to express by Catholic doctrine that which is universally consented to in opposition to innovations and heresies privily introduced, and in that sense perhaps the church of Rome assumes to herself the title, but without any right to it, till she can prove either the truth, the antiquity or universality of her doctrine.

It is amazing that the learned among the papists can satisfy themselves and think they overcome their Protestant adversaries with such weak arguments, as where was your church before Luther? what causes so many differences in religion but the reading of the bible? how do you know the bible to be the word of God but by tradition? how can you understand the true sense and meaning of it, but by the authority of an infallible guide? and St. Peter being the prince of the apostles, Christ founded his church upon him.

To the first of these queries it may be answered, that the church before Luther was where it was afterwards, just as the wheat is in the flour before it is winnowed from the chaff.

So it is the same church still and in the same place, only then corrupted but now reformed; they did not make a new church any more than Josiah a new temple, when he cleansed the old, and reformed the Jewish worship by the book of the law. "He brought out of the house of the "Lord, all vessels that were made for "Baal, and broke down the houses "of the Sodomites, that were by "the house of the Lord, and took "away the horses that the kings of "Judah had given to the sun:" And yet with all these alterations, he did not deface, nor remove the old temple nor change the true worship, but restored it and commanded the people to keep the passover unto the Lord, "as it is written in the book of the "covenant."

As to the other, who built the church? nothing more can be inferred from it, but that our ancestors lived before us, and that their posterity of the succeeding generations make use of what they find provided to their hand; but it argues nothing for the purity of their worship, or that we should tread in their steps whether right or wrong.

It appears from some of their structures

that their worſhip was corrupt enough; being rather adapted for the ſaying maſs, worſhipping ſaints and relicks, than for the convenience of Chriſtian aſſemblies in prayer and preaching the word.

If the Romiſh church will boaſt its antiquity, we muſt take the liberty to to aver, that our church was before theirs in the inſtitution of Chriſt and his apoſtles, who delivered thoſe truths which proteſtants maintain, before there was any ſuch thing as popery in the world.

To ſay that differences in opinion ſpring from the free uſe of the bible, argues no more than ſaying becauſe ſome men ſtumble in the day-time, therefore it is better for all to walk in darkneſs.

The bible is to the church, as the ſun is to the firmament, ſome men's eyes are weaker, and ſome better by its light than others, yet it is generally uſeful to all.

The holy bible is ſo written that all may underſtand ſome of it, and yet few can underſtand all on this ſide the grave, for in this ſtate of mortality, "we ſee but through a glaſs darkly, and yet that does hinder, but that all ſhould read it, and our Saviour's command in this reſpect is general, and without the leaſt diſtinction, "Search the ſcriptures," John v. 39.

Beſides, are the ſcriptures in our days harder to be underſtood by Chriſtians, than they were formerly by the Jews? yet they were commanded to teach them to their children; their women and children, all, ſmall and great, were often called together to be preſent at the ſolemn reading of them, as appears from ſundry paſſages.

If the reading of ſcripture be a cauſe of differences in opinion; the ignorance of ſcripture is much more a cauſe of dangerous miſchiefs, being a certain ſource of error and deluſion.

The different ſects of Chriſtians alſo pretending to ground their opinions upon ſcripture, ſhews the univerſal regard they all pay to it, and that all own it to be their rule of faith.

The wiſdom of God hath ſeen fit to leave ſome things not clearly determined, and to give room as it were for different expoſitions, in order perhaps to exerciſe men's charity and mutual forbearance of each other. St. Paul writes, Romans xiv. &c. "One believeth that he may eat all "things, while another who is weak "eats herbs, One man obſerves one "day above another, and another "eſteemeth every day alike," and grants that each may do it "to the Lord," requiring only that "every "man ſhould be fully perſuaded in "his own mind," and that one man ſhould not judge another.

While men know but in part, none can be deemed infallible in their judgment; and the higher or more perfect degrees of knowledge in ſome, and leſſer or more imperfect degrees of it in others, ever did and ever will occaſion diverſity of opinions concerning non-eſſentials amongſt profeſſing Chriſtians.

To affirm that tradition gives ſanction or authority to the ſcriptures, or is neceſſary to the underſtanding of them, is contrary to the true meaning and

and import of the ſame; tradition being no more than the means which conveys them, and the ſcriptures themſelves carry with them, their own evidence, as the ſun is ſeen by its own light.

Tradition alone would have ſtamped no value on the bible, if its intrinſic merit had not ſupported its authenticity throughout all ages.

To ſet up tradition as a ſupplement to the bible, is to divert the attention of mankind from a certain and invariable rule, to a doubtful and uncertain one, there being nothing more obſcure, and leſs to be depended on; for inſtance, we may obſerve how the knowledge of the true God was loſt in the world, and how confuſed and perplexed it become, where there was only tradition to preſerve it.

In the earlier ages of the world, when mens lives were of ſo great a length, that one man could ſee his children's children to the tenth generation; tradition might carry in it ſome degree of certainty; becauſe four or five perſons could deliver down the hiſtory of above two thouſand years, by clear and freſh teſtimony: but in after ages, when it ſeemed meet unto divine wiſdom, to abridge the life of man; it pleaſed the Almighty, to cauſe all that he would have known unto the world, to be written down, for a more certain and minute conveyance to poſterity, and all theſe things were written, as St. Paul obſerves, 1 Cor. x. 10. for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come, that we who live in ages ſo remote, might know the great works of God and his wonders of old time, and be inſtructed in things long paſſed, by the certainty of a written record, as the ſame apoſtle writes, Rom. iv. 4. "What ſoever things were written afore time, were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the ſcriptures, might have hope;" he does not ſay of tradition, but of ſcripture.

Nor were the ten commandments, delivered orally to Moſes and to be kept in remembrance by tradition; but in written tables; and when Moſes had broken thoſe firſt tables, he was obliged in their ſtead to make new ones, wherein the ſame law was again written.

We alſo find in the New Teſtament, that the hiſtory "of all that Jeſus began both to do and teach, as much as was neceſſary to be known and believed in the world, was written down; "Theſe are written that ye might believe, John xx. 31.

We ſee in the preſent day, how little thoſe nations, who are ignorant of letters, know of themſelves or their original; and what authentic account can they have of their kings, government, &c. who have no books to preſerve them? There are two texts which the Papiſts cite as infallible proofs of the validity of tradition; the firſt is the words of the apoſtle, 2 Theſ. ii. 15. "Hold faſt the traditions which "ye have been taught, whether by "word, or our epiſtle;" the next are thoſe of the ſame apoſtle; Chap. iii. of the ſame Epiſtle, ver. 6. "Withdraw from every brother that"

diſorderly, and not after the tradition which "he received of us."

Here it is to be obſerved, that while the apoſtles were living, and going about preaching amongſt the different nations, they might have many things from them, that were not then written down; and while they were teaching continually from place to place, the tradition might be carried from one church to another; but it does not follow from hence, that after their deceaſe, any thing was left to be believed and practiſed in the church, which is not to be found written down.

The ſcriptures themſelves are their own beſt expoſitor, by comparing one paſſage with another, and the help that is to be derived from antiquity for better underſtanding them is ſought in written records, and ſuch as carry in them characters of genuine antiquity, and not in ſuch an inconſtant, variable, and doubtful guide as tradition, which inſtead of aſſiſting in the diſcovery of truth, is a fountain of error, corruption and deceit.

Infallibility in ſacred things.

The neceſſity of an infallible judge to determine controverſies, is not once mentioned in the ſacred writings, nor do they inform us where ſuch a one is to be found: the only infallible guide to which they direct, being the Holy Spirit of God, who ſhall lead into all truth, thoſe who ſincerely apply to him for his gracious aid and aſſiſtance.

Primacy of St. Peter, and immediate Succeſſorſhip of the Popes.

The text from which the Papiſts infer the primacy of St. Peter, the church being built upon him, and the Popes being his immediate ſucceſſors, and deriving their authority from him, is Mat. xvi. 18. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church:" but that implies not the ſuperiority of Peter to the other apoſtles; being plainly ſpoken of his faith, of which he had juſt made confeſſion, ſaying, Ver. 16. "Thou art the Chriſt, the Son of the living God."

With reſpect to his perſon; he was no more than a ſingle ſtone in the ſame building with the reſt of his brethen, the prophets and apoſtles, who were all workers together with him.

However, admitting that Peter was ſuperior to the reſt of the apoſtles, what foundation is there for aſſerting ing that the popes are his immediate ſucceſſors? there is no ſcripture authority for it, and it is very abſurd to make that point an article of faith, upon any authority leſs valid: yet the main ſtreſs of this great pillar reſts upon nothing better than meer human authority and that forged and vain; for there is no proving from ſcripture either Peter's primacy or his having been at Rome, much leſs is there any colour of pretence for the Pope's ſupremacy, or his having been

been St. Peter ſucceſſor, any more than others of his fellow biſhops, who are equally ſucceſſors to St. Peter, and the reſt of the apoſtles, as much as the biſhops: ſo that it appears to be a very ſandy foundation for ſo mighty a building to ſtand upon, and to ſupport the weight of an article of ſuch conſequence; eſpecially after they have been ſhewn by the Proteſtants all the ſteps by which the Papal greatneſs roſe, and and that it was by the favour of the emperors of Rome, and that city being the ſeat of their reſidence, that made the biſhops of Rome any more conſidered than other biſhops; and it was through the munificence of the emperor, and afterwards by the encroachments, by which the Popes grew up to their greatneſs, and not from any divine privilege or prerogative derived from St. Peter's maſter, nor was ſuch ſupremacy pretended to for ſome hundred years after our Saviour.

It appears from the general method in which the Papiſts conduct the argument in favour of this point; that they lay down no plain or certain rule, by which to evince the truth of their poſitions; inſtead of which they endeavour to perplex the reader with cavils and captious queſtions, and to make all things doubtful in religion, if you will not take them from them upon the authority of their pretended infallibility.

Whether this infallibly be in Pope or council, in each or neither ſeparately or jointly, or whether in the whole diffuſive body of Chriſtians, are points yet in diſpute and undetermined amongſt them, they only affirm it is ſomewhere or other, but have not aſcertained where.

Thoſe therefore muſt be in a very dangerous ſituation who truſt the ſalvation of their ſouls to ſuch a tottering ſupport, and for ought that hath yet appeared, the bible is as difficult to be underſtood by the Popes as by people; for with all their high pretences to infallibility, they have never yet given any infallible comment on the bible, or put any one book into the hands of the people with the ſtamp of univerſal authority, that can be a ſure preſervative from error.

If the ſcriptures are, as they ſay, obſcure and dangerous for the people to read, why do not the popes, if they underſtand them better, explain them, and give an expoſition of them that might render them more eaſily underſtood, and let their whole body of people have one authorized volume, that ſhould contain the whole of their doctrines, and be univerſally read by them all, as the bible is by the proteſtants?

But inſtead of an open, ingenuous conduct, they ſhuffle and evade, perplex their doctrines with ambiguous terms, and have recourſe to ſophiſtry and every chimerical meaſure to obſcure truth and propagate error and ſuperſtition.

Thus they proceed without any fixed ſtandard, by which to be judged, or any one ſtamped with a public character, as being acknowledged by the whole church, and to be read by all in general; ſo that there can be

be found no rule of their own by which to try them; nor have they inſtead of the bible, any one book, by which to inſtruct every one what they are to believe and practice in order to obtain eternal ſalvation.

Now for want of this unerring rule, there muſt, according to their own principles, when well examined be found much obſcurity, confuſion and uncertainty in their notion of infallibility, and both that and the name of the church are terms made uſe of in a very indefinitive and undetermined ſenſe, and of very uncertain ſignification.

Difference in opinions prevails in the Church of Rome more than in the Church of Chriſt.

With reſpect to the differences in opinion, which they charge upon the Proteſtants, that accuſation upon due enquiry will be found to retort not a little upon themſelves; as they have as many differences as the other.

For inſtance, the Franſciſcans maintain with great heat the doctrine of immaculate conception, which the Dominicans with as much vehemence deny; the efficacy of grace taught by the Janeſiſts, is zealouſly oppoſed by the Jeſuiſts, who aſſert the doctrine of free-will. The Regular clergy contemn and undermine the Secular; while the Secular expoſe the iniquity of the Regulars, and all in high diſpute concerning the credit of their images and relicts upon which their profits depend; one extolling the miracles in ſuch a place, from whence his gain ariſes, another decrying thoſe and magnifying ſomething belonging to his peculiar office, to draw the wealth on his ſide; beſide great emulation prevails among them about precedency, antiquity, and the merits and pre-eminence of the founder of one order above another.

The only points in which they all agree, is that of acknowledging the Pope for their head, and being in ſlaviſh obedience to they know not what, under the name of the church, in joining in an unintelligible ſervice in a language, which the far greater part underſtand not; and in perſecuting and deſtroying all that ſtand in their way.

Theſe are the main matters of the union of which they can boaſt; whereas the Proteſtants can prove, that as great a union prevails among them, and not only extended as far, but eſtabliſhed upon much better grounds.

The Proteſtants are univerſally agreed in owning the authority of the Scriptures, in acknowledging Chriſt ſole head of the Univerſal Church, and in deteſting the errors of the Romiſh religion, and the uſurpation of the Papacy.

The Proteſtants have not a pope to interpoſe between them and the Sun of Righteouſneſs; but look up immediately "to the Father of lights, "from whom cometh every good," and every perfect gift.

They acknowledge the uſefulneſs of

of the labours of learned men, gladly uſe their aſſiſtance, and pay a due deference to them, "who are over "them in the Lord, and eſteem them "very highly for their work's ſake." They eſteem the aſſiſtance of ſuch ſpiritual guides, who explain to them, "what is the good and acceptable, "and perfect will of God;" without looking upon them as having dominion over their faith, but as helpers of their joy, they examine the doctrines they teach them, "whether "they be of God," and require them to prove by ſcripture, that what they teach them is the word of truth; and being not unwilling to follow their guides, they only deſire to go with their eyes open.

Several peculiar advantages of the Proteſtant Religion, in points differing from the Romiſh faith.

The Proteſtant religion teaches, that the Son of God, when he left this world to go to his Father, promiſed to ſend down the Spirit of Truth, by which he would be for ever preſent with his church, that is, all that are ſaved by Chriſt, the whole body of ſincere believers, who are all made partakers of that one Spirit; and that this is not a promiſe to the clergy, excluſive of the laiety; but that all, both laiety and clergy, have an equal right to the promiſe of their Saviour to ſend unto them that "Spirit of Truth, that ſhould guide "them into all truth," and their part in that prayer he made to his Father, John xvii. 20. not for his diſciples only of thoſe days, and the men of that generation, "but for all "them as ſhould hereafter believe on "him through their word," the promiſe being made, "to them that "were nigh, and to them that were "afar off, to us, and to our children, "even as many as the Lord our God "ſhall call."

That the invitation made by Chriſt is without diſtinction to every one to "ſeek, and they ſhall find, to aſk, "and they ſhall receive," the Holy Spirit which their heavenly Father will give them that aſk him. So that having the word of God in the ſcripture for their outward rule, and the Spirit of God enlightening their heart for their inner rule, they have every one the means of ſalvation nigh unto them.

But the word is nigh unto us, even in our mouths, and in our hearts. So nigh, that the captive in the dungeon, and the forlorn one in retirement may know it as well as the prince, or the moſt learned of the earth; and it is neceſſary it ſhould be ſo, ſince all ſouls are equally precious, being bought with the ſame price, and every man muſt give an account of himſelf to God, and ſhall be ſaved by his own faith, and not by that of another.

In theſe reſpects the Proteſtants are upon a better foundation than the Papiſts, and tread in a more even and ſteady path. Whereas the Papiſts going off from Scripture, and taking

in Tradition as a ſupplement to the ſcriptures, are upon a moſt uncertain and unſteady foundation, reſting themſelves upon human teſtimony, human authority, and human infallibility.

As their faith is built upon a doubtful bottom, ſo the hope of their calling is no leſs unſure; while they are taught to rely upon other helps for ſalvation, beſides the faith of Chriſt, and the unfeigned fruits of it in righteouſneſs and true holineſs, they may weary themſelves with pilgrimages and penances, works of ſuperrogation, and exhauſt their purſes in purchaſing indulgencies, relicks, maſſes, and yet never procure a well-grounded hope on which to repoſe the ſafety of their eternal ſtate.

As they muſt be doubtful and fearful in their deaths, ſo they muſt be likewiſe while they live amidſt ſo many objects of their truſt and worſhip; and having ſo many other advocates beſides Chriſt Jeſus, "the "only Mediator between God and "man," as well as the only hope of ſinners, they are led into continual difficulties, and never know when they have made proper application to them all.

What can ſuch a numerous train of mediators miniſter, but deſtruction inſtead of aſſiſtance to the ſupplicant? Certain then it is, notwithſtanding all prejudices to the contrary, that the Proteſtants are of the ſurer ſide in this particular, in that they have the Scriptures to aſſure them, that "if any man ſin, we have an advo-"cate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt "the righteous; and that he is the "propitiation for their ſins;" nor need they ſeek a better patron than he that "Hath loved them, and has "waſhed them from their ſins in his "own blood.

Reflections caſt on the Reformation by the Papiſts conſidered impartially, together with the Grounds of the ſame.

The profeſſors of the Romiſh church becauſe they cannot with any force of argument refute the poſitions urged in vindication of the Proteſtant cauſe, endeavour by various artifices to blacken the reformation; by objecting to its promoters many inſtances of impiety and injuſtice.

They make a prodigious outcry againſt the vices of Henry VIII, the paſſion of Luther, the flexibility of and the irregular manner in which they pretend, the reformation eſtabliſhed itſelf.

Not to enter here into the particulars of that affair, of which enough has been ſaid by abler pens, which have recounted the hiſtory of the reformation, and ſufficiently vindicated it from the mis-repreſentations of Popiſh adverſaries, it is enough at preſent to obſerve, that the Proteſtant religion has no dependance upon hiſtorical paſſes, nor is anſwerable for the real or ſuppoſed vices or failings of the reformers.

There was by the confeſſion of the Papiſts

Papiſts themſelves, ſo much ſcandal in the lives of the clergy, and ſuch a general corruption throughout the whole church, that there was an univerſal cry for a reformation.

A certain celebrated author of their own profeſſion acknowledged at that time, "That though the true Chriſtian doctrines did remain in the church fundamentally, yet they were not ſufficiently explained to the people; but that inſtead of the grace of Chriſt, too many did preach up indulgences, pilgrimages, and the like."

This very declaration is ſufficient to juſtify the reformation to all impartial people; for this (as the abovementioned writers obſerve) made people call out from all quarters for a general council, to proceed on the means to remedy theſe evils, and tho' the writer would inſinuate, that without permiſſion from the Pope and conſent of council, the evils could not be remedied; he allows that both doctrine and manners were become very depraved; and if the Pope and governing powers would not give redreſs, men muſt ſeek it for themſelves where it was to be found.

This was the condition of the church, and this the courſe they took; the Pope would not reform the church; therefore the church reformed without him, as was certainly moſt juſt and neceſſary.

What contributed not a little to promote the reformation, was Pope Leo the Xth's ſetting up to ſale a greater number of indulgences to raiſe a portion for his niece; and ſending out his friars with their pedlar's pack of this choice merchandiſe to all, to make him as much money as they could: hence Martin Luther a Friar in Germany about the year 1513 took occaſion to preach againſt ſo abominable a traffic.

This incenſed the Pope ſo highly againſt him, that Luther was ſummoned to appear and a rigorous proſecution commenced againſt him: he was by this means induced to ſtudy the controverſy more attentively, in order to plead in his own behalf.

This led him to unravel the iniquities of the Romiſh church, and being a man of a ſanguine diſpoſition, the more rigour they uſed towards him, the more he was exaſperated againſt them, and the more expoſed their errors to the view of the world.

At length he tranſlated the New Teſtament into the German Language, and by that means gave light into the difference; ſo that the corruptions that were before ſo viſible in the Roman church, being thus openly attacked and detected, it was no longer poſſible to keep men under her yoke; inſomuch that many ſtates in Germany reformed from their abominations, and departed from the communion of ſo corrupt a church.

About the ſame time, King Henry VIII. of England, having a quarrel with the Pope, broke off from his obedience, and by that means brought on a reformation in his kingdom.

It may be ſeen in the foregoing part of this work, with what fury Satan and his emiſſaries endeavoured to

to put a ſtop to the reformation, and extinguiſh this light of truth in order to keep men ſtill in darkneſs and the ſhadow of death.

It is of no import, what were the motives on King Henry VIIIth's part to make this breach with the See of Rome; God was pleaſed to employ as the means to overthrow theſe ſtrong holds of Satan, and to open the priſon doors; and though that prince reformed no farther than pleaſed his humour, and ſerved his own turn; though he burnt both Papiſts and Proteſtants in the ſame fire, and continued himſelf in the Romiſh communion to the end of his days; yet he was an inſtrument in the hand of God, to bring about the ends which his providence had appointed though he deſigned it not.

We find in the prophecy of Iſaiah, how the Ayrian was the ſtaff in God's hand, and did his work though he meant it not, neither did his heart think ſo.

Nebuchadnezzar in his ſervice againſt Tyrus, is ſaid to have wrought for God. Ezek. xxix. 20.

So the Engliſh monarch being of a turbulent impetuous temper ſerved to clear the way for that further reformation, which afterward, happily enſued: he diſſolved monaſteries, pulled down images, caſt off the Pope's Supremacy, and did many things, which a prince of a milder diſpoſition would not have dared to have done, and by that means prepared things for the reſtoring religion to its purity, and building up the houſe of God, which through the bleſſing of the Almighty was brought to paſs under the reign of his ſucceſſors king Edward the ſixth, and queen Elizabeth.

This we preſume is the true ſtate of the caſe, which the advocates for Popery have ſo greatly miſrepreſented, not only in deviating from the truth in point of hiſtorical facts, but alſo traducing ſome worthy characters, who were inſtrumental in the great work of the reformation; and having by diligently ſearching the ſcriptures, diſcovered the egregious errors of the church of Rome, in the faith of which they had been educated, reſolved, at the hazard of their worldly intereſts, to forſake the ſame, and at all events, to aſſert and maintain the doctrines and practices inſtituted by Chriſt, and followed by all his true diſciples.

But admitting the truth of the charges brought by the Papiſts againſt ſome who were concerned in the reformation; cannot the Proteſtants with as much juſtice call on them to review impartially the lives of their Popes? Will they not only on ſuch ſurvey find many of them to have been the vileſt of miſcreants, capable of proſtituting the moſt ſacred cauſe to the moſt impious purpoſes?

If we conſider the Papacy in a mercenary light, we ſhall not wonder at their concern and diſpleaſure on account of the revolt of ſo many ſtates and principalities from their obedience; for before that time the Pope had the arbitrary diſpoſal of crowns and

and ſcepters, he was ſole umpire in all controverſies, and could command the lives and fortunes of princes and people; all countries within his communion were tributary to him, and he could exact from them whatever ſums his avarice or caprice might induce him to demand.

Further to obſerve his purpoſe, he would publiſh his cruſades, and ſend thouſands on a ridiculous plan of combating with the Turks and Saracens, it being deemed a moſt meritorious act in thoſe days of blindneſs and ſuperſtition to conquer the Holy Land, and reſcue it from the hands of infidels; ſo that the Pope no ſooner cauſed the trumpet to be ſounded, than princes and people took arms, together with the badge of the croſs upon their backs, and repaired from all parts of Chriſtendom to the land of Canaan; by which means the Popes had an opportunity in their abſence of encroaching upon the civil power, and obtaining great ſway over thoſe ſtates and principallities, whoſe princes he had ſent on theſe wiſe errands.

Upon the whole, it evidently appears that a reformation was abſolutely neceſſary to purge the church from thoſe corruptions and abuſes which had been introduced in direct repugnance to ſcripture and common ſenſe.

We beg leave to add further, that the Papiſts very unjuſtly charge the Proteſtants with innovation, or ſetting up a new religion; the Proteſtant religion being no more than Primitive Chriſtianity.

That the church of Rome has erred, and that ſhe is not infallible, has been proved from Scripture; yet it may not be improper to enquire, whether infallibility be eſſential to the being of a true church or not? and whether there was this infallibility in the church of the Jews, or not? If anſwer be made in the affirmative; we can cite from the writings both from the Old and New Teſtament, many inſtances of depravation, and ſuch deſcription of her paſtors as are very inconſiſtent with infallibility.

Our Saviour reproves ſome in the ſevereſt terms of "ſerpents, a gene-" ration of vipers," and ſuch as made their diſciples "twofold more the "children of hell than themſelves;" from whence we may conclude, that their infallibility, whatever it was, was ſecurity to the ſouls of their followers.

If they reply in the negative, they give up the point, viz. that infallibility is not neceſſary to the being of a true church; but that there may be a true church without it, in which caſe perhaps the reformed church may be found to have as good a claim to the truth as the church of Rome.

But whether they follow or deny the infallibility of the Jewiſh church, they muſt confeſs that the ruling powers of that church were the greateſt oppoſers of our Saviour and his doctrines; that the people were much more diſpoſed to receive him than their prieſts; that they had reaſon to depart from the opinion of their ru-

lers; and that had they not done so, they would never have embraced the Christian religion, nor become the disciples of Jesus Christ; for the High Priests, the Scribes and Pharisees, were those that made the greatest opposition to the Son of God; and because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets "that "were read in the synagogues every "sabbath-day;" and yet these were the persons who assumed to themselves a right to judge for all the congregation, and made it an argument against others believing in Christ, because they did not.

"Have any of the rulers, or the "pharisees believed on him," John vii. 48. The case of the Jews then was much the same with that of the Papists now. They that led them caused them to err. And if persons will not take the liberty to search after truth for themselves, and to dissent from the dictates of their teachers, where they find them dissent from the truth, they may blindly follow them into the ditch, and wander on in darkness without attaining "the end "of their faith, even the salvation "of their souls."

Conclusion.

How far these arguments in vindication of the Protestant religion, from the various aspersions and charges of the Papists are founded on scripture on which alone as Protestants we profess to build our faith; we refer all to the word and to the testimony, desiring them to receive or reject them, as they may receive confirmation from that warrant.

Our general design is "To open men's eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may obtain an inheritance among those that are sanctified; to confirm weak and unlearned Christians in their most holy faith, and to guard all who profess the faith of Christ crucified from the truth and simplicity of the everlasting gospel, and submit the whole to the judgment of the candid reader, imploring that divine blessing which is necessary to crown every spiritual attempt with such success as may redound to the glory of God and eternal welfare of mankind.

The following particular account of the cruel perſecutions of the Proteſtants in France, is inſerted at the earneſt requeſt of many of our Subſcribers, particularly the Reverend J. Fleetwood, Theologicus, James Wilſon, M. A. and others.

HISTORY

OF THE

ROMISH PERSECUTIONS in FRANCE.

THE commencement of theſe horrid cruelties in France, took place about the year 1553, under the government of Francis I. That king had entered into a defenſive alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, againſt the emperor Charles V. who was then thought to aſpire to univerſal monarchy. The view, therefore of Francis, in acceding to this league, was not out of any regard to the proteſtant religion, but merely to check the power of that emperor.

One remarkable proof of the hatred which Francis I. bore to the reformed religion was, his executing many of his ſubjects for profeſſing it; and his commanding a detachment from his army to burn the city of Cabrieres, together with the town of Merindol, and many other towns and villages.

On this occaſion maſters of families were burnt alive; their goods plundered; and their wives and children turned out to ſtarve. His ſoldiers, in order to extirpate what was falſely called hereſy, committed unheard of barbarities. And yet it is well known that Francis I. ſaved the republic of Geneva, which was the metropolis of proteſtantiſm: and did great ſervice to the proteſtants in Germany.

What an inconſiſtent conduct have we here! to protect the chief ſeat of the Proteſtants in a foreign country; and yet burn Proteſtants in his own. But this is one of the ſcenes of the grand farce of this world. Princes have, in all ages, ſported with religion in this manner; though religion ought of all things to be the leaſt ſported with.

His ſon and ſucceſſor, Henry II. revived

revived his edicts againſt the proteſtants.

The greateſt diſturbances, however, which broke out in France were in the reign of Francis II. It was then that began the fatal emulation between the houſes of Montmorenci and Guiſe or Lorrain, which occaſioned infinite diſtractions in the kingdom.

The change of religion contributed likewiſe to theſe inteſtine feuds; when the duke of Guiſe was looked upon as the head of the papiſts; and the conſtable of Montmorenci, and admiral Coligni, (head of the Chatillon family,) the chiefs of the proteſtants.

This conſtable, a ſtubborn and inflexible man, was the moſt unfortunate general of the age.

Coligni, admiral of France, was ſon of Gaſpard de Coligni, marſhal of France, and of Louiſa de Montmorenci, ſiſter to the conſtable. Francis II. was a weak prince both in body and mind, and no ways qualified to govern a kingdom.

Hence three factions endeavoured to get the adminiſtration into their hands, viz. that of the houſe of Guiſe; of the conſtable Montmorenci, and of the princes of the blood; but the intriguing and ambitious queen-mother, (Catherine de Medicis) relict of Henry II. adhereing to the Guiſes, this party carried all before them.

Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, firſt prince of the blood (father to the renowned Henry IV. of France;) and the prince of Conde, his brother, were alſo baniſhed, in a manner; and admiral Coligni, and Dandelot, his brother, were looked upon with an evil eye.

Hereupon theſe gentlemen, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, united againſt the court. Obſerving that the proteſtant religion began to ſpread all over the kingdom; and that its profeſſors had been cruelly perſecuted under the late reign, principally by the machinations of the Guiſes, they therefore greatly hated them; and thereupon reſolved to join their intereſt with that of the proteſtants, as this would very much ſtrengthen their party; not to mention the ſupport, which they expected from the Engliſh queen Elizabeth, and the proteſtant princes of Germany.

It was agreed, that the princes of Conde ſhould have the direction of the enterprize, but not avow it openly till matters ſhould be riper. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, ſoldiers were raiſed, and parties formed in every part of the kingdom.

The conſequence of this was that the king cauſed the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, with the lawyers, to aſſemble, in order to deliberate upon the then ſtate of affairs, and particularly with reſpect to religion.

On this occaſion admiral Coligni preſented a petition to the king, in behalf of his proteſtant ſubjects; informing his majeſty, that though it was not ſigned by any one, there yet were fifty-thouſand, in the province of Normandy, ready to ſign it.

The king, demanding the opinion of the aſſembly as to that article; the cardinal of Lorrain (brother to the duke of Guiſe) declared this petition to be ſeditious, fooliſh, ſcandalous, heretical and impudent; and that, if there

there were fifty thouſand factious people who would ſign it, he himſelf would anſwer for a million of ſubſtantial perſons in France, who were ready to chaſtiſe their inſolence.

It was afterwards agreed, that the ſtates of the realm ſhould deliberate upon theſe matters. The above cardinal was a man of great abilities; but he made very ill uſe of them, to the great prejudice of France, merely to ſatiate his violent thirſt after riches and honours. As to Francis duke of Guiſe above mentioned, brother to the cardinal, he was one of the moſt renowned captains of his age. His ambition and that of his brother the cardinal, brought deſolation upon the kingdom, whilſt that the ſanguinary ſpirit with which they were fired againſt the Proteſtants of France, gave riſe to civil wars, which more than once brought that kingdom to the brink of ruin.

It is obſerved, that matters were ſo diſpoſed at the time Francis II died, that the ruin of the proteſtants ſeemed inevitable. The learned Beza tells us, that it was in the reign of Francis II. ſucceſſor to Henry, that Satan's rage roſe to an extreme height. So that one might ſay of this reign, which laſted but ſeventeen months, what Chriſt ſays in St. Matthew, viz. that unleſs thoſe days had been ſhortened, no man could be ſaved; but that for the elect's ſake, they were ſhortened.

Francis II was ſucceeded by his brother Charles IX, who on his acceſſion to the throne, being but ten years of age, his mother Catherine de Medicis was appointed regent during his minority. From this power ſhe had the addreſs to ſecure both parties to her intereſt, by flattering each of them with the hopes of her countenance and protection. Not long after the conſtable of Montmorenci forſook the Proteſtants, and joined with the Guiſes.

In September 1561 a conference was opened between the Proteſtant and Popiſh doctors at Poiſſy, in preſence of the king, the queen mother, the princes, and a great many lords, both ſpiritual and temporal.

Beza, a man of vaſt learning and eloquence, then preſent, being admitted to ſpeak in behalf of the Proteſtant principles, he was heard very patiently, till he had almoſt finiſhed his ſpeech; wherein having repeated the profeſſion of his faith, agreeable to the apoſtle's creed, and explained ſome articles thereof purſuant to the doctrines of Calvin, he thence took occaſion to ſay, That Chriſt's body was as far removed from the bread and wine in the ſacrament, as heaven was from earth.

This occaſioned a general murmur; when cardinal De Tournon roſe up and inveighed bitterly againſt this blaſphemy, as he termed it, he beſought the king not to ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by theſe new doctrines, but to command them to depart the kingdom; adding, that they only corrupted the people. Beza begged leave of the king, but in vain, to anſwer the cardinal.

Not long after theſe conferences, the Guiſes had the art to draw over the king of Navarre, a weak prince,

to their party. A war afterwards breaking out between the proteſtants and papiſts, ſieges were carried on, battles fought; but the duke of Guiſe being ſhot at the ſiege of Orleans, a peace was concluded Anno 1563, in which ſeveral conceſſions were made in favour of the proteſtants.

After this, both parties uniting, they drove the Engliſh out of Normandy, and all France. In 1564, a ſevere edict was publiſhed againſt the proteſtants. The year following, Henry, duke of Guiſe, ſon to the abovementioned, was reconciled to outward appearance, to admiral Coligni. the prince of Conde obſerving the partiality of the queen-mother to the popiſh party, concluded an alliance with the prince of Orange, and ſuch of the proteſtants of the Netherlands, as were nicknamed Gueux, or beggars.

After this the prince of Conde, and admiral Coligni drew the ſword, and waged war (in which the conſtable of Montmorenci loſt his life) againſt the Roman catholicks; but a treaty was concluded in 1568, after that France had ſuffered numberleſs calamities.

This truce, however, was of no permanence; for the French court being now governed by the treacherous queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, ſhe concluded this truce with no other view than that of deſtroying both the prince of Conde and the admiral, who were now both become ſo jealous of her, that they did not think it prudent to reſide at court, but withdrew to their reſpective eſtates among their friends and vaſſals.

After this the king attempted to ſeize in the moſt treacherous manner the prince and the admiral, but failed in this deſign; when this alarming the proteſtants, they aſſembled troops in all the provinces for their defence. Immediately the queen-mother advanced to Rochelle with a ſtrong body of forces, when the winter was employed in little ſkirmiſhes.

In 1569 the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, who commanded the royal army, engaging the prince of Conde at Jarnac, the latter was baſely killed by baron de Monteſquiou, and his army defeated; notwithſtanding which the admiral made a good retreat.

The excellent Jane d'Albert, queen of Navarre, with her ſon Henry, prince of Bearn, afterwards the renowned Henry IV. whoſe father had loſt his life at the ſiege of Roan, and Henry, ſon to the late prince of Conde, meeting with the admiral, it was agreed, that the prince of Bearn ſhould be declared head of the proteſtant party; whereupon they all took an oath to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, till they ſhould obtain an honourable peace.

This war got hotter, and the young duke of Guiſe being admitted into the council, the admiral was proſcribed, and a price ſet upon his head, upon the ſuppoſition that if he once could be taken off, the Proteſtant intereſt muſt neceſſarily ſink.

The project not ſucceeding, the duke of Anjou gave the admiral battle, and defeated him, after which the conditions of peace were again inſiduouſly offered him by the court; and although the admiral ſuſpected that

that all this was done in a treacherous view; yet his circumſtances were ſuch that he thought it prudent to enter once more into a treaty (called of St. Germains;) abſtracted from the conceſſions granted to the proteſtants by former pacifications; the ſeveral towns were ſpecified, in which they permitted to hold their aſſemblies for divine worſhip; (the cities of Rochelle, La Charité, Montaubon, and Boignac, being granted them for cautionary towns;) the proteſtants were now declared capable of holding public employments; and the prince of Orange was put in poſſeſſion of the principality ſo called. All theſe conditions were more advantageous than the proteſtants could naturally have expected, had their affairs been even in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate.

In the year 1571, the king having ſolemnized his marriage with Elizabeth of Euſtria, daughter to the emperor Maximilian; he, in order to draw the chiefs of the proteſtant party to court, propoſed another marriage, between Henry, prince of Bearn, ſon to the queen of Navarre, and his ſiſter, the princeſs Margaret; which offer Jane d'Albret accepted with pleaſure, and ſet out, with her ſon, for Paris, in order to be preſent at the nuptials.

The king went as far as Blois to meet her; and, at their firſt interview, gave her the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of his friendſhip and confidence; and was ſo overjoyed with the horrid ſcene he had in view, that he asked the queen-mother, with a ſmile, whether he had not played his part well; to which ſhe anſwering, that it would ſignify nothing to begin well, unleſs he went through; the king replied with an oath, that he would catch them all in the net.

The next ſtep was to draw the admiral into the ſnare: when the king, to induce the proteſtants to put the greater confidence in him, ſaid, that he would declare war againſt Spain; which court was well known to be the great ſupport of the houſe of Guiſe; the authors of moſt of the ſeverities exerciſed upon the Proteſtants in France.

The French king went ſo far, as to let the prince of Orange raiſe troops in the laſt mentioned country, to oppoſe the Spaniards in the Netherlands; beſides other actions, which ſeemed to argue a real deſign in the French king, to break with Spain.

Upon this, the admiral ſent count Naſſau to his majeſty, to offer his counſel and aſſiſtance on that occaſion. The king inſidiouſly told the count, that he conſidered the admiral as the moſt experienced ſoldier in his kingdom, and the man who could beſt adviſe him in an affair of ſuch great importance; and that, ſhould he engage in war with Spain, he would intruſt him with the command of the army; he ſuſpecting the other generals (meaning the Guiſes and their faction) becauſe of their holding a correſpondence with that court; but that it would be proper for the admiral to come to him, in order that they might concert together, upon the meaſures proper to be taken in ſo important a juncture.

Count Naſſau going back to the admiral

admiral, was earneſt with him to lay hold on this favourable opportunity, as it might raiſe him to the moſt exalted pitch of power; and enable him to ſerve his friends, both in France and in the Netherlands.

After ſome deliberation the admiral reſolved to ſet out for Paris. The king, on his arrival, received him with great outward marks of kindneſs; defrayed his expences; appointed fifty gentlemen for his guard, and admitted him into his council.

He gave as amicable a reception to count De la Rochefoucault, la Noüe, and the reſt of his friends; and ſeemed to converſe as freely with theſe noblemen, as with any others about his court. The better to cloak his execrable deſign, Schomberg was ſent to the proteſtant princes of Germany, in order to conclude an alliance with them.

The negotiation with the queen of England, concerning her marriage with the duke of Anjou, was alſo revived; and a treaty concluded with that princeſs, purporting, that in caſe his catholic majeſty ſhould ſeize or detain in his harbours, the ſhips of either nation, (which frequently happened) they then ſhould mutually aid each other, in order to obtain ſatisfaction: and as the Spaniſh king took umbrage at theſe ſteps, and actually recalled his Ambaſſador from the French court; theſe ſeveral circumſtances firmly perſuaded, both the admiral and the proteſtants, that the king was in earneſt.

But whilſt preparations were making at court, for ſolemnizing the nuptials of the prince of Bearn with the king's ſiſter; his mother, the queen of Navarre, was taken ill, and ſnatched away in a few days, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned.

However, as it was declared, upon her being opened, that ſhe died of an ulcer in her ſide, neither the admiral, nor her ſon (who now aſſumed the title of king of Navarre) took much much notice of it.

But two or three days after, as the admiral was going home, and reading a petition, he was wounded from a window, by a muſket loaded with bullets; when ſtanding ſtill, and obſerving whence it came;--- "behold "(ſays he) the effects of my reconci- "liation with the duke of Guiſe!" The aſſaſſin, having a horſe ready, fled through one of the city gates.

The king coming ſoon after to viſit the admiral, ſwore that he would puniſh the author of ſo villainous an attempt; at which the admiral was ſo firmly perſuaded of the King's ſincerity, that he would not liſten to his friends, who were urgent with him to retire to a place of ſafety.

The reſt of the Proteſtants, however, were ſo much alarmed, that they began to conſult how to defend themſelves, in caſe they ſhould be attacked; which coming to the ear of the queen-mother, ſhe adviſed her ſon, the king, to haſten the blow.

In conſequence of this advice a cabinet council was immediately held, at which it was reſolved, that the admiral, and all the proteſtants in France, ſhould be butchered, the young king of Navarre, and the prince of

of Condé, excepted; and that this horrid deſign might be the more effectually perpetrated, the duke of Guiſe, their mortal enemy, was appointed to ſee it put in execution.

The duke never received a commiſſion with more joy; and thereupon he ordered the prevot of Paris to require the captains of the ſeveral wards to raiſe the citizens; and that on the ringing of the alarum-bell in the Palais, in the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1572, they ſhould illuminate their windows; break into the houſes of the proteſtants; and kill them without mercy. This was done accordingly, with the utmoſt ſecrecy and diſpatch.

The horrid maſſacre is thus deſcribed by Voltaire, a celebrated French author and a Roman Catholic. The nuptials (ſays he) of the young king of Navarre, with the French king's ſiſter, were ſolemnized with pomp; and all the endearments, all the aſſurances of friendſhip, all the oaths ſacred among men, were profuſely laviſhed by Catherine, the queen-mother, and by the king; during which the reſt of the court, thought of nothing but feſtivities, plays, and maſquerades.

At laſt, at twelve o'clock, one night (the eve of St. Bartholomew) the ſignal was given. Immediately all the houſes of the proteſtants were forced open at once. Admiral Coligni, alarmed by the uproar, flew out of bed; when a company of aſſaſſins ruſhed into his bed-chamber. They were headed by one Beſme, who had been bred up as a domeſtick in the family of the Guiſes. This wretch thruſt his ſword into the admiral's breaſt, and alſo cut him on the face.

Beſme was a German; and being afterwards taken by the proteſtants, the Rochellers would have bought him, in order to hang and quarter him in the great ſquare; but he was killed by one Bretanville.

Henry, the young duke of Guiſe, who afterwards framed the catholic league, and was murthered at Blois, ſtanding at the door, till the horrid butchery ſhould be compleated, asked aloud, "Beſme! is it done?" Immediately the ruffians threw the body out of the window. Coligni fell, and expired at Guiſe's feet. The young man trampled upon him; not that he was drunk with the furious catholic zeal of perſecution, which at that time intoxicated half France; but he was animated by the ſpirit of revenge, which though, commonly, not ſo unmerciful as the fury of religion, yet often leads to baſe actions.

Count De Teligny alſo fell a ſacrifice. He had married, about ten months before, Coligni's daughter. His countenance was ſo ſweet, that the ruffians who firſt advanced, in order to kill him, were ſtruck with compaſſion; but others, more barbarous, ruſhing forward, murthered him.

In the mean time all the friends of Coligni were aſſaſſinated throughout Paris; men, women and children were promiſcuouſly ſlaughtered; every ſtreet was ſtrewed with expiring bodies.

Some prieſts, holding up a crucifix

in one hand, and a dagger in the other, ran to the chiefs of the murtherers; and exhorted them, in the name of God, to ſpare neither relations nor friends.

Tavannes, marſhal of France, an ignorant, ſuperſtitious ſoldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rode on horſeback through Paris, crying to his men, "Let blood! "Let blood! bleeding is as whole- "ſome in Auguſt as in May." Tavannes had been one of the pages to Francis I.

In the Memoirs, writ by his ſon, we are told that the father being on his death-bed, and making a general confeſſion of his ſins, the prieſt ſaid to him, with ſurprize: "What! no "mention of St. Bartholomew's maſ- "ſacre?" Tavannes replied; "I "conſider it as a meritorious action, "that will waſh away my other ſins." Such horrid ſentiments can a falſe ſpirit of religion inſpire!

The king's palace was one of the chief ſcenes of the butchery; the king of Navarre had his lodgings in the Louvre, and all his domeſticks were proteſtants.

Many of theſe were killed in bed with their wives; others, flying away naked, were purſued by the ſoldiers on the ſtair-caſes, through the ſeveral rooms of the palace, and even to the king's anti-chamber.

The young wife of Henry of Navarre, awaked by the dreadful uproar, being afraid for her conſort, and for her own life; ſeized with horror, and half dead, flew from her bed, in order to throw herſelf at the feet of the king her brother. Scarce had ſhe opened her chamber-door, when ſome of her proteſtant domeſticks ruſhed in for refuge. The ſoldiers entered after; purſued them in ſight of the princeſs; and one who crept under her bed was killed there. The others being wounded with halberts, fell at the queen's feet, ſo that ſhe was covered with blood.

Count De la Rochefoucault, a young nobleman, greatly in the king's favour for his comely air, his politeneſs, and a certain peculiar happineſs in the turn of his converſation, had ſpent the evening till eleven o'clock with the monarch, in pleaſant familiarity; and had given a looſe, with the utmoſt mirth, to the ſallies of his imagination.

The monarch felt ſome remorſe; and being touched with a kind of compaſſion, bid him, two or three times, not to go home, but to lie in the Louvre. La Rochefoucault ſaid, that he muſt go to his wife; upon which the king preſſed him no farther, but cried; "Let him go! I ſee "God has decreed his death." This young nobleman was butchered two hours after.

Among thoſe who eſcaped this horrid ſlaughter was one La Forcé, a youth of ten years old, the circumſtance of which is ſomewhat remarkable. His father, his elder brother, and himſelf, were ſeized together by the duke of Anjou's ſoldiers.

Theſe murtherers flew at all three, and ſtruck them at random; when the father and the ſons, covered with blood, fell, and lay one upon another.

The

The youngeſt did not receive a ſingle blow; but making as though he was dead, eſcaped next day; and his life, thus wonderfully preſerved, laſted fourſcore and five years. He was the famous marſhal De la Forcé.

During this interval, many of theſe victims fled to the water-ſide; when ſome ſwam over the Seine, to the ſuburbs of St. Germain. The king ſaw them from his window, which looked upon the river; and (an almoſt incredible circumſtance, but too true) fired upon them with a carabine, which had been loaded for that purpoſe by one of his pages.

The queen-mother, undiſturbed and ſerene in the midſt of the ſlaughter, looking down from a balcony ſituated towards the city, encouraged the murtherers, and laughed at the dying groans of the ſlaughtered.

This barbarous queen was fired with a reſtleſs ambition, and ſhe ſhifted perpetually her part in order to ſatiate it. She was accuſed of a looſe commerce with certain gentlemen; and was weak enough to believe in magick, as appeared from the taliſmans found after her death.

Her maids of honour, and ſome ladies of the court, went down into the ſtreet; and with an impudent and barbarous curioſity, worthy of that abominable court, ſurveyed the naked and bloody body of Soubiſe, who was ſuſpected of impotency; and had been juſt killed, after making a moſt gallant defence, under the queen's windows.

The court now endeavoured to palliate theſe barbarities by eſtabliſhing new forms of law. They pretended to juſtify the maſſacre by a calumny; and accuſed the admiral of a conſpiracy, which no one believed.

The parliament was commanded to proceed againſt the memory of Coligni; and his dead body was hung in chains at Monfaucon gallows.

The king himſelf went to view this ſhocking ſpectacle; when one of his courtiers adviſing him to retire, and complaining of the ſtench of the corps; the king cried, (like Vitellius) "A "dead enemy ſmells ſweet."

Though it cannot be proved, that the admiral's head was ſent to the pope (as it certainly was, to the queen-mother, with the hiſtory of his times, in his own hand writing;) yet it is well known, that the maſſacres, on St. Bartholomew's Day are painted, at Rome, in the royal Sallon of the Vatican, with the following inſcription under the picture; Pontifex Colignii necem probat; that is, "The pope "approves of Coligni's death."---How juſtly is ſuch a pontiff ſtiled, His Holineſs!---The young king of Navarre was ſpared through policy, rather than from the pity of the queen-mother; ſhe keeping him priſoner, till the king's death; in order that he might be as ſecurity and pledge, for the ſubmiſſion of ſuch proteſtants as might eſcape. That king's mother died two or three days before.

This butchery was not confined merely to the city of Paris; the like orders having been iſſued from court, to the governors of all the provinces of France; ſo that in a week's time, above an hundred thouſand proteſtants were

were cut to pieces, in different parts of the kingdom. Two or three governors only refuſed to obey the king's orders.

One among the reſt, named Montmorrin, governor of Auvergne, wrote the king the following letter, which deſerves to be tranſmitted, in characters of gold, to lateſt poſterity.

SIR,

"I have received an order, under "your majeſty's ſeal, to put to death "all the proteſtants in my province. "I have too much reſpect for your "majeſty not to believe the letter a "forgery: but if (which God forbid) "the order ſhould be genuine, I have "too much reſpect for your majeſty "to obey it."

Theſe barbarities inflamed ſuch proteſtants as eſcaped with rage rather than terror; their irreconcileable hatred to the court, ſupplied them with freſh vigour, and the ſpirit of revenge increaſed their ſtrength.

The king under whoſe influence this dreadful havock had been committed, never enjoyed his health after the butchery on the eve of St. Bartholomew; but died in about two years, his blood guſhing daily through the pores of his skin; ſo that he expired weltering, as it were, in his gore.

Henry IV. who ſucceeded his brother Henry III. was a proteſtant; but at the earneſt ſolicitation of his popiſh courtiers, and in order to prevent thoſe dreadful commotions which were likely to enſue, he turned Roman catholick, which greatly alarming the proteſtants, he promiſed, under his hand, that to whatever ſtraits the neceſſity of his affairs might reduce him, they ſhould not fail to be ſecured, in the profeſſion of their faith and liberties; and during his ſtay at Nantes, the capital of Britany, in order to content the proteſtants in ſome meaſure, he publiſhed the famous irrevocable (as it was called by the French proteſtants) edict of Nantes, Anno 1598, whereby they were ſecured in the free exerciſe of their religion, in all parts of France; (Paris, and its neighbourhood excepted.)

This edict was granted to the proteſtants, as a reward for their ſervices, in having raiſed the houſe of Bourbon to the throne of France. But it was revoked, in 1685, by Lewis XIV. About the year 1600, France was freed from wars both domeſtic and foreign.

King Henry's reign was afterwards diſturbed by many plots, moſt of them contrived by prieſts, or bigotted papiſts among the laity; and a period put to it by one Ravaillac, a friar. This wretch ſtabbed his majeſty to the heart, May 14, 1610, as he was riding in his coach through one of the ſtreets of Paris.

On the death of king Henry IV. Lewis XIII. ſucceeded to the crown; but he being a minor, the queen-mother, Mary of Medicis, was appointed regent, during his minority, ſhe confirmed, by a proclamation, the edict of Nantes; and the proteſtants were permitted to hold their general aſſemblies, wherein they uſed to draw up repreſentations of their griev-

grievances; in one whereof, met at Saumur, there were great conteſts and feuds; particularly between duke De Sully and marſhal Bouillon; on which occaſion the famous Du Pleſſis Mornay was choſen preſident of the aſſembly.

Afterwards provincial aſſemblies uſed to meet, at which the court was offended; and the proteſtants were abridged in ſome of their privileges.

In 1620, the court formed a reſolution to extirpate the proteſtants; for which purpoſe the king marched into Bearn, where he ordered maſs to be ſaid in all the principal churches of that province.

The next year, duke D'Eſpernon marched againſt them, whereupon all the proteſtants of Bearn fled to the mountains; their churches, in ſeveral towns, having been burnt by the popiſh mobs with impunity.

The proteſtants, upon this, ſummoning a general aſſembly to conſult for their defence; the king commanded them to break up, which they refuſing, it was conſtrued rebellion.

Immediately a war broke out, on all ſides, about the year 1622. During this interval the proteſtants were deſerted by moſt of their chiefs, which reduced their affairs to a low ebb.

A great part of France was deſtroyed, by the havock perpetually by one or the other party. This war was very bloody. The town of Negrepeliſſe, in particular, having been taken by the royaliſts; the king ordered, all the people in the town, and in the caſtle, to be butchered, the women excepted; though theſe were expoſed to the brutality of the ſoldiers. However, a peace was afterwards concluded.

Some time after, the proteſtants of Rochelle, being diſguſted at the court for not obſerving all the articles of the late peace, fitted out a fleet in order to make repriſals.

Rochelle was blocked up by the royaliſts, in 1626; but, making it's ſubmiſſion, good terms were allowed. It afterwards ſuſtained a long ſiege, which was firſt commanded by the king, in perſon; and then by the famous Richlieu, though an eccleſiaſtick; the beſieged being aſſiſted by our king Charles I.

The Rochellers made a glorious defence, and fifteen thouſand of them periſhed by famine; ſo that, at laſt, being quite exhauſted, they ſurrendered, upon condition of obtaining a general pardon; and ſecurity for their lives, liberties and eſtates.

Whilſt the king was taken up with the ſiege of Rochelle, the prince of Condé, and duke De Montmorenci, headed (each of them) a body of troops in Languedoc, againſt duke De Rohan, and the proteſtants who were in arms there.

The royaliſts being greatly ſuperior to their enemies, ravaged the country; and uſed the ill-fated proteſtants, in the open towns, with great barbarity.

In 1629, the king being returned with his army, from Italy, where he had reſtored the duke of Mantua to his dominions; marched into Languedoc, in order to put an end to the

proteſtant war. Duke De Rohan was now chief general of the Proteſtants. The royaliſts beſieging Privas, in the Vivarez, found a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance; when the beſieged neglecting to capitulate, till all their works were taken; they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion; ſo that moſt of them were either cut to pieces, or executed in cold blood. The royal army marched afterwards to the Cevennes, and were victorious there alſo.

At laſt, cardinal Richelieu, upon theſe various ſucceſſes, prevailed with duke De Rohan to ſubmit to the king; promiſing him, and the reſt of the proteſtants a pardon; with ſecurity for their religion and eſtates, upon condition that they ſhould demoliſh the fortification of ſuch cities as were ſtill in their power.

The Proteſtants reflecting on the lowneſs of their circumſtances, thought fit to comply: whereupon a treaty was ſigned at Alets. June 27, 1629, Duke De Rohan left the kingdom, with his majeſty's leave, and retired to Venice.

Soon after, the fortifications of the Proteſtant towns being demoliſhed, in purſuance of the ſaid treaty, cardinal Richlieu made his triumphant entry into Montauban.

The Proteſtants having thus given up their cities of ſecurity; and being wholly dependant on the pleaſure of the miniſtry, who never kept a promiſe with them, except when they thought it for their advantage, their party decreaſed inſenſibly: and, notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſion, and the ready obedience they ever had ſhewn to the commands of their ſovereign, he was perpetually endeavouring to ruin them; upon a notion, that he was bound in conſcience to do ſo, whenever an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf; but their deſtruction was not compleated, till the repeal of the famous edict of Nantes, under his ſucceſſor Lewis XIV; an edict granted to maintain the proteſtants, in all thoſe rights and privileges, which nature and civil ſociety indulge mankind.

The proteſtants were ſo far from occaſioning any diſturbance in his reign, that they during the civil war, which broke out ſoon after that monarch was ſeated on the throne, gave him the higheſt demonſtration of their attachment; a circumſtance which the king himſelf acknowledged in a declaration publiſhed in the year 1652: not to mention that the queen-mother confeſſed, that they had ſaved the ſtate. But this very circumſtance, which ſhould have won them the utmoſt favour, proved their ruin; by it's being wickedly repreſented, to his majeſty, that as the proteſtants, by their weight and influence, had done him ſuch ſignal ſervices; it was alſo in their power to overturn the government; and from this reflexion, a moſt horrid political reſolution was formed, at court, viz. to even extirpate them, if poſſible.

Immediately Rochelle, Montauban, Millau, and all ſuch proteſtant cities as had ſhewn the greateſt zeal for the king, were made to feel the moſt fatal effects of his vengeance.

After this a thouſand machinations and

and artifices were daily employed againſt them; and theſe were continued during twenty years, till their deſtruction was compleated.

The chief methods employed by the perſecutors to attain their ends, were theſe:

1. Proſecutions and chicanery in the ordinary courſe of juſtice.

2. Excluſion from poſt, or preferments of every kind, as well as from all methods of getting a livelihood.

3. Infringement of the edict of Nantes, under colour of explications.

4. New laws, or new regulations.

5. Fraudful and illuſive meaſures.

6. Rouzing the people, and firing them with hatred againſt the proteſtants.

A long time was requiſite, in order to diſpoſe and bring matters to a head; not to mention the diſappointments which the court met with, and interruptions occaſioned by the civil wars; the iſſue of which, in their favour, increaſed their courage, and confirmed them ſtill more in their deteſtable views.

During all theſe machinations, the proteſtants, dreading the ſtorm that was likely to break over their heads, were not idle; but endeavoured, with inexpreſſible pains, to defend themſelves ſo far as was conſiſtent with equity. But all this was to no purpoſe, although they had carried their complaints even to the throne.

The court began to employ open force about the year 1684, at which time ſoldiers were ſpread all over France; particularly the dragoons, theſe being the boldeſt and moſt reſolute of all the king's troops.

Before them marched terror, with it's hated train; and as the king now declared, that he would no longer permit any proteſtants in his kingdoms, an univerſal panick ſeized thoſe who were to be the ill-fated victims.

The dragoons began with Bearn; after which the other provinces of the kingdom, (not excepting the city of Paris,) had their ſad ſhare of theſe calamities.

The firſt thing enjoined to various intendants, or comptrollers of the provinces was, for them to ſummon the ſeveral cities and corporations; when they, aſſembling accordingly all ſuch inhabitants as were proteſtants, acquainted them with his majeſty's will, viz. that they muſt immediately turn Roman catholicks; and that, in caſe of refuſal, force would be employed.

The unhappy proteſtants, thunderſtruck with ſuch an alternative, replied, that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majeſty; but that, as God had a right over their conſciences, they could not diſpoſe of it in this manner.

In conſequence of theſe anſwers, the dragoons, who were not far off, marched up; when they immediately ſeized upon all the avenues to, and the gates of the ſeveral cities.

Next guards were poſted in all the roads; and the dragoons often marched into towns, ſword in hand, crying, in a rage, "Turn catholicks! "or die! Theſe dragoons, being quartered in the houſes of the proteſtants, where they were to live at diſcretion:

cretion; ſtrictly commanded all perſons not to quit their homes, nor to ſecure their goods or effects, upon ſevere penalties; and forbidding all Roman catholicks harbouring, or aſſiſting them, in any manner.

Theſe tyrants uſed to paſs the firſt days, in devouring all the proviſion of their reſpective hoſts; and in tearing from them, (had theſe been even in their bowels) all their money, rings, jewels, and every thing of value.

They next expoſed every family to plunder; and invited, not only the papiſts of the place, but likewiſe all thoſe of the neighbouring towns and villages, to come and purchaſe of them all the clothes, furniture, and other things of which they might ſtand in need.

The next ſtep they took was to fall upon their perſons; on which occaſion they employed every cruelty, in order to oblige them to apoſtatize from their religion.

Theſe blood thirſty dragoons, with ſhouts, oaths, and blaſphemies, would hang men and women, by the hair of the head; or, by the feet, to the cielings of rooms.

They faſtened them, like ſo many criminals who are put to the torture; when, by means of a funnel, they poured wine down their throats; till ſuch times as the fumes of the liquor, intoxicating and depriving them of their reaſon, they conſented to abjure their religion. They beat them with clubs; and after bruiſing them all over, dragged them to the popiſh churches; when their forced preſence was conſidered as an abjuration.

They derived them of their ſleep, during ſeven or eight days together; the perſecutors relieving one another, in order to watch them day and night; and keep them awake, either by throwing water in their faces; by tormenting them a thouſand ways; or by holding, over their heads, braſs kettles, on which they uſed to make a horrid din, till theſe victims had quite loſt their ſenſes.

Whenever they found men or women, confined to their beds in burning fevers, they had the barbarity to get together a great many drummers, who beat round their beds during weeks together, without ceaſing, till the ſufferers gave their word to abjure the proteſtant faith.

In ſome places they faſtened fathers and husband to bed-poſts; when they raviſhed their wives and daughters, before them, with impunity.

In caſe any perſons, after ſuch horrid treatment, ſtill refuſed to turn, they were impriſoned; and thrown into dark, loathſome, infected dungeons, where every cruelty was exerciſed upon them. In the mean time their houſes were pulled down, their lands laid waſte, their timber felled, and their wives and daughters thrown into convents.

When the dragoons had devoured every thing in a gentleman's houſe in the country, the farmers ſupplied them with neceſſaries; and theſe, in order to indemnify themſelves, uſed to ſell, (by authority) the goods and chattels of ſuch gentlemen; and often purchaſe them for their own uſe.

If any perſons, for conſcience ſake, and

and to escape the tyranny of those barbarians, fled from their abode, they were pursued through the fields and woods and shot at like so many wild beasts.

For this purpose the sheriff's officers were commanded to scour the country; and the magistrates in the several districts, were ordered to seize them indiscriminately. They then were carried back to the places they came from, and treated as prisoners of war.

All this shocking usage was not confined merely to people in low life; persons of the highest distinction being treated in the same manner.

Their lands were ravaged; and their houses, both in town and country, plundered, and razed to the ground; their woods cut down; their children carried off, and their persons exposed to the inhumanity of the dragoons.

Neither age, sex not quality were spared, whenever the command, for turning papist, was not complied with; the same violence being practised universally. Some persons who had employments in the parliaments, were used in the like inhuman manner; and many officers ordered, from their posts, to return home, and treated like the rest.

Several persons of quality, and others fled to Paris, or the court, in hopes of meeting with protection there; instead of which, they were ordered to return, in four days, to their respective homes; and all persons forbid, upon very severe penalties, to harbour them; and others who presented petitions to the king, were sent to the Bastile, and cruelly persecuted there.

These things were done openly; but the Romanists put to death great numbers secretly, besides those who rotted and perished in loathsome dungeons.

Some they transported to Canada, (as they falsely declared;) but really drowned most of them, when they were got some leagues out at sea; and if any proceeded so far as Canada, they perished in dungeons there. In a word, such a variety of other torments were inflicted, on the French protestants, that only God, and themselves, knew them all.

The most material particulars, with respect to the manner of carrying on these persecutions, are as follows: in almost all the provinces of France, there marched, at the head of these infernal legions, (besides the military commanders) the intendants and bishops, in their respective dioceses, with crouds of missionaries, priests, and friars.

The intendants used to see the orders of the court executed in their full rigour; and would rouze the dragoons to farther cruelly, if any of them happened to be moved with compassion. The missionaries, friars, &c. would excite and encourage the dragoons, to execute a command which was so pleasing to the church; and so glorious (as they declared) to God and the king.

With respect to the bishops, they assisted merely to keep open table; to receive the abjurations; and to be as

ſo many ſevere, general inſpectors; in order that every thing might be executed agreeable to the intention and inclination of the popiſh clergy. Farther, whenever a party of dragoons, had forced, by their cruelties, ſome proteſtants to comply; the former were ſent to, and quartered in the houſes of ſuch as ſtill ſtood; by which means, thoſe proteſtants, who reſiſted longeſt, were quite ruined, by the great number of ſoldiers quartered upon them.

Again, before the dragoons were ſent to any conſiderable town, the inhabitants had privately taken care, to win over ſeveral proteſtants to the popiſh religion; who promiſed to aſſiſt in corrupting their brethren, ſo ſoon as the ſoldiers ſhould arrive.

Fourthly, when any maſter of a family, in order to prevent the dragoons from being quartered upon him, turned Roman catholick; in caſe any of his family refuſed to follow his example, or fled; thoſe military tyrants would come and live at diſcretion in his houſe.

Fifthly, when ſome proteſtants had ſigned a gentle form of abjuration, which they imagined might be done with a ſafe conſcience; a few days after, another, infinitely more explicit, was brought, and, (a moſt impudent circumſtance) they therein were made to declare, that they embraced the Romiſh religion freely, and without compulſion.

Having proceeded thus far, if ſuch perſons made any difficulty to go to maſs; if they did not receive the ſacrament; aſſiſt at proceſſions; go to confeſſion; ſay their beads; or if they, by any involuntary ſign, diſcovered the leaſt reluctance, they were loaded with fines, and the dragoons were again quartered upon them.

Laſtly, whilſt the ſoldiers were thus laying waſte the provinces; the frontiers and ports were ſo ſtrictly watched, that few proteſtants could eſcape out of the kingdom. Not one of them had leave to depart.

The moſt exact ſearch was made on board of foreign ſhips; the coaſts, the bridges, the paſſages of rivers, and the highways were guarded; the night was not more favourable than the day; and ſome neighbouring ſtates were ordered not to give ſhelter to any more proteſtants, but to ſend back thoſe who had already fled to them; and attempts were even made, to carry off ſome out of foreign countries.

On the 8th of October 1605, was publiſhed the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In this edict, after the preamble, wherein the court endeavours to prove, (but very iniquitouſly) that there was no farther occaſion for the edict of Nantes; the king by the firſt article of the new edict, revokes the former in all it's parts; and commands all the proteſtants churches, throughout his dominions, to be inſtantly demoliſhed.

Secondly, he prohibits every aſſembly, for exerciſing the ſaid religion.

Thirdly, all noblemen or lords of manors are forbid to follow that worſhip, upon pain of impriſonment, and confiſcation of their eſtates.

Fourthly, all proteſtant clergymen are

are to quit the kingdom, in a fortnight after the publication of this edict, upon pain of being ſent to the gallies.

Fifthly and ſixthly, rewards and advantages are promiſed to ſuch clergymen, or their widows, as ſhall become converts to popery.

Seventhly and eighthly, no children are to be educated in the proteſtant religion; and all children, born afterwards, ſhall be baptized, and brought up in the Romiſh faith; and all parents are enjoined to ſend them to the popiſh church, upon the penalty of five hundred livres.

Ninthly, four months are allowed thoſe who may have left the kingdom to return to it; upon failure of which, their poſſeſſions are to be confiſcated.

Tenthly, all proteſtants, their wives and children, are forbid to quit the kingdom, or carry off their effects; upon pain of the gallies, to the men; and impriſonment, and confiſcation of their poſſeſſions, to the women.

Eleventhly, the declarations formerly publiſhed, with regard to relapſed hereticks, are confirmed.

Twelfthly, the reſt of the proteſtants, till ſuch time as heaven may think fit to enlighten them, ſhall be permitted to reſide in the kingdom; there to follow their ſeveral trades and profeſſions; and enjoy their poſſeſſions, without being moleſted, upon pretence of their being proteſtants; provided they ſhall not perform any exerciſe, or hold any meetings, in order to pray, or perform any religious worſhip in their way different from the Romiſh.

The very day after the edict was publiſhed, the government began by demoliſhing the noble proteſtant church at Charenton. The oldeſt proteſtant miniſter was commanded to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom forthwith.

For this purpoſe, he was committed to the guard of one of his majeſty's footmen; with orders not to leave him, till he had paſſed the frontiers.

His colleagues met with ſcarce better treatment; the reſt of the clergymen were allowed a fortnight; but during this interval, they were expoſed to numberleſs vexations and cruelties.

In the firſt place, they were not permitted to ſell any part of their eſtates, nor to carry off any of their goods or effects. Their books and manuſcripts were even conteſted them. Farther, their tyrants would not allow them the aſſiſtance of father, mother, brother, ſiſter, or any of their relations; though many were helpleſs and poor, and unable to ſubſiſt without their ſuccour.

Their own children, of ſeven years of age or older, were denied them; and even thoſe under ſeven, and who ſucked at their mother's breaſts: and nurſes, for their children juſt born, were refuſed them.

In ſome frontier places they were ſtopt, and impriſoned on ridiculous pretences: ſuch as the obliging them to prove, that they did not carry off effects

effects belonging to their reſpective congregations.

Sometimes, after thus detaining and amuſing theſe miniſters, they were told that the fifteen days, allowed by the edict, were expired; that they were no longer at liberty to quit the kingdom, but muſt go the gallies.

In a word, every chicane, every iniquity was employed, in order to afflict them.

The laity were treated with no leſs ſeverity. The government commanded guards to be again poſted at the ſeveral ports, towns, highways, and paſſages of rivers; all the provinces were overſpread with ſoldiers; and even the peaſants were armed, and commanded to ſtop all perſons who ſhould attempt to eſcape; and, in caſe of oppoſition, to treat them ill.

All cuſtom-houſes were forbid, to enter, or to let paſs, any clothes, goods, merchandiſes, or other effects, belonging to the Proteſtants.

In a word, every artifice was made uſe of, to prevent the eſcape of theſe unhappy victims; inſomuch that almoſt all correſpondence, with the neighbouring countries, was cut off.

By this means, the ſeveral priſons in the kingdom were ſoon crouded: for the panic raiſed, in the proteſtants, by the dragoons; the horrors they felt, on the reflection that their conſciences would be forced; the dread of ſeeing their children torn from them; as well as their being compelled to reſide in a country, where they were treated with the greateſt injuſtice and inhumanity; obliged every one to think ſeriouſly of retiring, and to leave their effects, in order to ſave their perſons.

Such as were committed to priſon have been uſed with unheard of rigour; have been thruſt into dungeons; loaded with heavy chains; almoſt ſtarved; and deprived of all converſation, except that of their perſecutors.

Several were thruſt into convents, and treated, in them, with no leſs cruelty. Some were ſo happy as to expire under their tortures; others ſunk, at laſt, under the weight of the temptation; whilſt others again, by the extraordinary aid of heaven, reſiſted them with a courage truly heroic.

Theſe proceedings were in direct oppoſition to the twelfth article of the new edict, in which it was declared, that Proteſtants ſhould be permitted to live unmoleſted in France. On the contrary none of the dragoons, or other ſoldiers, who had been recalled; ſo far from it, they ſtill practiced barbarities like to thoſe already deſcribed; and alſo been ſent into other provinces.

Even Paris was as roughly treated; though one would imagine, that the article in queſtion of the edict, would have been more ſtrictly obſerved there as that city is beneath the king's eye, as it were; and almoſt immediately under the government of the court.

The very day the edict in queſtion was publiſhed, the attorney-general, and ſome other magiſtrates, ſent orders to the maſters of Proteſtant families,

milies, in Paris, to attend him. Being come, he told them in plain terms, that the king would allow of no other religion, beſides the Romiſh, in his dominions; and therefore that they muſt turn catholicks voluntarily, or they ſhould be forced to it.

At the ſame time, the elders of the conſiſtories were drove from Paris, and treated very cruelly. One of the ſecretaries of ſtate alſo, ſending for above an hundred tradeſmen of that city, and they being come; he ordered the hall door to be ſhut; and then declared, that not one of them ſhould ſtir, till after they had ſigned an inſtrument, whereby they not only abjured the hereſy of Calvin, but acknowledged that they had done this voluntarily; and ſo many menaces were employed, that they all ſet their hands.

But far more ſevere methods were employed, ſuch as impriſonment, the ſeizure of effects and papers, the carrying off children, the ſeparation of huſbands and wives; and, laſtly, the great engine, I mean the dragoons.

The moſt courageous were committed to the priſon, called Fort l'Eveque in Paris, others were confined at home; and many had their houſes ſtript, and their perſons ſeized.

Thus this twelfth article, which promiſed ſome mitigation, was an abominable ſnare, ſpread to catch the credulous; and to prevent their contriving, how to beſt eſcape from France.

The rage of the perſecutors went on in it's uſual courſe; and roſe to ſuch a height, that, not ſatisfied with laying waſte the kingdom, it ſpread to Orange, a ſovereign principality, in which the king of France has no lawful authority.

There they carried off ſeveral Proteſtant clergymen, and threw them into priſon. Thither were ſent the dragoons, who practiſed cruelties of every kind; compelling, by the moſt violent methods, men, women, children, and even the officers of the prince of Orange, to change their religion.

By this Perſecution upwards of five hundred thouſand families were plundered by the armies of dragoons; and in 1685, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the government, above one hundred and fifty thouſand perſons had eſcaped out of France, as three hundred and fifty did afterwards.

Theſe abandoned their dwellings, their inheritances, their effects; and many their wives and children, to go and wander up and down the world, and lead a life of miſery.

Many perſons of diſtinction, of both ſexes, poſſeſſing eſtates of twelve, fifteen, twenty, and thirty thouſand livres a year; voluntarily gave up thoſe eſtates, not only for themſelves, but likewiſe for their poſterity; expoſing themſelves to the inconveniences and dangers, of a long flight, in a ſevere ſeaſon; and reducing themſelves almoſt to beggary.

A prodigious number of perſons, of all ranks, fled to England, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and even America.

Notwithſtanding which, the priſons were crouded with fugitives, who had been ſeized.

To prevent other proteſtants, who had become converts to popery, from eſcaping, ſuch were obliged to lay down a ſum of money, as a ſecurity for their ſtay: not to mention the infamy with which the bodies of thoſe who died proteſtants were treated, they being refuſed burial; were thrown upon dunghills, or dragged ignominiouſly on hurdles.

Nevertheleſs their purſecutors added this farther inhumanity, viz. to ſpread a moſt injurious report, that the proteſtants themſelves had deſired the dragoons might be ſent for, in order to have a pretence for their turning Roman catholicks.

About the year 1675, a ſort of banks were openly ſet up, in Paris, for trafficking ſouls; and may got conſiderable ſums by this infamous practice. The becoming a convert to popery, was almoſt the only way left for a man to obtain regard, applauſe, court-favour, and to make his fortune.

Thus was the famous edict of Nantes repealed, though granted by Henry IV. in 1598, in the cleareſt and moſt ſolemn manner, and after the moſt mature deliberation, not only for himſelf, but for all his ſucceſſors; and rendered ſacred and divine, as it were, by the reciprocal oath of the whole kingdom.

The obſervation of the tenor of this edict was become a fundamental law of the kingdom; a condition inſeparable from the ſucceſſion; it being granted as a promiſe authentic, perpetual and irrevocable; as a decree flowing from the juſtice of Henry IV, after both parties had been heard; a compact between the Romaniſts and proteſtants, authorized by the public faith of the whole ſtate, ſealed with an oath, and ratified by the execution; an edict inviolable and irrecoverable in its nature; out of the reach of all human power; made as a perpetual treaty between the Proteſtants and Romaniſts; a public promiſe and a fundamental law of the ſtate, which no authority can infringe.

Lewis XIV, therefore, in repealing this edict, broke through one of the moſt ſolemn engagements made at ſeveral times by himſelf, and by his father; who alſo granted the edict of Niſmes.

Conſequently Lewis XIV, in thus ſporting with this reciprocal agreement, broke through all the ties of juſtice, of fidelity and conſcience; and paid no regard to heaven, to his country, or to himſelf.

However. to give ſome little colour to the repeal, it was pretended, that the edict of Nantes was grown uſeleſs; as the beſt and greateſt part of the proteſtants were become converts to popery. But how were they made ſuch? By force of arms, and by the cruel and furious barbarity of the royal dragoons.

From this repeal it evidently appears, that the proteſtants of France, were greatly abuſed, and barbarouſly treated. Henry IV. grants this edict to the Proteſtants, with all the ſolemnity abovementioned. He gives it as

as a reward for their ſervices; he promiſes, in the moſt awful manner, to obſerve the tenor of it; and to confirm this, engages the ſtate in the ſame compact. Not ſatisfied with this he takes an oath; and afterwards cauſes it to be obſerved in the beſt manner he could, during his whole reign.

Lewis XIII, his ſon, immediately after his acceſſion, acknowledges the edict of Nantes as "Perpetual, irrevocable, and not ſtanding in need of confirmation;" and promiſes to adhere religiouſly to every article and circumſtance therein.

He ſends commiſſioners into all parts of his kingdom, to compleat the due execution thereof. When he had recourſe to arms, he declares that it is no ways his deſign to annoy the Proteſtants in any manner: and indeed he permits them to follow their worſhip even in ſuch cities as he takes by ſtorm.

He grants the edict of Niſmes as a triumphant king; and yet therein declares, that it is his intention the edict of Nantes ſhall be duly obſerved; which it was accordingly, ſo long as he ſat on the throne.

Lewis XIV. on his ſucceeding to the crown, confirms the edict; and declares that he will maintain the Proteſtants in all their privileges.

He afterwards teſtifies, by another declaration, how highly ſatisfied he was with their ſervices; and that it is his intention they ſhall live in the full enjoyment of their rights.

Yet all this was an artifice to entrap them; a ſnare ſpread merely to cover the reſolution he had formed to ruin them, the inſtant an opportunity ſhould offer.

But what idea does this give to foreign nations of the kings of France? and what confidence ſhall hereafter be repoſed in their promiſes and treaties? ---If they conduct themſelves in this manner towards their own ſubjects; if they careſs them in no other view than to deſtroy; what can foreigners hope from ſuch princes?

Lewis XIV undoubtedly owed the moſt ſignal obligations to his Proteſtant ſubjects. They had done him the moſt important ſervices during the courſe of the civil war. They had obſerved an inviolable fidelity, at the time that a great part of his other ſubjects had taken up arms againſt him. They oppoſed the progreſs of his enemies; rejected the advantageous offers made themſelves; preſerved cities, and whole provinces, to his allegiance; took his officers and ſervants into their boſoms, at a time when they could not meet with ſhelter any where elſe. For his ſake they ſacrificed their lives and fortunes.

In a word, they performed with exemplary zeal all that good ſubjects could do in the moſt dangerous times. And yet it appeared that the king meditated at this very juncture a deſign to ruin and extirpate them.

The Proteſtants in thus doing their duty, were far from imagining that it would be imputed to them for a crime; or that deſtruction would ruſh upon

upon them from that very quarter whence they hoped for protection and defence.

The Almighty brought light out of darkneſs; but the politicians of France, on the contrary, bring darkneſs out of light. However this be, it cannot be denied but that the king is made to ſay, in this new edict, that he had projected a deſign to deſtroy his proteſtant ſubjects, at the very inſtant that they had ſignalized and diſtinguiſhed themſelves with great ſucceſs, in favour of his crown.

This poſſibly may ſuggeſt many reflections to the wiſe, both within and without the kingdom; may prove to them the uſe that is made of ſervices, and the reward they may expect from them.

Certain it is, that thoſe monarchs, to whom the fame of being juſt and equitable is precious, do not govern their people in the manner deſcribed above. They are far from ſtudying, how beſt to throw uncertainty over all things; and to fill every part of their kingdom with fear and ſorrow. They do not ſeek for motives of joy, from the tears and groans of the innocent; nor take a delight in keeping their ſubjects in perpetual uneaſineſs, and their lives in a precarious ſtate.

The princes in queſtion, do not deſire that their ſubjects ſhould tremble at their very name; nor do ſuch princes meditate projects, in order to extirpate thoſe who lead ſober, diſcreet lives, and have ever done them all the ſervice in their power.

Much leſs do they intend to carry on theſe projects, like ſo many mines, during ſeveral years; in order to cover them artfully, and under counter-declarations; at the very time that ſuch mines are preparing, and juſt ready to ſpring.

The greateſt encomiums were paid to Lewis XIV. for this cruel conduct. Many aſſerted, that it was truly glorious. But what can be leſs ſo, in a king, than his abuſing his power; and violating, without the leaſt reaſon or pretence, his royal word; his promiſe ſo ſolemnly given, and ſo often repeated?

The biſhop of Valence (ſpeaking the ſentiments of the Romiſh clergy) extols this breach of promiſe as a greatneſs, a glory, that exalts Lewis XIV. above all his predeceſſors, above time, and which conſecrates it to all eternity.

Theſe proceedings Varillas terms, "labours greater and much more incredible, than thoſe of the fabulous Hercules."

This conduct Maimbourg ſtyles, "An heroic action." "The heroic action, (ſays this groveling flatterer;) "which the king has juſt now performed; in forbidding, by his new edict, the public exerciſe of the falſe religion of Calvin; and his commanding all the churches of it's profeſſors to be immediately pulled down, &c."

Farther, the author of the Journal des Savans, did not ſcruple to give it publickly, as his opinion, "That the catholic religion ought to be planted by fire and ſword." And, to prove

prove his aſſertion, he preſents us the edifying example following, viz. "That a king of Norway made converts of the nobles of his country, "by threatening to murther their "young children before their faces, "in caſe they refuſed to let them be "baptized, and themſelves alſo."

But not writers only were profuſe of their applauſes, on Lewis XIV, for raiſing this perſecution; painters, ſculptors, &c. employing their ſeveral talents, purpoſely to celebrate him on this occaſion.

Among other public eulogiums, is the following; copied, (by the writer of this account) upon the ſpot.

Round the court of the town-houſe in Paris, are ſeveral inſcriptions, (thirty in all) in gold letters, in honour of the abovementioned monarch; and expreſſive of the moſt remarkable events, of his reign.

Among the reſt is the following, under the year 1685. "The edict of Nantes repealed; and hereſy totally ſuppreſſed, by the zeal and piety of the king." The reſt of the inſcriptions ſavour equally of falſe glory, oſtentation, and pride.

No monarch was ever more groſsly flattered than Lewis XIV; who, at the ſame time that he deſerves the higheſt panegyricks, on account of his love and encouragement of the polite arts; merits the ſtrongeſt cenſure, for his perſecuting the proteſtants, and for the other calamities he brought upon his ſubjects.

During the time the dragoons were diſcharging their fury, in town and country, on the ſad remains of ſuch unhappy proteſtants as refuſed to fall down and worſhip the image; whilſt they were treated, as rebels, in their perſons, their wives, their children, their poſſeſſions, &c. the Romiſh clergy addreſſing the king by the mouth of the abovementioned biſhop of Valence, declared; that one of the miracles in his majeſty's reign, was, his making ſuch converſions, univerſally, without uſing compulſion; and the ſeeing his ſubjects flock ſpontaneouſly, from all parts, in order to reconcile themſelves to the catholic church.

All this, ſays he, was done "without force, without arms; and much "leſs by the ſtrength of your edicts, "than by your exemplary piety."

If we were to credit moſt of the abjurations, which theſe miſerable people were made to ſign, with a dagger at their throats; they declare, that they ſigned them voluntarily, and without compulſion being employed.

Maimbourg too writes as follows, in his dedication to Lewis XIV. "Your majeſty may be aſſured, that "after having vanquiſhed all the "enemies of France, by the invincible power of your arms, yourſelf "alone will eternally enjoy the glory "and felicity, of having extirpated, "from the moſt Chriſtian kingdom, that enemy to God, hereſy, "[as he is pleaſed to term it;] without employing againſt it, in order "to compell the Proteſtants to return to the church, any other weapons, or other force, than that

" of your charitable zeal for their " converſion; and of the manifeſt " juſtice of your ordinances and e- " dicts, the effects of which have " been as happy as could be expect- " ed." And, in his third book :--- " The proteſtants have no reaſon to " complain of Lewis the Great: for " no violence is practiced againſt " any perſon; and if the government " will beſtow favours, on thoſe who " become converts to the catholic " religion; favours that are not in- " dulged others, and which cannot " be juſtly claimed by thoſe who " perſiſt obſtinately in their hereſy; " yet not the leaſt injuſtice is done " them, ſince they are diveſted of " thoſe things only which they had " uſurped contrary to edicts; and " that the government may lawfully " puniſh them, when they infringe " the ordinances.

" In all probability, this method " ſo gentle, ſo prudent, and ſo effi- " cacious, will at laſt produce the " ſame effects in France, under Lewis " the Great, in order to bring back " the Calviniſts to the church; as " under Ethelred, king of England, " when he made converts of the Eng- " liſh, who, powerfully attracted by " this means, crouded daily to be " baptized; in like manner as our " proteſtants now begin to flock to " maſs.

In this manner were the people deluded by a ſet of writers, who did not ſcruple to publiſh the moſt notorious falſhoods, whenever this turned to their advantage. But, indeed, the barbarities exerciſed againſt the proteſtants of France were ſo ſhocking, and flowed from ſo iniquitous a ſource, that it is no wonder, the authors and fomentors of them ſhould have had recourſe to every expedient, in order to colour and extenuate them as much as poſſible, and to conceal the genuine relation thereof from the knowledge of the world.

The expulſion of the Proteſtants from France, was a great loſs to the kingdom. Such vaſt numbers were drove from it, that the want of them was afterwards felt very ſenſibly; and how could it be otherwiſe, when deprived of ſuch multitudes of perſons of probity, who excelled in arts and ſciences, in arms, and in profeſſions of every kind! The French were doubly loſers by this perſecution, as it not only thinned their country of it's inhabitants; but peopled that of it's rival neighbours, to whom it carried many uſeful arts, the products of which theſe neighbours had, before, been obliged to purchaſe of France, to the great profit of that kingdom.

This is particularly evident, from our ſilk manufacture in Spittle-Fields, which now rivals that of the French; and keeps great ſums of money in England, which uſed, before, to be ſent over to France, for the purchaſe of ſilks.

Were we to enumerate the other uſeful articles that were carried out of France; and the various countries into which the French proteſtants fled for refuge; it would appear that the French have loſt infinitely by the above

above perſecutions, which muſt neceſſarily be greatly prejudicial to the monied intereſt, as well as to the felicity of every country in which they prevail.

The commerce of France ſuffered alſo vaſtly on this occaſion; a great part of the trade, both within and without the kingdom, being carried on by the proteſtants; who were ſo interwoven with the Roman catholicks, in commercial affairs, that their intereſt was inſeparable.

What a confuſion then did the perſecution make! How many meaſures were thereby broke! How many plans deſtroyed! How many manufactures ruined! How many men made bankrupts! How many poor families reduced to beggary!

Should the Romiſh principle, of compulſion again prevail, it would have the moſt calamitous effect on all Europe.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Proteſtant looks upon the Romaniſt, as no leſs a heretick, than the Romaniſt does the Proteſtant.

Nevertheleſs, they live together in peace and unity, upon the faith of alliances and treaties; commerce is free, and every one is permitted to follow, undiſturbed, the dictates of his conſcience. But could the peſts of ſociety in queſtion have their will, all things would be thrown into confuſion, and people would cut one another's throats.

Such firebrands arm the papiſt againſt the Proteſtant, by inculcating to the former, that his religion obliges him to betray the latter; to entrap him whenever this may be done with ſafety; and to beat out his brains in caſe he refuſes to apoſtatize from his faith.

They arm the proteſtant againſt the Romaniſt; for what harmony could ſubſiſt, what correſpondence be maintained, with people who not only would make no conſcience to break their promiſe; but who, on the contrary, would make a conſcience not to break it, whenever an opportunity might offer for that purpoſe? Do we then live in an age, in which religion is made to conſiſt in not fearing God? Or can it be ſuppoſed, that the fear of God conſiſts in inſpiring barbarities? Can it be imagined, that ſuch barbarities could be agreeable to Chriſt; or that he would have his religion propagated by fraud and guilt? He has indeed declared, that the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt his church; but then he never ſaid that, for the propagation of his church, he would bring it to the gates of hell. Now if any thing upon earth, ever reſembled the gates of hell, they muſt be the perſecutions of France.

That this perſecution was of the higheſt prejudice to France is very evident; for it is certain, that the number of ſubjects forms the glory of a monarch, and the ſtrength of a kingdom. People are more particularly neceſſary in France, as it is often engaged in long wars, which drain it of it's inhabitants.

For as four or five hundred thouſand ſouls have been forced out of it by

by the perſecution, they conſequently left a great chaſm (as it were) in their native country; and either peopled the neighbouring ſtates, or ſerved in their armies.

How many parts of France are become deſert? in how many places are the women obliged to ſupply for the abſence of the men, in ploughing the grounds; or otherwiſe working to ſupport their children? Arts and manufactures, together with the artificers, have fled into other countries.

The Brandenburghers, have now no farther occaſion to apply to their neighbours, in order to procure ſubſiſtence.

Holland, which was merely as the magazine or ſtorehouſe for merchandiſes, is now become the ſtaple of them; and it's manufactures are grown ſo famous, that numberleſs articles are ſent, from thence, into France, which uſed to be carried from the latter into Holland.

The gold and ſilver which the French obliged foreigners to pay, for the balance of trade, are now frequently carried out of their country, and return to it no more.

The valour of the French refugee officers and ſoldiers has been tried in war; and their ſkilfulneſs in manufactures is experienced in commerce. Foreign nations have made their advantage of this; and the eſtabliſhments of various kinds which have been ſettled, will never return again to the country from which thoſe, who formed them, came originally.

The calamities of the French Proteſtants did not end with the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The ſpirit of their perſecutors could not be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the extinction of the proteſtant religion, and it's profeſſors.

It was not enough for the perſecutors, that they had pulled down all the Proteſtant churches, tho' founded on an Irrevocable edict; that they had aboliſhed the public worſhip; taken away all the means by which faith is nouriſhed and preſerved; forced the children of the proteſtants from them, in order to cut to the very root of the tree.

The perſecutors will oblige thoſe who have long ſuffered, for the ſake of truth, to abandon it; upon pain of being deprived of all conſolation and hope.

Moſt of the ancient perſecutions, whoſe martyrs, made the Chriſtian church ſo illuſtrious, were of a ſhort duration. They were as ſo many clouds, which diſappeared, after having darkened the ſky for ſome time.

Edicts or proclamations were ſoon repealed, after their publication; and the heathens themſelves bluſhed for the cruelties they had exerciſed againſt innocent perſons. But the Proteſtants of France, after ſuffering above thirty years had the mortification to ſee new edicts promulgated; which plainly ſhewed, that the hatred in which they are held, continues as violent as ever.

The complaints of theſe Proteſtants reached to the throne of the monarch; but he, inſtead of enquiring into their juſtneſs,

juſtneſs, rejected them. The ſighs they vented, for their own eaſe, were puniſhed as crimes.

The reverence which theſe ever faithful ſubjects preſerved for their ſovereign, was ſtronger than their grief; and notwithſtanding the extremities to which they were reduced, by the pulling down of their houſes, the deſolation of their families, and the ſeizure of their children, they yet preſerved the allegiance due to their prince.

But alas! he was never moved by their obedience and fidelity, nor by the evils they ſuffered. The interceſſion of foreign powers, ſo far from ſoftening their calamities, ſerved only to heighten them. Tho' two treaties of peace have been ſince concluded, with the proteſtants; yet the ſame averſion has been ſhewn to their religion.

Neither the want in which the French ſtood of theſe unfortunate people, in order for them to ſuccour their country; nor the decency which ought to be obſerved, to neighbours of a different religion, could interrupt, during a moment, the reſolution which the French government had formed, viz. to extinguiſh the proteſtant religion, and it's profeſſors, in France.

The French proteſtants have perpetually given the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of their loyalty to their prince, quite down to Lewis XV. They, when the war broke out, between Great-Britain and France, in 1744, exhibited, in their national ſynod, to his Gallic majeſty, the moſt public proofs of their warm attachment to his perſon, and to his government.

Whilſt that king was dangerouſly ill at Metz; public prayers were ordered, in all their aſſemblies, for his recovery: and upon the perfect reeſtabliſhment of his health, they ſung Te Deum in them; and joined with the Papiſts in all the rejoicings made on that occaſion.

Nevertheleſs, the edict of Nantes being repealed, the proteſtants were forbid to aſſemble publickly, upon a religious account; notwithſtanding which, they, prompted by the ſpirit, thought themſelves bound in conſcience to hold ſuch aſſemblies; but, at thoſe times, no perſon was allowed to come with any weapons, not even ſo much as a ſtick.

In 1743, the proteſtants of Languedoc began to profeſs their religion openly; as did thoſe of Dauphine, and other provinces, in 1744.

This alarming the Romiſh clergy, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite the jealouſy of the court, and the bigotry of the people againſt them.

Upon this Mr. James Roger, a proteſtant miniſter, was accuſed of reading a counterfeit edict to his congregation, but he clearly proved the falſity of the charge.

Their preachers were afterwards unjuſtly accuſed of exhorting their auditors "to rebel againſt the king; to "pray for the queen of Hungary; "and the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms: "to get by force, their children out "of the nunneries in which they

" were confined, and to murther all " the nuns?"

In Auguſt 1, 1744, they were ſlandered, as though they had compoſed a hymn to be ſung in their aſſemblies, to intreat the Almighty to ſink and deſtroy the French fleet, and to bleſs the arms of Great-Britain.

But the untruth of this was ſoon diſcovered. The prieſts about Montauban, falſely repreſented the proteſtants, as ready to fall, ſword in hand, on all the Roman catholicks: and the repreſentations of thoſe prieſts were ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the late cardinal Tencin.

The court continued, for ſome time, averſe to violent meaſures; and the firſt dawnings of theſe appeared in April 1745, when ſeveral bales and caſks of religious proteſtant books were ſeized and burnt, and the carriers of them brought into great trouble.

The perſecutions of the Proteſtants in Dauphine began the 25th of March 1744, when the ſenate of Grenoble threw two perſons into priſon, for having been married by miniſters of their own communion.

Soon after, numbers of people, ladies and gentlemen, perſons of all ranks and profeſſions, were taken up. The ladies were ſent into nunneries, ſome for life, as the marchioneſs of Montjoux; and ſeveral for a time only. Men were impriſoned for a longer or ſhorter ſpace.

It appears by an inſtrument, drawn up in May 1745, that the number of theſe amounted to above one hundred and eighty.

Many were ſentenced to be whipt; ſome to be pilloried; and others to be branded with a hot iron. Some ſuffered the ordinary and extraordinary rack; others were hanged in effigy; as Mr. Du Perron, a ſtudent in divinity, who happily made his eſcape.

Near two hundred were outlawed; ſome were baniſhed, after a long impriſonment. Others fined, two, three or four hundred livres each, and more: and others again loſt their whole eſtates.

A detachment of troops, attended by the hangman, were ſent into every part of the province, to ſearch for proteſtants, and ſpread terror whitherſoever they came.

On theſe occaſions, the proteſtant miniſters were the chief objects of reſentment. Many were ſent to the gallies.

Such women as had been married by proteſtant miniſters, were declared concubines, and their children baſtards, and rendered incapable of inheriting.

In March one Mr. Ranc, was hanged at Die; when the perſecutors forced a young proteſtant to aſſiſt the hangman, in dragging the corpſe into a common ſhore: but a lady, in whom popery had not extinguiſhed all ſenſe of humanity, cauſed it to be taken out, and buried at her expence.

In 1744, one Stephen Arnaud, who was ſeized for teaching ſome young perſons to ſing David's Pſalms; was branded with a hot iron; and ſet on the pillory with his Teſtament, and Book of Pſalms about his neck. Two

barns

barns were pulled down, becauſe ſome Proteſtant miniſters had logded or preached in them.

On the 9th of May 1745, the reverend Mr. James Roger was carried to Grenoble, and there impriſoned, being fourſcore years of age, and the the oldeſt of the French miniſters.

He had ſerved with indefatigable zeal, the churches of Dauphine during thirty years, and was a truly apoſtolical man.

Being brought before the judges, they could not but admire his behaviour: nevertheleſs, on the 22d of May, he was ſentenced to be hanged in the piazza of Dubrueil, in Grenoble, merely, "For having performed "the duties of a Preacher, in many "Proteſtant aſſemblies, and in dif-"ferent parts of the province;" and not for having forged an edict, as was falſely laid to his charge.

Being informed of his ſentence, in the priſon; he took the firſt opportunity to ſtep into the adjacent yard, whence he could be eaſily heard by the impriſoned Proteſtants. He there told them, that the happy day was come, wherein he ſhould ſeal, with his blood, the great truths he had preached to them; and he exhorted them, to be ſtedfaſt and immovable in the religion, which, by the grace of God, they had hitherto profeſſed. He ſpoke this in ſo pathetic a tone, that they all melted into tears.

About four that afternoon, he was carried to the place of execution; repeating, with a loud voice, the fifty-firſt Pſalm.

His countenance diſcovered ſo much mildneſs and ſerenity, that the better ſort of Roman catholicks could not help crying: and even two Jeſuits, who attended on this ſaid occaſion, praiſed him exceedingly.

Thus died this good man, greatly regreted by his flock; and by all the lovers of truth and virtue.

After his body had hung twenty-four hours on the gallows, it was taken down; dragged through the ſtreets; and thrown into the river Iſere, which runs through the town. Such was the burying place aſſigned this excellent man!

The cruelties exerciſed on the Proteſtants of Lauguedoc were not leſs dreadful than theſe. In 1744, a great many gentlemen, lawyers, phyſicians, rich merchants, and trades people, were ſeized, thrown into priſon, and confined a long time; though nothing could be proved againſt them, except that they were Proteſtants.

On the 4th of March, twenty-four dragoons, with a quarter-maſter, were ſent in queſt of a miniſter, and a ſtudent in divinity. They went to a place called Pe-Boyer; where, living at diſcretion in the houſe of the proteſtants, they committed the moſt outrageous barbarities.

They not only plundered the unhappy people of their proviſions of all kinds, their wearing apparel, and money; but fell foul, with their ſwords, on the cattle and poultry, deſtroying whatever they could not carry away; ſtaving the caſks, and

and reſerving the beſt things for their own uſe.

One of them endeavoured to force a young woman, who, running away from him, and crying aloud, brought about the houſe ſeveral labouring men, who were working in the neighbourhood.

The dragoons being frighted, got on horſeback; and, by order of their hot-headed commander, fired; and ran ſword in hand on the poor people; killed an old man; wounded a great many, of whom they took eleven; and tying them to their horſes tails, brought them to Montauban, where they were impriſoned.

At Puy-Laurens, Caſtres, Sainte Foi, and Niſmes, people were daily taken up; ſent to the caſtle of Ferrieres; to the tower of Lourdes; or to ſome other priſon.

Twenty-four women were confined in the tower of Conſtance, at Aigue-Mortes; and fifty men, at leaſt, in the gallies.

Not only private perſons, but whole towns and diſtricts, were condemned in large fines, on account of religious aſſemblies. One William Iſſoire was ſent to the gallies, for ſelling proteſtant books.

Sometimes the dragoons, ſurrounding proteſtant aſſemblies, fired upon them. The intendants ſeemed to ſport with the lives and fortunes of theſe unhappy people.

Their moſt juſt, their humbleſt petitions, could not get acceſs to the throne: nay, the worſt conſtructions were put upon them; and even their profeſſions of loyalty conſidered as ſeditious.

An Apology, for the religious aſſemblies of the proteſtants, having been publiſhed, it was ordered, by the parliament of Toulouſe, to be torn and burnt by the common hangman; as ſeditious, injurious to the memory of Lewis XIV; and contrary to the orders and intentions of Lewis XV.

The Proteſtants of the Vivarois were treated in much the ſame manner as thoſe already mentioned: to avoid therefore entering into particulars, we ſhall only give the ſtory of Mr. Deſubas, a worthy Proteſtant clergyman.

He was ſeized near Sainte Greve; when being followed by about two thouſand proteſtants, to Vernoux, they were fired upon by the papiſts from all quarters, even from the windows; when thirty-ſix were killed upon the ſpot, and above two hundred wounded.

Mr. Deſubas being removed to Montpelier, was tried there, and ſentenced to be hanged. His execution was attended with hard and inhuman circumſtances. Though in the depth of winter, he was made to walk to the place where he was to ſuffer, bare-legged, with only ſocks upon his feet; and a thin linnen-waiſtcoat, without ſleeves. All his books and papers were burnt before his face, at the foot of the gallows.

Juſt before he was executed, a crucifix was offered him to kiſs; but he put it from him: and died with his eyes fixed on heaven, whither he was

was haſting. Drums beat aloud during the whole time of this ſad ceremony, to prevent the ſpectators, from hearing the unhappy victim, as is the cuſtom.

As no marriages are valid, in France, except ſuch as are ſolemnized by the Romiſh prieſts, ſome of theſe proteſtants, not having an opportunity of being joined by a miniſter of their own religion, promiſe, before their relations and friends, to cohabit as man and wife; and to be faithful to each other till they may find an opportunity, of being united in wedlock by one of their clergymen.

In the diſtrict of Montauban, about the year 1744, there were ſolemnly married at the ſame time, in one of the proteſtant aſſemblies, a grandfather, ſon, and grandſon; all three reſpectively to the women they had lived with, till that time, as their wives. To ſuch ſhifts are thoſe unhappy people expoſed!

The Proteſtants were charged, by many Roman catholicks, their countrymen, with diſloyalty; but that this was a falſe accuſation, and to ſhew their real ſentiments with regard to their king, we will quote the following extract of a letter.

"How earneſtly ſoever all of us, "in general, deſire to enjoy liberty "of conſcience; how natural and "reaſonable ſoever this deſire may "appear to us; your lordſhip may "be aſſured, that this deſire will "never induce us to do any thing, "which ſhall, in the leaſt, inter- "fere with that fidelity, which we "owe to our dread ſovereign.

"This ineſtimable liberty of con- "ſcience we wait for with entire re- "ſignation. We will aſk it in no "other way than by our prayers and "tears. And we hope to obtain it, "at laſt, only as a reward for our "unreſerved obedience to his ma- "jeſty's commands in every thing, "which flows from his authority; "and by ſacrificing our lives and "fortunes in his ſervice.

"Our religion inſpires us with this "ſubmiſſion, and engages us to of- "fer him that ſacrifice. But beſides "this, the title of father of his peo- "ple, which he has ſo juſtly acquir- "ed, ſecurts him the free homage of "our heares! a homage the more "glorious, as it is entirely the effect "of his majeſty's merit.

"If therefore any writings, any "attempts ſhould be aſcribed to us, "that have not this ſtamp, (as has "already been too often the caſe,) "your lordſhip may conclude, that "the whole is the work of ca- "lumny."

By the French king's declaration, of the 14th of May, 1724, and others, "All men who profeſs the proteſtant "religion, were to be condemned to "the gallies for life; all women to "be ſhut up in nunneries; and all "preachers to ſuffer death."—What a government is this to live under! How happy is that of the Britons!

A Deſcription of the remarkable Circumſtances attending the Death of Henry II. King of France.

THE prince was ſo outrageous againſt the Proteſtants, that he threatened Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, that he would ſee him burn with his own eyes. But how he came ſhort of his purpoſe, the ſequel of the ſtory will make appear, in the following manner.

King Henry being in the parliament houſe which was kept at the Friar Auguſtines at Paris, becauſe the palace was in preparing againſt the marriage of his daughter, and his ſiſter, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg counſellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he cauſed the ſaid Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counſellors, to be taken priſoners by the conſtable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of count Montgommery, who carried them to priſon. Againſt whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, ſaid to the ſaid Anne du Bourg, "Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt:" and ſo on the nineteenth of June, commiſſion was given to judges to make his proceſs.

In the mean while, great feaſts and banquets were preparing at court, for joy and gladneſs of the marriage that ſhould be of the king's daughter and ſiſter, againſt the laſt day of June ſave one.

When the time was come, the king employed all the morning in examining the preſidents and counſellors of the ſaid parliament againſt theſe priſoners, and other their companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was ſolemnly made in St. Anthony's-ſtreet, near to the priſon where the foreſaid priſoners were committed, entered into the liſts; and therein juſting, as the manner is, had broken many ſtaves very valiantly, running as well againſt the count of Montgommery, as divers others.

Whereupon he was highly commended by the ſpectators. And becauſe he was thought to have done enough, they deſired him to leave off with praiſe: but he being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praiſe, would needs run another courſe with Montgommery: who then refuſing to run againſt the king, and kneeling on his knees for pardon not to run; the king being eagerly ſet, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and, as ſome affirm, he alſo put the ſtaff in his hand, unto whoſe hand he had

had committed the aforeſaid priſoners a little before.

Montgommery thus being enforced whether he would or no, to run againſt the king, addreſſed himſelf after the beſt manner to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together ſo ſtoutly, that in breaking their ſpears the king was ſtruck with the counter-blow, ſo right in one of his eyes, by reaſon that the vizor of his helmet ſuddenly fell down at the ſame inſtant, that the ſhivers entered into his head; ſo that the brains were periſhed, and thereupon ſo feſtered, that no remedy could be found, although phyſicians and ſurgeons were ſent from all places in the realm, as alſo from Brabant from king Philip, but nothing availed, ſo that the 11th day after, that is, the 10th of July, 1559, he miſerably ended his life, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.

FINIS.

ERRATUM.

In Page 458, ſecond Column, between the Lines twenty and twenty-one, add the following Words: *wiles of thoſe who ſeek to draw them from the.*

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